



ST. HEN. MORGAN

Part. 2. Chap. 7.



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BUCANIER
OF
A M E R I C A :
Or, a True
ACCOUNT
OF THE

Most Remarkable Assaults

Committed of late Years upon the Coasts of

The West-Indies,

By the **BUCANIER**s of *Jamaica* and *Tortuga*,
Both *ENGLISH* and *FRENCH*.

Wherein are contained more especially,

The unparallel'd Exploits of *Sir Henry Morgan*, our English
Jamaican Hero, who sack'd *Porto Vile*, burnt *Panama*, &c.

Written originally in *Dutch*, by *John Scherweling*, one of the *Bucaniers*,
who was present at those Tragedies, and Translated into *Spanish* by
Alonso de Beate-majista, M. D. &c.

The Second EDITION, Corrected, and Enlarged with two
Additional Relations, viz. the one of *Captain Cook*, and the other of
Captain Sharp.

Now faithfully rendred into English.

L O N D O N : Printed for *William Coney*, at the Green Dra-
gon without *Temple-bar*. 1 6 8 4.

BUCHANAN'S

OF

AMERICA

ONE TRUE

ACCOUNT

OF THE

Most Remarkable Affairs

Connected with the Years upon the Coast of

the West-Indies.

By the BUCHANANS of ...

... of the ...

... of the ...

... of the ...

... of the ...

LONDON: Printed for Wm. ...

An Advertisement to the Reader,
Concerning this

Second Edition.

THe first Edition of this History of the *Bucaniers* was received with such general applause of most people, but more especially of the Learned, as to encourage me towards obliging the Publick with this Second Impression, though within the space of three months of time. This I have compleated with the same Cuts and Maps, and all the other embellishments which the former had; and yet rendred it by the closeness of its character more easie to be purchased, as being comprehended in a fewer number of sheets of paper. Unto this Second Edition I have also added some Relations, which have been imparted unto me from good and authentick hands; wherein are contained several other bold Exploits and Attempts, performed of late years by the same *Bucaniers*; especially since the time that the Author of the first Impression left those parts of the *West-Indies*, and published his Book in *Holland*. These are comprehended in two or three Chapters at the latter end of this Second Edition, and do chiefly relate unto the Adventures of Captain *Cook* in the year 1678, and the hazardous and bold Attempts of Captain *Sharp* and others; who lately setting forth from *Jamaica*, penetrated into the *South-Sea*, and there ranſack't and pillaged, for the space of three years, all they could meet, returning at last homewards round about the *Tierra del Fuego*, commonly called *Terra Australis incognita*, beyond the *Streight of Magallanes*; and thus performing one of the boldest and longest Voyages that ever was attempted in the world. Of all which Voyage, and especially of all the

An Advertisement to the Reader.

Soundings, Ports, Harbours, Rivers, Creeks, Islands, Rocks, Towns, and Cities, belonging unto the whole Navigation of the South-Sea, he hath brought home such an exact Description, and such compleat Maps, taken from the Spaniards themselves, who opely navigate that Ocean, as were never seen in these parts of the world before. The very Journal of this Perennial Navigation I am informed is now in the Press, being published by a worthy Gentleman of my acquaintance; the perusal whereof, I hope will acquit what I have said to be nothing more nor less than the very Truth it self. What I here give my Reader, concerning Captain Sharp and his Companions, is onely a short account of his transactions, which may serve for an accomplishment of this History of the *Bucaniers*, (he being one of the same profession, and) which I received from the very hand of one of his Seamen, who was present at these Exploits, (and which was printing before I heard of the Journal of Captain Sharp.) The which likewise how far it will agree with the Journal it self, (as I hear almost ready to be published) I cannot easily declare, as having not seen nor perused the said Book. Yet thus much I am induced to believe of this Narrative, though never so shortly compiled, that it will not much deviate from the substance of what matter of fact will be there rehearsed; and that the said Journal, when published, will appear for its Novelty and Curiosity, to be as it were a Second Part of this History of the *Bucaniers*. All which notwithstanding, something may be yet remaining behind of this nature, wherewith in due time I may choose to pleasure the Publick, but not to be added to this Volume, but to be a Volume of it self, this first Volume of the *Bucaniers* being as full as it can be made. Whatever shall for the future be published by me, shall be put into another Volume.

Printed by J. Sturges at the Sign of the Gun, in St. Dunstons Church-yard, near the North-Door, in the Strand, in the City of London.

THE

THE
Translator
TO THE
READER.

THe present Volume, both for its Curiosity, and
Ingenuity, I dare recommend unto the perusal of
our English Nation, whose glorious Actions it
containeth: What relateth unto the curiosity
hereof, this Piece, both of Natural and Hu-
mane History, was no sooner published in the Dutch Ori-
ginal, than it was snatched up for the most curious Library's of
Holland: it was Translated into Spanish; (and Impressions
thereof being sent into Spain in one year;) it was taken notice
of by the Learned Academy of Paris; and finally recommen-
ded as worthy our esteem, by the Ingenious Author of the
Weekly Memorials for the Ingenious, printed here at Lon-
don about two years ago. Neither all this undeserv'dly, see-
ing it enlargeth our acquaintance of Natural History, so much
prized and enquired for, by the Learned of this present Age;
with several observations not easily to be found in other accounts
already received from America: and besides, it informeth us
(with huge novelty) of as great and bold attempts, in point of
Military conduct and valour, as ever were performed by man-
kind, without excepting, here, either Alexander the Great, or
Julius Caesar, or the rest of the Nine Worthies of Fame. Of
all which actions, as we cannot but confess our selves to have
been ignorant hitherto, (the very name of Buccaneers being as
yet known but unto few of the Ingenious, as their Lives, Laws,
and

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and Conversation, are in a manner unto none) so can they not choose but be admired; out of this ingenious Author, by whosever is curious to learn the various revolutions of humane affairs. But, more especially, by our English Nation; as unto whom these things more narrowly do appertain. We having here more than half the Book filled with the unparallel'd, if not unimitable, adventures and Heroick exploits of our own Country-men, and Relations; whose undaunted and exemplary Courage, when called upon by our King and Country, we ought to emulate.

From whence it hath proceeded, that nothing of this kind was ever, as yet, published in England, I cannot easily determine; except, as some will say, from some secret Ragion di Stato. Let the reason be as it will; this is certain, so much the more we are obliged unto this present Author, who though a Stranger unto our Nation, yet with that candour and Fidelity hath recorded our Actions, as to render the Metal of our true English Valour to be the more believed and feared abroad, than if these things had been divulged by our selves at home. From hence peradventure will other Nations learn, that the English People are of their Genius more inclinable to act than to write; seeing as well they as we have lived unacquainted with these actions of our Nation, until such time as a foreign Author to our Country came to tell them.

Besides the merit of this Piece for its curiosity, another point of no less esteem, is the truth and sincerity wherewith every thing seemeth to be penned. No greater ornament or dignity can be added unto History, either humane or natural, than truth. All other embellishments, if this be failing, are of little or no esteem; if this be delivered, are either needless or superfluous. What concerneth this requisite in our Author, his Lines do every where declare the faithfulness and sincerity of his mind. He writeth not by hearsay, but was an eye-witness, as he somewhere telleth you, unto all and every one of the bold and hazardous attempts which he relateth. And these he delivereth with such candour of stile, such ingenuity of mind, such plainness of words, such conciseness of periods, so much devoted
of

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of Rhetorical Hyperboles, or the least flourishes of Eloquence, so largely void of Passion or rational Reflections, as that he strongly persuadeth all along to the credit of what he saith: yea, raiseth the mind of the Reader to believe these things far greater than what he hath said; and having read him, leaveth onely this scruple or concern behind, that you can read him no longer. In a word, such are his deserts, that some persons per-adventure would not stickle to compare him to the Father of Historians, Philip de Comines. At least thus much may be said, with all truth imaginable, that he resembleth that great Author in many of his excellent qualities.

I know some persons have objected against the greatness of these prodigious Adventures, intimating that the resistance our Buccaneers found in America, was every where but small. For the Spaniards, say they, in the West-Indies, are become of late years nothing less, but rather much more degenerate, than in Europe. The continual Peace they have enjoyed in those parts; the defect of Military Discipline, and European Soldiers for their Commanders, much contributing hereunto. But more especially, and above all other Reasons, the very Luxury of the Soil and Riches, the extreme heat of those Countries, and influence of the Stars being such, as totally inclineth their Bodies unto an infinite effeminacy and cowardize of mind.

Unto these Reasons I shall onely answer in brief. This History will convince them to be manifestly false. For as to the continual Peace here alledged, we know that no Peace could ever be established beyond the Line, since the first possession of the West-Indies by the Spaniards, till the burning of Panama. At that time, or few months before, Sir William Godolphin, by his prudent negotiation in quality of Embassador for our most Gracious Monarch, did conclude at Madrid a Peace to be observed even beyond the Line, and through the whole extent of the Spanish Dominions in the West-Indies. This transaction gave the Spaniards new causes of complaints against our proceedings; that no sooner a Peace had been established for those parts of America, but our Forces had taken and burnt both Chagre, San Catharine, and Panama. But our Reply was

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convincing, That whereas eight or ten months had been allowed by Articles for the publishing of the said Peace through all the Dominions of both Monarchies in America, those Hostilities had been committed, not only without orders from his Majesty of England, but also within the space of the said eight or ten months of time. Until that time, the Spanish Inhabitants of America being, as it were, in a perpetual War with Europe, certain it is, that no Coast nor Kingdoms in the World have been more frequently infested nor alarm'd with the Invasions of several Nations, than theirs. Thus from the very beginning of their Conquests in America, both English, French, Dutch, Portuguese, Swedes, Danes, Carolanders, and all other Nations that navigate the Ocean, have frequented the West-Indies, and filled them with their Robberies and Assaults. From these occasions have they been in continual watch and ward, and kept their Militia in constant exercise, as also their Garrisons pretty well provided and paid, as fearing every sail they discover'd at Sea, to be Rivals of one Nation or another. But much more especially, since that Curacao, Tortuga, and Jamaica have been inhabited by English, French, and Dutch, and bred up that Race of Huntsmen, than which, no other ever was more desperate, nor more mortal Enemies to the Spaniards, called Bucaniers. Now shall we say, that these People, through too long continuation of Peace, have utterly abolished the excesses of War, having been all along incessantly vexed with the Tumults and Alarms thereof?

In like manner it is false, to accuse their defect of Military Discipline for want of European Commanders. For who knoweth not that all places, both Military and Civil, through those vast Dominions of the West-Indies, are provided out of Spain? And those of the Militia most commonly given unto expert Commanders trained up from their infancy in the Wars of Europe, either in Africa, Milan, Sicily, Naples, or Flanders, fighting against either English, French, Dutch, Portuguese, or Moors? Yea, their very Garrisons, if you search them in those parts, will peradventure be found to be stock'd three parts to four with Soldiers both born and bred in the Kingdom of Spain. [41]

From

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From these Considerations it may be inferr'd, what little difference ought to be allowed betwixt the Spanish Souldiers, Inhabitants of the West-Indies, and those of Europe. And how little the Soil or Climate hath influenced or caused their Courage to degenerate towards cowardize or baseness of mind. As if the very same Arguments, deduced from the nature of that Climate, did not equally militate against the valour of our famous Bucaniers, and represent this tribe of degenerate Metal as theirs.

But nothing can be more clearly evinced, than is the Valour of the American Spaniards, either Souldiers or Officers, by the sequel of this History. What men ever fought more desperately than the Garrison of Chagre? Their number being 324, and of all these, only thirty remaining; of which number scarce ten were un wounded; and among them, not one Officer found alive? Were not 500 killed upon the spot at Panama, 500 at Gibraltar, almost as many more at Puerto del Principe, all dying with their Arms in their hands, and facing bravely the Enemy for the defence of their Country and private Concerns? Did not those of the Town of San Pedro both furnish themselves, lay several Ambuscados, and lastly, sell their lives as dear as ever any European Souldiers could do; Colonel being forced to gain step by step his advance unto the Town, with huge loss both of blood and men? Many other instances might be produced out of this compendious Volume, of the generous resistance the Spaniards made in several places, though Fortune favoured not their Arms.

Next, as to the personal Valour of many of their Commanders, what man ever behaved himself more bravely than the Governour of Gibraltar, than the Governour of Puerto del Principe, both dying for the defence of their Towns; than Don Alonso del Campo, and others? On what Examples can easily parallel the desperate courage of the Governour of Chagre? who, though the Palizada's were fired, the Terraplens were sunk into the Ditch, the Breaches were entered, the Fleets all burnt about him, the whole Castle taken, his Men all killed; yet would not admit of any quarter, but chose rather to die under

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der his Arms, being shot into the brain, than surrender himself as a Prisoner into the Bucaniers. What Lion ever fought to the last gasp more obstinately than the Governour of Puerto Velo? who seeing the Town enter'd by surprisall in the night, one chief Castle blown up into the Air, all the other Forts and Castles taken by own assaulted several ways, both Religious men and women placed at the front of the Enemy to fix the Ladders against the Walls; yet spared not to kill as many of the said Religious persons as he could. And at last, the Walls being scaled, the Castle enter'd and taken, all his own men overcome by fire and sword, who had cast down their Arms, and begged mercy from the Enemy; yet would admit of none for his own life. Yea, with his own hands killed several of his Souldiers, to force them to stand to their Arms, though all were lost. Yea, though his own Wife and Daughter begged of him upon their knees that he would save his life by crawing quarter, though the Enemy desired of him the same thing, yet would hearken to no cries nor persuasions, but they were forced to kill him, combating with his Arms in his hands, being not otherwise able to take him prisoner, as they were desirous to do. Shall these men be said to be influenced with Cowardize, who thus acted to the very last Scene of their own Tragedies? Or shall we rather say, that they wanted not Courage, but Fortune? It being certainly true, that he who is killed in a Battel, may be equally courageous with him that killeth. And that whosoever derogateth from the Valour of the Spaniards in the West-Indies, diminisheth in like manner the Courage of the Bucaniers, his own Country-men, who have seemed to act beyond mortal men in America.

Now, to say something concerning John Ekquemeling, the first Author of this History. I take him to be a Dutch-man, or at least born in Flanders, notwithstanding that the Spanish Translation represents him to be Native of the Kingdom of France. His printing this History originally in Dutch, which doubtless must be his native Tongue, who otherwise was but an illiterate man, together with the very sound of his name convincing me that he was, I take it to be, he set sail from France, and was

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was some years at Tortuga; but neither of these two Arguments, drawn from the History, are prevalent. For were he a French-man born, how came he to learn the Dutch Language so perfectly as to prefer it to his own? Especially that not being spoken at Tortuga nor Jamaica, where he resided all the while.

I hope I have made this English Translation something more plain and correct, than the Spanish. Some few notorious Faults, either of the Printer or of the Interpreter, I am sure I have redressed. But the Spanish Translator complaining much of the intricacy of Style in the Original (as flowing from a person who, as hath been said, was no Scholar) as he was pardonable, being in great haste, for not rendring his own Version so distinct and elaborate as he would desire; so must I be excused from the one, that is to say, Elegancy, if I have cautiously declined the other, I mean Confusion.

BUCA-

TO THE READER

in some years of Torrey's, but neither of these two agree-
ments claims from the Library any previous. There were in a
few years past, however, some of the most valuable
specimens in the Library, especially that of the
specimen in Torrey's new edition, which he rejected, all the
whole.

I hope I have made this English Translation something more
plain and correct than the Spanish. Some few notorious errors
of the Editor of the Spanish edition I am sure I have re-
jected. But the Spanish Translation containing much of the in-
terference of style in the Original (as showing from a person who as
said before said, was no scholar) as he was afterwards being in
great haste for not reaching his own house to dictate and dis-
tribute in the world before. So with I am content from the one
that is to say, History, if I have carefully selected the other
I mean Correction.

BUCA

BUCANIERS

OF

AMERICA.

PART I.

CHAP. I.

The Author setteth forth towards the Western Islands, in the Service of the West-India Company of France. They meet with an English Frigate. And arrive at the Island of Tortuga.

WE set Sail from *Havre de Grace*, in France, in a Ship called *St. John*, the second day of May, in the year 1666. Our Vessel was Equipp'd with eight and twenty Guns, twenty Mariners, and two hundred and twenty Passengers; including in this number, those, whom the Company sent as free Passengers, as being in their service. Soon after, we came to an Anchor under the Cape of *Borlor*, there to joyn other seven Ships of the same *West India* Company, which were to come from *Diep*, under the Convoy of a Man of War, mounted with seven and thirty Guns, and two hundred and fifty men. Of these Ships two were bound for *Senegal*, five for the *Caribby Islands*, and ours for the Island of *Tortuga*. In the same place there gather'd unto us, about twenty Sail of other Ships, that were bound for *New-found-land*, with some Dutch Vessels that were going for *Nantz*, *Rochel*, and *St. Martins*; so that in all, we made a Fleet of Thirty Sail. Here we prepared to fight, putting our selves into a convenient posture of Defence, as having notice, that four English Frigats of three-score Guns each, did lie in wait for us, about the Isle of *Orney*. Our Admiral the *Chevalier Sourdis*, having distributed what Orders he thought convenient, we set sail from thence with a favourable gale

of wind. Presently after, some mist arising, these totally impeded the English Frigate from discovering our Fleet at Sea. We steer'd our course as near as we could under the Coast of *France*, to seek out the Enemy. As we sailed along, we met a Vessel of *France*, who complain'd unto our Admiral, that a French Privateer had robb'd him that very morning. This complaint being heard, we endeavour'd to pursue the said Pirate; but our Labour was in vain, as not being able to overtake him.

Our Fleet as we went along, call'd up small Fours and Alarms unto the Inhabitants of the Coasts of *France*; these judging us to be English, and that we sought some convenient place for Landing. To allay their frights, we us'd to hang out our Colours; but notwithstanding they would not trust us. After this we came to an Anchor in the Bay of *Cauquet* in *Britany*, nigh unto the Isle of *Heyfant*, there to take in water. Having stor'd our selves with fresh Provisions at this place, we prosecuted our Voyage, designing to pass by the *Rae of Fontenau*, and not expose our selves to the *Serlingues*, fearing the English Vessels that were Cruising thereabout to meet us. This River *Fontenau* is of a current very strong and rapid, which rowling over many Rocks, disgorgeth it self into the Sea on the Coast of *France*, in the Latitude of eight and forty degrees and ten minutes; for which reason this passage is very dangerous; all the Rocks, as yet, being not thoroughly known.

Baptism us'd
by the French
at Sea.

Here I shall but omit to mention the Ceremony, which at this passage, and some other places, is us'd by the Mariners; by them call'd *Baptism*; although it may seem either little to our purpose, or of no use. The *Miller* Matt cloath'd himself with a ridiculous sort of garment, that reach'd unto his feet, and on his head he put a surable Cap, which was made very burlesque. In his right hand he plac'd a naked wooden Sword, and in his left, a pot full of Ink. His face was horribly black'd with soot, and his neck adorn'd with a Collar of many little pieces of wood. Being thus apparell'd, he command'd to be call'd before him every one of them, who never had pass'd that dangerous place before. And then causing them to kneel down in his presence, he made the sign of the Cross upon their foreheads with ink, and gave each one a stroke on the shoulders with his wooden Sword. Mean while the standers by did cast a Bucket of water upon every mans head; and this was the conclusion of the ceremony. And that being ended, every one of the Baptiz'd is oblig'd to give a bottle of Brandy for his offering; placing it nigh the Main Mast, and without speaking a word; even those who have no such Liquor being not excus'd from this performance. In case the Vessel never pass'd that way before, the Captain is oblig'd to distribute

But some Wine among the Mariners, and other people in the Ship, But as for other gifts, which the newly Baptized do frequently offer, they are divided among the old Seamen; and of them, they make a Banquet among themselves.

The Islanders likewise do use to Baptize such as never passed that way before. And not only at the passage above-mentioned, but also at the Rocks called *Burlingame*, nigh the Coast of *Portugal*, in the latitude of thirty nine degrees and forty minutes, (as being a passage very dangerous, especially by night, when through the obscurity thereof the Rocks are not distinguishable, by reason the Land is very high) they use some such ceremony. But their manner of Baptizing is much distinct from that we have described above, performed by the French. He therefore that is to be Baptized, is fastned and hoisted up three times at the main yards end, as if he were a Criminal. If he be hoisted the fourth time, in the name of the Prince of *Orange*, or of the Captain of the Vessel, his honour is more than ordinary. Thus they are dipped every one several times in the main Ocean. But he that is the first dipped hath the honour of being saluted with a Gun. Such as are not willing to fall, are bound to pay twelve pence for their ransom: if he be an Officer in the Ship, two shillings: and if a Passenger, according to their pleasure. In case the Ship did never pass that way before, the Captain is bound to give a small Ramlet of Wine, which if he doth not perform, the Mariners may cut off the Stern of the Vessel. All the public which accords with this ceremony, is kept by the Masters Miscel. who after reaching their Port, doth usually lay it out in wine, which is drank amongst the ancient Seamen. Some will say this ceremony was instituted by the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*, howsoever, it is not found amongst his Laws. But here I say these customs of the Sea, and shall return unto our Voyage.

Having passed the River *Ra*, we met with very good weather, until we came to the Cape of *Pina-Ferra*. Here a huge Tempest of wind surprized us, and separated our Ship from the rest that were in our company. This storm continued for the space of eight days, in the which time it would move compassion to see how miserably the Passengers were tumbled to and fro on all sides of the Ship, notwithstanding the Mariners in the performance of their duty, were compelled to tread upon them every where. This uncounted weather being spent, we had again the use of very favourable gales, until we came unto the Tropick of *Cancer*. This Tropick is nothing else, but an Imaginary Circle, which Astrologers have invented in the Heavens, and for ever at a period to the progress of the Sun towards the North-pole. It is placed in the latitude of three and twenty de-

Another Ceremonious Baptism.

Necessity of fresh water.

Arrival at the Caribbe Islands.

Arrival at the Isle of Tortuga.

grees and thirty minutes, under the line. Here we are Baptized the second time, after the same manner as before. The French do always perform this ceremony at this Tropick; as also under the Tropick of Capricornus, toward the South. In this part of the world we had very favourable weather, at the which we were infinitely gladdened, by reason of our great necessity of water. For at this time that Element already was so scarce with us, that we were stinted, unto two half pints by man every day.

Being about the Latitude of Barbados, we met an English Frigate, or Privateer; who first began to give us chase. But finding himself not to exceed in strength, did presently steer away from us. This sight gave us occasion to pursue the said Frigate, as we did, shooting at him several Guns of eight pound carriage; but at length he escaped, and we returned to our course. Not long after, we came within sight of the Isle of Martinica. Our endeavours were bent unto the coast of the Isle of St. Peter; but these were frustrated, by reason of a storm which took us hereabouts. Hence we resolved to steer to the Island of Guadalupe. Yet neither this Island could we reach, by reason of the same storm; and thus we directed our course unto the Isle of Tortuga, which was the very same land we were bound unto. We passed along the coast of the Isle of Punta Rica, which is extremely delicious, and agreeable to the view, as being adorned with beautiful Trees and Woods, even to the tops of the Mountains. After this, we discovered the Island Hispaniola, (of which I shall give a description in this Book) and we coasted about it, until we came unto the Isle of Tortuga, our desired Port. Here we anchor'd the seventh day of July, in the same year, not having lost one man in the whole Voyage. We unladed the goods that belonged unto the Company of the West-Indies; and soon after, the Ship was sent to Cal de Sac, with some Passengers.

CAAP. II

Description of the Island of Tortuga: Of the Fruits and Plants there growing. How the French settled there at two several times, and cast out the Spaniards, first Masters thereof. The Author of this Book was twice sold in the said Island.

Description of the Isle of Tortuga.

THE Island of Tortuga is situated on the North-side of the famous and great Island, called Hispaniola, nigh unto the Continent thereof, and in the altitude of twenty degrees and thirty minutes.

It's

It's just extent is threescore Leagues about. The *Spaniards*, who gave Name unto this Island, called it so, from the Shape of the Land, which in some manner resembleth a great *Sea-Tortoise*, called by them *Tortuga de mar*. The Countrey is very mountainous and full of Rocks, yet notwithstanding hugely thick of lofty Trees, that cease not to grow upon the hardest of those Rocks, without partaking of a softer Soil. From hence it cometh, that their Roots, for the greatest part, are seen all over entangled among the Rocks, not unlike unto the branching of Ivy against our Walls. That part of this Island which stretcheth towards the North, is totally dis-inhabited. The reason is, first, because it hath proved to be very incommodious and unhealthy; and secondly, for the ruggedness of the Coast, that giveth no access unto the Shoar, unless among Rocks almost unaccessible. For this cause it is populated only on the Southern part, which hath one only Port that may be esteemed indifferently good. Yet this Harbour hath two several Entries, or Channels, which afford passage unto Ships of seventy Guns; the Port it self being without danger, and capable of receiving a great number of Vessels. That part which is Inhabited, is divided into four other parts; of which the first is called the *Low-land*, or *low-Country*. This is the chiefest among the rest, because it containeth the Port aforesaid. The Town is called *Cayona*, and here do live the chiefest and richest Planters of the Island. The second part is called the *Middle Plantation*. Its Territory or Soil, is hitherto almost new, as being only known to be good for the culture of Tobacco. The third is named *Ringot*. These places are scituated towards the Western part of the Island. The fourth and last is called *The Mountain*, in which place were made the first Plantations that were cultivated upon this Island.

As to the Wood that groweth on the Island, we have already said, that the Trees are exceeding tall, and pleasing to the sight; whence no man will doubt, but they may be applied unto several uses, with great benefit. Such is the *yellow Saunder*, which Tree, by the Inhabitants of this Countrey, is called *Bois de Chandel*; or, in English *Candle-wood*, being it burneth like a Candle, and serveth them with light while they use their fishery in the night. Here groweth also *Eugenia Sandalum*, by others called *Guaiacum*. Its Vertues are very well known; more especially unto them who observe not the sixth Commandment, and are given to all manner of impure Copulations; Physicians drawing from hence, under several compositions, the greatest antidote for all Venerial Diseases; as also for cold and viscus humors. The Trees likewise that afford *Gummi Elemi*, grow here in great abundance. In like manner doth *Radix China*, or *China Root*; yet this is not so good as that which cometh from other parts of the West.

Of the Trees
that grow at
Tortuga.

Medicinal
Herbs.
Wood for
building.
Fruits.

Palmito's.

Wild Beasts.

Great flocks
of Wild Pigeons.

Western world. It is very white and soft, and serves for pleasant food unto the wild Beasts, when as they can find nothing else. This Island also is not deficient in *Algae*, nor an infinite number of other Medicinal Herbs, which may please the curiosities of such as are given to their contemplation. Moreover, for the building of Ships, or any other sort of Architecture, here are found in this spot of *Hispania*, several sorts of Timber very convenient. The Fruits likewise, which here abundantly grow, are nothing inferior as to their quantity or quality, unto what the adjacent Islands produce. I shall name only some of the most ordinary and common. Such are *Mangos*, *Pistachios*, *Asian Apples*, *Tannas*, *Bacones*, *Papayas*, *Cavendishes*, *Mameyas*, *Almonds*, and divers other sorts; which, not to be tedious, I omit to specify. Here grow likewise in huge number; those Trees called *Palmitos*, or *Palmiter*, from whence is drawn a certain juice, which serveth the Inhabitants instead of Wine; and whose Leaves do cover their houses instead of Tiles.

In this Island aboundeth also with daily increase, the *Wild Beasts*. The Governour hath prohibited the hunting of them with Dogs; fearing least the Island being but small, the whole race of those Animals in short time should be destroy'd. The reason why he thought convenient to preserve those wild Beasts, was, that in case of any Invasion of an external enemy, the Inhabitants might sustain themselves with their food. Especially were they once constrained to retire unto the Woods and Mountains. By this means he judg'd they were enabled to maintain any sudden assault, or long persecution. Yet this sort of Game is almost impeded by itself, by reason of the many Rocks and Precipices, which for the greatest part are covered with little shrubs, very green and thick; from whence the hunters have oftentimes precipitated themselves; and left us the sad experience and grief of many memorable disasters.

At a certain time of the year, there resorteth unto this Island of *Tortuga*, huge flocks of *Wild Pigeons*; at which season the Inhabitants feed on them very plentifully, having more than they can consume, and leaving totally to their repose all other sort of Fowl, both wild and tame, to the intent, that in absence of the Pigeons, these may supply their place. But as nothing in the Universe, though never so pleasant can be found, but what hath something of bitterness joyned to it, the very symbol of this truth we see in the aforesaid Pigeons. For these, the season being past wherein God hath appointed them, to afford delicious food unto those people, can scarce be touched with the tongue, they become so extremely lean, and bitter even to admiration. The reason of this bitterness, is attributed unto a certain seed which they eat about that time, even as bitter

Land-Crabs
& Sea-Crabs.

an gall. About the Sea-shores, every where are found great multitudes of *Crabs*, belonging both to the Land and Sea; and both sorts very big. These are good to feed *Servants* and *Slaves*; who find them very pleasing to the palate, yet withal very harmful to the sight. Besides which symptom, being eaten too often, they also cause great giddiness in the head, with much weakness of the Brain; inasmuch that very frequently they are deprived of sight, for the space of one quarter of an hour.

The French having established themselves in the Isle of *St. Christopher*, planted these a sort of Trees, of which at present there possibly may be greater quantities. With the Timber of those Trees they made *Long-boats*, and *Fleys*, which they sent from thence Westward, being well Mann'd and Victualled, to discover other Islands. These setting Sail from *St. Christopher*, came within sight of the Island of *Hispaniola*, where at length they arrived with abundance of joy. Having landed, they marched into the Country, where they found huge quantities of Cattle, such as were, *Cows*, *Bulls*, *Horses*, and *Wild-Bovies*. But finding no great profit in those Animals, unless they could enclose them, and knowing likewise the Island to be pretty well peopled by the *Spaniards*, they thought it convenient to enterprize upon and seize the Island of *Tortuga*. This they performed without any difficulty, there being upon the Island no more than ten or twelve *Spaniards* to guard it. These few men let the French come in peaceably, and possess the Island for the space of six months without any trouble. In the mean while they passed and repassed with their Canoes unto *Hispaniola*, from whence they transported many people, and at last began to plant the whole Isle of *Tortuga*. The few *Spaniards* remaining there, perceiving the French to increase their number daily, began at last to repine at their prosperity, and grudge them the possession they had freely given. Hence they gave notice unto others of their own Nation, their Neighbours, who sent several great Boats well Arm'd and Mann'd, to dispossess the French of that Island. This Expedition succeeded according to their desires. For the new possessors seeing the great number of *Spaniards* that came against them, fled with all they had unto the Woods; and hence by night they wafted over with Canoes, unto the Isle of *Hispaniola*. This they more easily performed, as having no Women nor Children with them, nor any great substance to carry away. Here they also retired into the Woods, both to seek themselves Food, and from thence with secrecy to give intelligence unto others of their own faction; as judging for certain, that within a little while they should be in a capacity to hinder the *Spaniards* from fortifying in *Tortuga*.

The French sent Boats towards the way to discover other Islands.

First entry of the French into Tortuga.

Mean

The French
return unto
Tortuga.

They petition
for a Govern-
ment to him of
St. Christo-
phers.

They build a
Fort.

Mean while the *Spaniards* of the greater Island ceased not to seek after their new Guests the French, with intent to root them out of the Woods if possible, or cause them to perish with hunger. But this their design soon failed, having found that the French were Masters both of good Guns, Powder, and Bullets. Here therefore the Fugitives waited for a certain opportunity, wherein they knew the *Spaniards* were to come from *Tortuga*, with Arms and great number of men, to joyn with those of the greater Island for their destruction. When this occasion proffer'd, they forth mean while deserting the Woods where they were, returned unto *Tortuga*, and dispossessed the small number of *Spaniards* that remained at home. Having so done, they fortified themselves the best they could; thereby to prevent the return of the *Spaniards*, in case they should attempt it. Moreover, they sent immediately unto the Governour of *St. Christophers*, craving his Aid and Relief, and demanding of him to send them a Governour, the better to be united among themselves, and strengthened on all occasions. The Governour of *St. Christophers* received their Petition with expressions of much satisfaction, and without any delay sent unto them *Monsieur le Passeur*, in quality of a Governour, together with a Ship full of men, and all other things necessary, both for their establishment and defence. No sooner had they received this Recruit, but the Governour commanded a Fortress to be built upon the top of a high Rock; from whence he could hinder the access of any Ships or other Vessels that should design to enter the Port. Unto this Fort no other access could be had, then by almost climbing through a very narrow passage, that was capable only of receiving two persons at once, and those not without difficulty. In the middle of this Rock was a great cavity, which now serveth for a store-house; and besides, here was a great convenience for raising a Battery. The Fort being finished, the Governour commanded two Guns to be mounted; which could not be performed without huge toil and labour. As also a House to be built within the Fort; and afterwards, the narrow way that led unto the said Fort, to be broken and demolished; leaving no other ascent thereunto, than by a Ladder. Within the Fort gusheth out a plentiful Fountain of fresh water, which perpetually runneth with a pure and Crystalline Stream, sufficient to refresh a Garrison of a Thousand men. Being possessed of these conveniences, and the security these things might promise, the French began to people the Island, and each of them to seek their living; some by the exercise of Hunting; others by planting Tobacco, and others by Cruising and Robbing upon the Coasts of the *Spanish* Islands; which trade is continued by them unto this day.

The

The *Spaniards* notwithstanding, could not behold but with jealous eyes, the daily increase of the French in *Tortuga*; so fearing that in time they might by them be dispossessed also of *Hispaniola*. They taking an opportunity (when many of the French were abroad at Sea, and others employed in hunting) with eight hundred Men in several Canows, they landed again in *Tortuga*, almost without being perceived by the French. But finding that the Governour had cut down many Trees, for the better discovery of an Enemy, in case of any assault; as also that nothing of consequence could be done without great Guns, they consulted about the fittest place for raising a Battery. This place was soon concluded to be the top of a Mountain, which was in sight; seeing that from thence alone, they could level their Guns at the Fort, which now did lie open unto them, since the cutting down of the Trees by the new possessors. Hence they resolved to open a way for carriage of some pieces of Ordnance to the top. This Mountain is somewhat high, and the upper part thereof plain, from whence the whole Island may be view'd. The sides thereof are very rugged, by reason an huge number of unaccessible Rocks do surround it every where. So that the ascent was very difficult, and would always have been the same, had not the *Spaniards* undergone the immense labour and toil, of making the way afore-mentioned, as I shall now relate.

The *Spaniards* had in their company many Slaves and *Indians*, labouring Men, whom they call *Matates*, or in English, *half yellow Men*. Unto these they gave orders, with Iron Tools to dig a way through the Rocks. This they performed with the greatest speed imaginable. And through this way by the help of many Ropes and Pulleys, they at last made shift to get up two Sole Cannon-pieces, where-with they made a Battery, and intended next day to batter the Fort. Mean while the French were not ignorant of these designs, but rather prepared themselves for a defence, (while the *Spaniards* were busied about the Battery) sending notice every where to their Companions, and requiring their help. Thus the Hunters of the Island, all joynd together, and with them all the Pirates, who were not already too far from home. These landed by night at *Tortuga*, lest they should be seen by the *Spaniards*. And under the same obscurity of the night, they all together by a back-way climbed up the Mountain, where the *Spaniards* were posted; which they more easily could perform, as being acquainted with those Rocks. They came thither at the very instant that the *Spaniards*, who were above, were preparing to shoot at the Fort; not knowing in the least of their coming. Here they set upon them at their backs with such fury, as forced the greatest part to precipitate themselves from the top to the

The *Spaniards* enter into *Tortuga* the second time.

The *Spaniards* cut open a way in the Mountains.

Are assaulted by the French and precipitated.

The rest fly, and
abandon the
isle for ever.

battered; and dash their Bodies in pieces. Few or none escaped this
horror, for if any remained alive, they were all put to the Sword,
without giving quarter to the moorst. Some Spaniards did still keep
the bottom of the Mountain, but those hearing the Shouts and cry
of them that were killed, and believing some Tragical Revolution to
be above, fled immediately towards the Sea, despairing through this
accident, to ever regain the Isle of Tortuga.

Alonso de Ojeda
- 1492 and 1498
- 1501 and 1502
- 1504 and 1505

The Governours of this Island did always behave themselves, as
Proprietors and absolute Lords thereof, until the year 1664. At
which time the West-India Company of France took possession there-
of, and sent thither for their Governour Monsieur Ogier. These
planted the Colony for themselves, by the means of their Factors and
Servants, thinking to drive some considerable Trade from thence
with the Spaniards, even as the Hollanders do from Curacao. But this
design did not answer their expectation. For with other Nations
they could drive no Trade, by reason they could not establish any
secure commerce from the beginning with their own. Forasmuch,
as at the first Institution of this company in France, they made an a-
greement with the Pirates, Hunters, and Planters, first possessors of
Tortuga, that these should buy all their necessaries from the said Com-
pany, taking them upon trust. And although this agreement was
put in execution, yet the Factors of the Company soon after found
that they could not recover either Moneys or Returns from those peo-
ple. Inasmuch, as they were constrained to bring some armed men
into the Island, in behalf of the Company, for to get in some of their
payments. But neither this endeavour, nor any other could pro-
vail, towards the settling a secure Trade with those of the Island.
And hereupon the Company recalled their Factors, giving them or-
ders to sell all that was their own in the said Plantation, both the
Servants belonging to the Company, (which were sold, some for
twenty, others for thirty pieces of Eight) as also all other Merchan-
dizes and Proprieties, which they had there. With this resolution
all their designs fell to the ground.

The West-India
Company left
with Tortuga.

The Author is
sold.

In this occasion I was also sold, as being a servant under the said
Company; in whose Service I came out of France. But my fortune
was very bad. For I fell into the hands of the most cruel Tyrant
and perfidious man that ever was born of Woman, who was then
Governour, or rather Lieutenant-General of that Island. This man
did treat me with all the hard usages imaginable; yea, with that of
hunger, with which I thought to have perished inevitably. Withal,
he was willing to let me buy my freedom and liberty, but not un-
der the rate of three hundred pieces of Eight, I not being Master of
one at that time in the whole world. At last, through the mani-

fold miseries I endured, as also affliction of mind; I was thrown in-
to a dangerous Fit of Scurvy. This I have been obliged to the
rest of my life to be careful of. My health was so much impaired
wicked men, that I was forced to leave the ship, and to go ashore
his master, who was a very good man, and a very kind man, and
to a Captain, who was a very good man, and a very kind man, and
in the house of the Captain, who was a very good man, and a very kind man, and
health, and I was so much improved, that I was able to go on my
much more than I was before, and I was so much improved, that I was able to go on my
me both in body and mind, and I was so much improved, that I was able to go on my
him but I was so much improved, that I was able to go on my
tion, and I was so much improved, that I was able to go on my
I was in a capacity of Wealth, and I was so much improved, that I was able to go on my
I could not choose but accept with thankfulness, and gratitude of freedom.
mind.

Being now at liberty, I returned to my own country, where I was first
Created, and I was so much improved, that I was able to go on my
all human miseries, and I was so much improved, that I was able to go on my
determined to go to the wicked Coast of the Pirates, or Robbers at *Tarant's Fl.*
Sea. In this Society I was much improved, and I was so much improved, that I was able to go on my
the *Savannah*, and I was so much improved, that I was able to go on my
the year, and I was so much improved, that I was able to go on my
attempts, and I was so much improved, that I was able to go on my
after I had been so much improved, that I was able to go on my
Native, and I was so much improved, that I was able to go on my
mentioned, I shall try something for the satisfaction of such as are
curious, of the Island *Hispaniola*, which lyeth towards the Western
parts of *America*; as also give my Reader a brief description there-
of, according to my slender ability and experience.



CHAP. III.

Description of the great and famous Island of Hispaniola.

THe very large and rich Island called *Hispaniola*, lieth situate in the *Altitude* of *seventeen degrees and an half*. The greatest part thereof extendeth from East to West, twenty degrees Southern latitude. The circumference is of three hundred Leagues; the length one hundred and twenty, its breadth almost fifty; being more or less broad or narrow at certain places. I shall not need here to insert, how this Island was at first discovered; it being known unto the world, that it was performed by the means of *Christopher Columbus*, in the year 1492; being sent unto this purpose by *Ferdinand*, the

Discovered by
Columbus.

the Catholick, then King of *Spain*. From which time unto this present, the *Spaniards* have been continually possessors thereof. There be upon this Island many very good and strong Cities, Towns, and Hamlets: as also it aboundeth in a great number of pleasant, and delicious Countrey-houses and Plantations: All which are owing unto the care and industry of the *Spaniards*, the Inhabitants.

The chief City and Metropolis of this Island, is called *Santo Domingo*: being Dedicated unto *St. Dominick*, from whom it deriveth this name. It is situated towards the South, in a place which affordeth a most excellent prospect. The Countrey round about being embosomed with innumerable rich Plantations, as alluvardant Meadows, and fruitful Gardens: all which do produce plenty and variety of excellent and pleasant Fruits, according to the nature of those Countreys. The Governour of the Island hath his residence in this City: which is, as it were, the Store-house of all the other Cities, Towns, and Villages: which from hence do export and provide themselves with all necessaries whatsoever for home use. And yeshath in this metropolis above many other Cities in other places, that it aboundeth in external commerce with any other Nation than its own, the *Spaniards*. The greatest part of the Inhabitants are rich and substantial Merchants, or such as are Shop-keepers, and do sell by retail.

Qualities of
the City of
Santo Domin-
go.

by and by
CIA

as the
of the

Another City of this Island is named *San Juan*, or in English *St. James* being situated upon the South side thereof. This go. is an open place, without either Wall or Castle, situate in the Altitude of nineteen degrees of Southern latitude. The greatest part of the Inhabitants thereof are Hunters; and Planters: the adjacent Territory and Soil being very proper for the said exercises of its constitution. The City is surrounded with large and delicious Fields, as much pleasing to the view, as those of *Santo Domingo*. And these abound with all sorts of Beasts, both Wild and Tame: from whence are taken an huge number of Skins and Hides, that afford unto the Owners a very considerable Traffick.

Towards the Southern parts of this Island, is seen another City called *Nuestra Señora de Alta Gracia*. The Territory hereof produceth great quantities of *Cacao*, which occasioneth the Inhabitants to make great Store of the richest sort of *Chocolate*. Here groweth also much *Ginger* and *Tobacco*: and much *Tallow* is prepared of the Beasts which hereabouts are hunted.

City of Nue-
stra Señora
de Alta Gra-
cia.

The Inhabitants of this beautiful Island of *Hispaniola*, often go, and come to their Canoes unto the Ile of *Santo Domingo*, the sit distant from thence, where is their chief River, especially of *Tortoisesh* Hither those, who do constantly resort in huge multitudes, at certain seasons

Ile of Savona
of Tortoisesh
Seasons

season of the year, there to lay their Eggs, burying them in the sands of the Shore. Thus by the heat of the Sun, which in those parts is very ardent, they are hatched, and continue the propagation of their Species. This Island of *Sereas* hath little or nothing that is worthy consideration, or may merit any particular description, as being so extremely barren, by reason of its Sandy Soil. True it is, that here groweth some small quantity of *Lignum Saneum*, or *Cassipou*, of whose use we have already said something in another place.

The Town of
Alo.

Town of St.
John of Goave

Westwards of the City of *Santo Domingo*, is also situated another great Village, called by the name of *St. Paulo de los Rios*, or the Town of *Alo*. The Inhabitants of this Town drive a great Commerce and Traffick with those of another Village, which is placed in the very middle of the Island, and is called *San Juan de Goave*, or *St. John of Goave*. This place is environ'd with a magnificent prospect of Gardens, Woods, and Meadows. Its Territory extendeth above twenty leagues in length, and grazeth an huge number of wild Bulls, and Cows. In this Village scarce dwell any others, than *Spaniards* and *Indians*; who say the Devils that are killed. These are for the most part a mingled sort of people of several Bloods. Some of which are born of white European people and Negroes, and these are called *Mestizes*. Others are born of *Indians*, and white people; and such are termed *Mestizos*. But others are begotten of *Negroes* and *Indians*, and these also have their peculiar name, being called *Mulattos*. Besides which sorts of people, there be several other species and sorts, both here and in other places of the *West-Indies*; of whom this account may be given, that the *Spaniards* love better the *Negro* women in those Western parts, or the tawny *Indian* Females, than their own white European race. When as peradventure, the *Negroes* and *Indians* have greater inclinations to the white women; as those that come near them, the tawny, than their own. From the said Village are exported yearly, vast quantities of *Tallow* and *Hides*; they exercising no other Traffick nor Toil. For as to the Lands, in this place they are not cultivated, by reason of the excessive dryness of the Soil. These are the chiefest places that the *Spaniards* possess in this Island, from the Cape of *Lobos*, towards *St. John de Goave*, unto the Cape of *San Juan*, nigh the Sea, on the North side; and from the Eastern part towards the Sea, called *Punta de Aguada*. All the rest of the Island is possessed by the French; who are also *Planters* and *Hunters*.

Convenient of
Harbours in
Hispanick.

This Island hath very good Ports for Ships, from the Cape of *Lobos*, to the Camp of *Turkey*, which lyeth on the western side thereof. In this space of Land there be no less than four Ports, which exceed

exceed in goodness, largeness, and security, even the very best of England. Besides these, from the Cape of *Tiboro*, unto the Cape of *Dusse Maria*, there be two very excellent Ports; and from this Cape unto the Cape of *St. Niels*, there be no less than twelve others. Every one of these Ports hath also the confluence of two or three good Rivers, in which are found several sorts of Fish, very pleasing to the palate; and also in great plenty. The Country hereabouts is sufficiently watered with large and profound Rivers and Brooks; so that this part of the Land may easily be cultivated, without any great fear of droughts; it being certain, that better streams are not to be found in any part of the world. The Sea-coasts and Shoars are also very pleasant; unto which the *Tortoises* resort in huge numbers, there to lay their Eggs.

This Island was formerly very well peopled on the North side thereof, with many Towns and Villages. But these being ruined by the *Hollanders*, were at last, for the greater part deserted by the *Spaniards*.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Fruits, Trees, and Animals, that are found at Hispaniola.

THE spacious fields of this Island, do commonly extend themselves to the length of five or six Leagues. The beauty whereof is so pleasing to the eye, that together with the great variety of their natural productions, they infinitely applaud and captivate the senses of the contemplator. For here at once, they not only with diversity of objects recreate the sight, but with many of the same, do also please the smell, and with most contribute abundance of delights unto the taste. With sundry diversities also they flatter and excite the appetite; but more especially with the multitude of *Oranges and Lemons*. Here growing both sweet and sower, and those that participate of both tastes, and are only pleasantly tartish. Besides which, here abundantly grow several other sorts of the same Fruit, such as are called *Citrus*, *Toranzas*, and *Limas*; in English not improperly called *Crab-Lemons*. True it is, that as to the Lemons, they exceed not here the bigness of an Hen's egg; which smallness distinguisheth them from those of *Spain*, most frequently used in these our Northern Countries. The *Dum Trees*, which here are seen to cover the whole extent of very spacious Plains, are exceedingly tall in

Oranges and Lemons.

Palm-trees.

In their proportion; which notwithstanding doth not offend, but rather delight the view. Their height is observed to be from 150, unto 200 feet, being wholly destitute of branches unto the very tops. Here it is, there groweth a certain pleasant white substance, not unlike unto that of white Cabbage, from whence the branches and leaves do sprout, and in which also the seed or *Dattis* are contained. Every Month one of those branches falleth to the ground, and at the same time another sprouteth out; but the seed ripeneth not but once in the year. The *Dattis* are food extremely coveted by the *Hedge-bogs*. The white substance growing at the top of the Tree, is used by the *Spaniards* after the same manner for common sustenance, as Cabbage in *Europe*; they cutting it into slices, and boiling it in their *Ollas* with all sorts of meat. The leaves of this sort of *Dattis*-tree, are seven or eight foot in length, and three or four in breadth; being very fit to cover houses withal. For they defend from Rain equally with the best Tiles, though never so rudely huddled together. They make use of them also to wrap up smoaked flesh withal; and to make a certain sort of Buckets wherewith to carry water; though no longer durable, than the space of six, seven, or eight days. The Cabbages of these trees, for so we may call them, are of a greenish colour, on the out-side, though inwardly very white, from whence may be separated a sort of rind, which is very like unto Parchment, being fit to write upon, as we do upon paper. The Bodies of these Trees are of an huge bulk or thickness, which two men can hardly compass with their Arms; and yet they cannot properly be termed *Woody*, but only three or four inches deep in thickness; all the rest of the internal part being very soft. Inasmuch, that paring off those three or four inches of *Woody* substance, the remaining part of the body may be sliced like unto new Cheese. They wound them three or four foot above the Root, and making an incision, or breach in the body, from thence gently distilleth a sort of Liquor, which in short time, by fermentation, becometh as strong as the richest wine; and which doth easily inebriate, if not used with moderation. The French call this sort of Palm-trees *Prink-Palms*; and they only grow both here, and elsewhere, in salty grounds.

The white substance of the Palm-Tree very useful.

Palm-Wine.

Besides these Palm-trees, of which we have made mention; there be also in *Hispaniola*, four other species of Palms; which are distinguished by the Names of *Latanier*, *Palmus Espinosa*, or *Prickle-palm*, *Palmus a chapelet*, or *Rosary-palm*, *Palmus-Vinosa*, or *Wine-palm*. The *Latanier-palm* is not so tall as the *Wine-palm*; although it hath almost the same shape, only that the leaves are very like unto the Fans our women use. They grow mostly in gravelly and sandy ground, their

Latanier-palm.

their circumference being of seven foot, more or less. The body hath many Prickles or Thorns, of the length of half a foot, very sharp and pungent. It produceth its seed after the same manner with that above-mentioned, which likewise serveth for food unto the Wild beasts.

Another sort of these Palm-Trees is called *Prickle-Palm*, as we said before, by reason it is infinitely full of Prickles, from the Root unto the very leaves thereof, much more than the precedent. With these Prickles some of the barbarous *Indians* use to torment their prisoners at War, whom they take in Battel. They tye them unto a Tree, and then taking these thorns, they put them into little pellets of cotton, which they dip in Oyl, and thus stick them in the sides of the miserable prisoners, as thick as the bristles of an hedge-hog; which of necessity cause an incredible torment unto the Patient. Afterwards they set them on Fire; and if the tormented Prisoner singeth in the midst of his Torments and Flames, he is esteemed as a valliant and courageous Souldier, who neither feareth his Enemies, nor their Torments. But if on the contrary, he cryeth out, they esteem him but as a *Paltrun* or Coward, and unworthy of any memory. This custom was told me by an *Indian*, who said he had used his Enemies thus oftentimes. The like cruelties unto these many Christians have seen, while they lived among those Barbarians. But returning unto the *Prickle-palm*, I shall only tell you, that this *Palm-tree* is in this only different from the *Letuvier*, that the leaves are like unto those of the *Frank-palm*. Its seed is like unto that of the other Palm-trees, being only much bigger and rounder, almost as a farthing, and inwardly full of little kernels, which are as pleasing to the taste, as our *Wal-nuts* in *Europe*. This Tree groweth for the most part in the Marshes, and low grounds of the Sea-coast.

The *Wine-palm* is so called, from the abundance of Wine which is gathered from hence. This Palm groweth in high and rocky Mountains, not exceeding in tallness the height of forty or fifty foot; but yet of an extraordinary shape or form. For from the root unto the half of its proportion, it is only three or four inches thick. But upwards, something above the two thirds of its height, it is as big and as thick, as an ordinary bucket or Milk-pail. Within it is full of a certain matter, very like unto the tender stalk of a white cabbage, which is very juicy of a Liquor that is much pleasing to the palate. This liquor after fermentation and settling of the grounds, reduceth it self into a very good and clear Wine, which is purchased with no great industry. For having wounded the Tree with an ordinary hatchet, they make a square incision or orifice in it, through which they bruise the said matter, until it be capable of being squeezed

sed out, or expressed with the hands; they needing no other instrument than this. With the leaves they make certain Vessels, not only to scittle and purifie the afore-mentioned Liquor, but also to drinke in. It beareth its fruit like unto other Palms, but of a very small shape; being not unlike unto Cherries. The tast hereof is very good, but of dangerous consequence unto the Throat; where it causeth huge and extreme pains, that produce malignant Quinsies in them that eat it.

Rosary-palm.

The *Palm a Chapelier*, or *Rosary-palm*, was thus called both by the French and Spaniards, because its seed is very fit to make *Rosaries* or *Beads* to say Prayers upon, the Beads being small, hard; and capable of being easily bored for that use. This fourth species groweth on the tops of the highest Mountains, and is of an excessive tallness; but withal, very fruit, and adorned with very few leaves.

Apricot-tree.

Here groweth also in this Island a certain sort of *Apricot-tree*, whose fruit equalleth in bigness that of our ordinary Melons. The colour is like unto Ashes, and the tast the very same with that of our Apricots in Europe, the inward stones of this fruit being of the bigness of an Hens egg. On these the wild Boves do feed very deliciously, and fatten even to admiration.

Caramite-tree.

The Trees called *Caramites*, are very like unto our Pear-trees, whose Fruits resemble much our *Damascone* Plums or *Pruants* of Europe, being of a very pleasant and agreeable tast, and almost as sweet as Milk. This Fruit is black on the inside, and the Kernels thereof, sometimes only two in number, sometimes three, others five, of the bigness of a Lupine. This Plum affordeth no less pleasant food unto the wild Boves, than the Apricots above-mentioned; only that it is not so commonly to be found upon the Island, nor in such quantity as those are.

Gripe-tree.

The *Gripe-tree* are seen every where all over this Island, being very like unto our Cherry-trees, although its branches are more dilated. The fruit hereof is of an ash-colour, of the bigness of two fists, which interiourly is full of many prickles or points, that are involved under a thin Membran, or Skin; the which, if not taken away at the time of eating, causeth great obstructions and gripings of the belly. Before this fruit groweth ripe, if pressed, it affordeth a juce as black as ink, being fit to write withal upon paper. But the Letters disappear within the space of nine days, the paper remaining as white as if it never had been written upon. The wood of this tree is very strong, solid, and hard; good to build Ships withal, seeing it is observed to last many years in the water without putrefaction.

Gripe Ink.

Besides these, divers other sorts of Trees are Natives unto this delicious Island, that produce very excellent and pleasant fruits. Of these I shall omit to name several, knowing there be entire Volumes of Learned Authors, that have both described and searched them with greater attention and curiosity than my own. Notwithstanding, I shall continue to make mention of some few more in particular. Such are the *Cedars*, which Trees this part of the world produceth in prodigious quantity. The French Nation collect them *Apajou*: and they find them very useful for the building of Ships and Canoes. These Canoes are like unto little *Wherry-boats*, being made of one only tree, excavated and fitted for the Sea. They are withal so swift, as for that very property they may be called *Nipraser Post-boats*. The *Indians* make these Canoes without the use of any iron instruments, by only burning the Trees at the bottom, nigh unto the root; and afterwards governing the fire with such industry, as nothing is burnt more than what they would have. Some of them have hatchets made of flint, wherewith they scrape or pare off, whatsoever was burnt too fat. And thus by the sole instrument of fire, they know how to give them that shape, which rendereth them capable of Navigating three score or fourscore Leagues, with ordinary security.

Cedars,

Canoes how they are made,

As to Medicinal productions, here is to be found the tree that affordeth the *Gum Elemi*, used in our Apothecaries Shops. Likewise *Gamboge*, or *Lignum Indicum*; *Lignum Aloe*, or *Aloe-wood*; *Cassaia*; *Tormentum*; with several others. The tree called *Mopani* is noted that it is medicinal, also used for making of Canoes, as being very light. Yet is it much inferior unto the *Acacia* or *Egyp*, as being something spongy, wherewith it sucketh in much water, which rendereth it dangerous in Navigation. The tree called *Alonso* hath its wood very hard and heavy, of the colour of Palm. These qualities render it very fit to make Oars for the Sugar-mills. Here are also in great quantities, *Brasil*, or *Brasil-wood*, and that which the *Spaniards* call *Manzanilla*. *Brasil-wood* is now very well known in the Provinces of *Holland*, and the Low-Countries. By another name it is called by the *Spaniards*, *Lenna de Paje Palo*. It serveth only or chiefly for dyeing, and what belongeth to that Trade. It groweth abundantly along the Sea-coast of this Island, especially in two places called *Barcelo* and *Pachima*. There are two commodious Ports or Bays, capable of receiving Ships of the greatest bulk.

Medicinal trees.

Mopani.

Brasil-wood.

Manzanilla.

very vineous.

The Tree called *Manzanilla*, or *Drying-apple-tree*, groweth nigh unto the Sea-shore, being naturally so low, that it is much easier to reach the flowers to more, downways than the way up. It beareth a fruit some-
thing

thing like unto our sweet-scented Apples: which notwithstanding, is of a very venomous quality. For these Apples being eaten by any person, he instantly changeth colour, and such an huge thirst doth seize him, as all the waters of the *Thames* cannot extinguish, he dying raving mad within a little while after. But what is more, the Fish that eat, as it often happeneth, of this fruit, are also poisonous. This tree affordeth also a liquor both thick and white, like unto the Fig-tree, which if touched by the hand, raiseth blisters upon the skin, and these are soired in colour, as if it had been deeply scalded with hot water. One day being hugely tormented with *Mosquito's*, or Gnats, and as yet unacquainted with the nature of this tree, I cut a branch thereof to serve me instead of a fan, but all my face swelled the next day, and filled with blisters, as if it were burnt to such a degree, that I was blind for three days.

Tree

Yucca is the name of another sort of tree, so called by the *Spaniards*, which groweth by the sides of Rivers. This beareth a certain fruit, not unlike unto our bullice, or damson-plums. And this food is extremely covered by the wild boar, when at its perfect maturity, with which they fatten as much as our hogs with the sweetest Acorns of *Spain*. These trees love sandy ground, yet are so low, that their branches being very large, they take up a great circumference, almost couched upon the ground. The trees named *Acheloia*, bear fruit of like colour with the *Yucca* above-mentioned, but of the bigness of Melons, the seeds or kernels being as big as eggs. The substance of this fruit is yellow, and of a pleasant taste, which the poorest, among the French, do eat instead of bread, the wild-boar not caring at all for this fruit. These trees grow very tall and thick, being somewhat like unto our largest sort of Pear-trees.

Acheloia

Yucca

As to the *Insects*, which this Island produceth, I shall only take notice of three sorts of Flies, which excessively torment all humane bodies, but more especially such as never before, or but a little while, were acquainted with these Countries. The first sort of these Flies are as big as our common Horse-flies in Europe. And these darting themselves upon mens bodies, do there stick, and suck their blood, till they can no longer stie. Their importunity obligeth to make almost continual use of branches of Trees, wherewith to fan them away. The *Spaniards* in those parts call them *Mosquito's*, or Gnats. But the French give them the name of *Mosquitos*. The second sort of these Insects, is no bigger than a grain of sand. These make no buzzing noise, as the precedent species doth, for which reason it is less avoidable, as being able also, through its swiftness, to penetrate the finest linen, or cloth. The Hunters are forced to anoint their faces with Hog-grease, thereby to defend themselves from the

Mosquito's

Second species of Flies

Yucca

the stings of these little Animals. By night, in their Huts, or Cottages, they constantly for the same purpose burn the leaves of Tobacco, without which smoke they were not able to rest. True it is, that in the day time, they are not very troublesome, in case any wind be stirring; for this, though never so little, causeth them to dissipate. The Gnats, of the third Species, exceed not the bigness of a grain of Mustard. Their colour is red. These sting not at all, but do bite so sharply upon the flesh, as to create little Ulcers therein. From whence it often cometh, that the face swelleth, and is rendered hideous to the view, through this inconvenience. These are chiefly troublesome by day, even from the beginning of morning until Sun-setting; after which time they take up their rest, and permit humane bodies to do the same. The Spaniards gave these Insects the name of *Rojados*; and the French that of *Calorades*. Third Species.

The Insects, which the Spaniards call *Cochinillas*, and the English *Glow-worms*, are also to be found in these parts. These are very like unto such, as we have in Europe, unless that they are somewhat bigger, and longer than ours. They have two little specks on their heads, which by night give so much light, that three or four of those Animals, being together upon a tree, it is not discernable, at a distance from a bright shining Fire. I had on a certain time, at once three of these *Cochinillas* in my Cottage, which there continued until past midnight, shining so brightly, that without any other light, I could easily read in any Book, although of never so small a print. I attempted to bring some of these Insects into Europe, when I came from those parts; but as soon as they came into a colder climate, they dyed by the way. They lost also their shining, upon the change of Air even before their death. This shining is so great, according to what I have related, that the Spaniards, with great reason may well call them from their luminous quality, *Mosca de fuego*, that is to say, *Fire-flies*. Cochinillas.

There be also in Hispaniola an excessive number of *Grillos*, or *Crickets*. These are of an extraordinary magnitude, if compared unto ours; and so full of noise, that they are ready to burth themselves with singing, if any person cometh near them. Here is also a lesser number of *Reptils*, such as *Serpents*, and others. But by a particular providence of the Creator, these have no poison. Neither do they any other harm, than unto what soul they can catch. But more especially unto *Bulls*, *Plemons*, and others of this kind. Ofttimes these *Serpents*, or *Saakes*, are useful in houses to cleanse them of Rats and Mice. For with great cunning they counterfeit their tracks; and hereby both deceive and catch them at their pleasure. Having taken them, they in no wise eat the guts of these vermin, but Serpents, or Saakes.

but only suck their blood at first. Afterwards throwing away the skin, they swallow almost entire the rest of the body, which as it mould seem, they readily digest into soft excrements, of which they discharge their bellies. Another sort of *Reptile* belonging to this Island, is called by the name of *Cuzalores de Mosca*, or *Fliescatchers*. This name was given unto this *Reptile* by the *Spaniards*, by reason they never could experiment it lived upon any other food than *Flies*. Hence it cannot be said, this creature causeth any harm unto the *Inhabitants*, but rather benefit, seeing it consisteth by its continual exercise of hunting, the vexatious and troublesome flies.

Land-Tortoises here be also in great quantities. These mostly breed in mud, and holds that are overflown with water. The *Inhabitants* eat them, and testify they are very good food. But a sort of *Spiders*, which is here found, is very hideous. These are as big as an ordinary egg, and their feet as long as those of the biggest Sea-crabs. What they are very hairy, and have four black teeth, like unto those of a *Rabbit*, both in bigness and shape. Notwithstanding their bitings are not venomous, although they can bite very sharp, and do life it very commonly. They breed for the most part in the roofs of houses. This Island, also is free from the insect called in Latin *Milipes*, and in Greek *Scorpius*, or *Many-foot*. Neither is it void of *Scorpions*. Yet by the providence of nature, neither the one nor the other beareth the least suspicion of poyson. For although they shall not bite, yet their wounds require not the application of any medicament for their cure. And although their bitings cause some inflammation, and swelling at the beginning, however these symptoms disappear of their own accord. Thus in the whole circumference of *Hispaniola*, no Animal is found that produceth the least harm with its venom.

Milipedes.

Cocodriles.

Subtily of the Coyman.

After the insects above-mentioned, I shall not omit to say something of that terrible beast called *Coyman*. This is a certain *Species* of *Crocodile*, which with this Island very plentifully abounds. Among these *Coymans*, some are kind to be of a company, very horrible to the sight. Certain it is, that such have been seen, as had no less than threecore and ten foot in length, and twelve in breadth. Yet more marvellous than their bulk, is their cunning and subtily, wherewith they purchase their food. Being hungry they place themselves upon the sides of Rivers, more especially at the fords, where *Cattle* come to drink, or wash over. Here they lie without any motion, nor stirring any part of their body, resembling an old tree fallen into the River, only floating upon the waters, whether they will carry them. Yet they recede not far from the bank-sides, and commonly stand in the same place, waiting till some was-hore,

or

or Salvage Cow cometh to drink, or refresh themselves at that place. At which point of time, with huge activity they assault them, and Rising on them with no less fierceness, they drag the prey into the water and there stifle it. But what is more worthy admiration, is, that three or four days before the *Caymans* go upon this design they eat nothing at all; but diving into the River, they swallow one or two hundred weights of Stones, such as they can find. With these they render themselves more heavy than before, and make addition unto their natural strength, (which in this Animal is very great) thereby to render their assault the more terrible and secure. The prey being thus stifled, they suffer it to lie four or five days under water, untouched. For they could not eat the least bit thereof unless half rotten. But when it is arrived at such a degree of putrefaction, as is most pleasing to their palate, they devour it with great appetite and voracity. If they can lay hold on any hides of Beasts, such as the *Lupulians* oft-times place in the fields for drying against the Sun, they drag them into the water. Here they leave them for some days, well laden with stones; till the Hair falleth off; then they eat them with no less Appetite, than they would the Animals themselves, could they catch them. I have seen my self many times like things unto these I have related. But besides my own experience, many Writers of Natural things, have made entire Treatises of these Animals; describing not only their shape, magnitude, and other qualities, but also their voracity and brutish inclinations; which, as I have told you, are very strange. A certain person of good reputation and credit, told me, that one day he was by the River-side, washing his *Barraca* or Tent, wherein he used to lie in the fields. As soon as he began his work, a *Cayman* fastned upon the Tent, and with incredible fury dragged it under water. The man desirous to see it, he could save his Tent, pulled on the contrary side with all his strength, having in his mouth a butchers knife; (wherewith as it happened he was scraping the *Carras*) to defend himself in case of urgent necessity. The *Cayman* being angry at this opposition, waisted upon his body out of the River, and drew him with great celerity into the water, endeavouring with the weight of his bulk to stifle him under the banks. Thus finding himself in the greatest extremity almost crushed to death by that huge and formidable Animal, with his knife he gave the *Cayman* several wounds in the belly, wherewith he suddenly expired. Being thus delivered from the hands of imminent fate, he drew the *Cayman* out of the water, and with the same knife open'd the body, to satisfy his own curiosity. In his stomach he found nigh one hundred weight of stones, each of them being almost of the bigness of his fist.

A strange Relation of a *Cayman*.

The Caymanes
persecute the
flies.

Manner of pro-
creating of the
Caymanes.

The Caymanes are ordinarily busied in hunting and catching of flies; which they eagerly devour. The occasion is, because close unto their skin, they have certain little Scales which smell with a sweet scent, something like unto Musk. This Aromatick odour is coveted by the flies, and here they come to repose themselves and sting. Thus they both persecute each other continually, with an incredible hatred and antipathy. Their manner of Procreating and hatching their young ones, is as follows. They approach the sandy banks of some River, that lies exposed to the rays of the South-Sun. Among these Sands they lay their eggs, which afterwards they cover with their feet. And here they find them hatcht, and with young generation, by the only heat of the Sun. These, as soon as they are out of the shell, by natural instinct run unto the water. Many times those eggs are destroyed by Birds that find them out, as they scrape among the sands. Hereupon, the Females of the Caymanes, at such times as they fear the coming of any flocks of Birds, do oft-times by night swallow these their eggs, and keep them in their stomach till the danger is over. And from time to time they bury them again in the Sand, as I have told you, bringing them forth again out of their belly, till the season is come of being excluded the shell. At this time if the Mother be nigh at hand, they run unto her and play with her, as little Whelps would do with their Dams, sporting themselves according to their own custom. In this sort of sport they will oftentimes run in and out of their Mothers belly; even as Rabbits in to their holes. This I have seen them do many times, as I have spyed them at play with their Dam over the water, upon the contrary Banks of some River; at which time I have often disturbed their sport, by throwing a stone that way, causing them on a suddain to creep into the Mothers Bowels, for fear of some imminent danger.

The Caymanes
do not procreate
but in May.

The manner of Procreating of those Animals, is always the same, such as I have related, and at the same time of the year, for they neither muddle nor make with one another but in the month of May. They give them in this Countrey the name of *Coodriles*; though in other places of the *West Indies*, they go under the name of *Caymanes*.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of all sorts of quadruped Animals and Birds that are found in this Island. As also a Relation of the French Bucaniers.

BESIDES the Fruits which this Island produceth, whose plenty, as is held for certain, surpasseth all the Islands of America; it aboundeth also very plentifully in all sorts of quadruped Animals. Such are *Horses, Bulls, Cows, Wild-bores*; and others very useful unto humane kind, not only for common sustenance of Life, but also for cultivating of the ground, and the management of a sufficient Commerce.

In this Island therefore are still remaining an huge number of *Wild-Dogs*.

These destroy yearly multitudes of all sorts of Cattle. For no sooner hath a Cow brought forth her Calf, or a Mare foaled, but these *Wild-Mastifs* come to devour the young breed, if they find not some resistance from keepers, and other domestick dogs. They run up and down the Woods and Fields, commonly in whole troops of fifty, threescore, or more together. Being withal so fierce, that they oft-times will assault an entire herd of *Wild-Bores*, not ceasing to persecute them, till they have at last overcome and torn in pieces two or three. One day a French Bucanier caused me to see a strange action of this kind. Being in the fields hunting together, we heard a great noise of Dogs, which had surrounded a *Wild-bore*. Having *Tame dogs* with us, we left them to the custody of our Servants; desirous to see the sport if possible. Hence my Companion and I, each of us climbed up into several trees, both for security and prospect. The *Wild-bore* was all alone, and standing against a tree; with his Tusks endeavoured to defend himself from a great number of Dogs, that had enclosed him: having killed with his Teeth and wounded several of them. This bloody fight continued about an hour; the *Wild-Bore* mean while attempting many times to escape. At last, being upon the flight, one of those Dogs leaping on his back, fastened upon the Testicles, which at one pull he tore in pieces. The rest of the Dogs perceiving the courage of their companion, fastened likewise upon the Bore, and presently after killed him. This being done, all of them, the first only excepted, laid themselves down upon the ground about the prey, and there peaceably continued, till he, the first and most courageous of the troop, had eat as much as he

*Notable action
of the Wild-
dogs.*

could devour. When this dog had ended his repast, and left the dead beast, all the rest fell in to take their share; till nothing was left that they could devour. What ought we to infer from this notable action, performed by the brutish sense of wild Animals? Only this, that even beasts themselves are not destitute of knowledge; and that they give us documents how to honour such as have well deserved; seeing these being irrational Animals, as they were, did reverence and respect him, that exposed his life to the greatest danger in vanquishing courageously the common enemy.

*Persecution of
the wild-dogs
in Tortuga.*

The Governour of *Tortuga*, *Monsieur Ogéron*, understanding that the Wild-dogs killed too many of the Wild-bores; and that the Hunters of that Island had much ado to find any, fearing lest that common sustenance of the Isle should fail, caused a great quantity of poison to be brought from *France*, therewith to destroy the Wild-Mastives. This was performed in the year 1668. by commanding certain Horses to be killed and envenom'd, and laid open in the woods and fields at certain places, where mostly Wild-dogs used to resort. This being continued for the space of six months: there were killed an incredible number in the said time. And yet all this industry was not sufficient to exterminate and destroy the race; yea, scarce to make any diminution thereof; their number appearing to be almost as entire as before. These Wild-dogs are easily rendered tame among people, even as tame as the ordinary dogs we breed in houses. Moreover, the Hunters of those parts, whensoever they find a wild-bitch with young whelps, do commonly take away the puppies, and bring them to their houses, where they experiment them, being grown up, to hunt much better than other dogs.

But here the curious Reader may peradventure enquire, from whence, or by what accident came so many Wild-dogs into those Islands? The occasion was, that the Spaniards having possessed themselves of these Isles, found them much peopled with Indians. These were a barbarous sort of people, totally given to sensuality, and a brutish custom of life, hating all manner of labour, and only inclined to run from place to place, killing and making war against their Neighbours; not out of any ambition to reign, but only because they agreed not with themselves in some common terms of language. Hence perceiving the dominion of the Spaniards did lay a great restriction upon their lazy and brutish customs, they conceived an incredible animosity against them, such as never was to be reconciled. But more especially, because they saw them take possession of their Kingdoms and Dominions. Hereupon they made against them all the resistance they were capable of, opposing every where their designs to the utmost of their power. Until that, the

Spaniards

Spaniards finding themselves to be cruelly hated by those *Indians*, and no where secure from their Treacheries, resolved to extirpate and ruin them every one. Especially seeing they could neither tame them by the civilities of their customs, nor conquer them by the Sword. But the *Indians*, it being their ancient custom to make their Woods their chiefest places of defence, at present made these their refuge, whenever they fled from the *Spaniards* that pursued them. Hereupon, those first Conquerors of the new world, made use of Dogs to range and search the intricate thickets of Woods and Forests, for those their implacable and unconquerable Enemies. By these means they forced them to leave their ancient refuge, and submit unto the Sword, seeing no milder usage would serve turn. Hereupon they killed some of them, and quartering their Bodies placed them in the high-ways, to the intent that others might take warning from such a punishment, not to incur the like danger. But this severity proved to be of ill consequence. For instead of frightening them, and reducing their minds to a civil society, they conceived such horror of the *Spaniards*, and their proceedings, that they resolved to detest and fly their sight for ever. And hence the greatest part dyed in Caves, and subterraneous places of the Woods and Mountains. In which places I my self have seen many times great numbers of humane bones. The *Spaniards* afterwards finding no more *Indians* to appear about the Woods, endeavoured to rid themselves of the great number of Dogs they had in their houses. From whence these Animals, finding no Masters to keep them, betook themselves unto the Woods and Fields, there to hunt for food to preserve their Lives. Thus by degrees they became unacquainted with the houses of their ancient Masters, and at last grew wild. This is the truest account I can give of the multitudes of Wild-dogs which are seen to this day in these parts.

But besides the wild Mastives above-mentioned; here are also huge numbers of *Wild-Horses* to be seen every where. These run up and down in whole herds or flocks all over the Island of *Hispaniola*. They are but low of Stature, short bodied, with great Heads, long Necks, and big or thick legs. In a word, they have nothing that is handsome in all their shape. They are seen to run up and down commonly in Troops of two or three hundred together, one of them going always before to lead the Multitude. When they meet any person that travelles through the woods or fields, they stand still, suffering him to approach till he can almost touch them; and then suddenly starting, they betake themselves to flight, running away disorderly as fast as they are able. The hunters catch them with industry, only for the benefit of their Skins. Although sometimes

they preserve their flesh likewise, which they harden with Smoke; using it for provisions when they go to Sea.

*Wild Bulls
and Cows.*

Here would be also *Wild Bulls* and *Cows*, in greater number then at present, if by continuation of hunting, their race were not much diminished. Yet considerable profit is made even to this day, by such as make it their business to kill them. The *Wild-bulls* are of a vast corpulency or bigness of body, and yet they do no hurt unto any person, if they be not exasperated, but left to their own repose. The Hides which are taken from them, are from eleven to thirteen foot long.

Wood-pullets.

The diversity of Birds inhabiting the Air of this Island, is so great, that I should be troublesome, as well unto the Reader as my self, if I should attempt to muster up their Species. Hence leaving aside the prolix Catalogue of their multitude, I shall content my self only to mention some few of the chiefest. Here is a certain species of *Pullets* in the woods, which the *Spaniards* call by the name of *Pintadas*, the which the Inhabitants find, without any distinction, to be as good as those which are bred in houses. It is already known unto every

Parrots.

body, that the *Parrots* which we have in *Europe*, are transported unto us from these parts of the world. From whence may be inferred, that seeing such a number of these talkative birds are preserved among us, notwithstanding the diversity of Climates, much greater multitudes are to be found where the Air and temperament is natural unto them. The *Parrots* make their Nests in holes of *Palm-trees*, which holes are before made to their hand by other birds.

*Parrots how
they build
their Nests.*

The reason is, for as much as they are not capable of excavating any wood, though never so soft, as having their own bills too crooked and blunt. Hence provident nature hath supplied them with the labour and industry of another sort of small birds, called *Carpenters*, or *Carpenters*. These are no bigger than Sparrows, yet notwithstanding of such hard and piercing bills, that no Iron instrument can be made more apt to excavate any tree, though never so solid and hard. In the holes therefore fabricated before-hand by these Birds, the *Parrots* get possession, and build their Nests, as hath been said.

*Birds called
Carpenters.*

Pigeons.

Pigeons of all sorts, are also here abundantly provided unto the Inhabitants, by him that created in the beginning, and provided all things. For eating of them, those of this Island observe the same seasons we said before, speaking of the life of *Tortuga*. Betwixt the *Pigeons* of both Islands little or no difference is observable; only that these of *Hispaniola* are something fatter and bigger than those. Another sort of small Birds here are called *Cabreros*, or *Goatsheepers*. These are very like unto others called *Heronseas*, and do chiefly feed upon Crabs of the Sea. In these Birds are found seven distinct

Cabreros.

distinct bladders of Gall, and hence their flesh is as bitter unto the
 tast, as *Aloes*. *Crows* or *Ravens*, more troublesome unto the Inhabi-
 tants than useful, do here make a hideous noise, through the whole
 circumference of the Island. Their ordinary food is the flesh of
 Wild-Dogs, or upon the Carcasses of those beasts the *Bucaniers* kill
 and throw away. These clamorous Birds do no sooner hear the re-
 port of a Fowling-piece, or Musket, but they gather from all sides
 into whole flocks, and fill the Air and Woods with their unpleasant
 Notes. They are in nothing different from those we see in *Europe*.

Crows.

It is now high time to speak of the French Nation, who inhabit
 a great part of this Island. We have told, at the beginning of this
 Book, after what manner they came at first into these parts: At pre-
 sent therefore, we shall only describe their manner of living, cus-
 toms, and ordinary employments. The different Callings or Pro-
 fessions they follow, are generally but three; either to Hunt, or
 Plant, or else to rove on the Sea in quality of Pirates. It is a gene-
 ral and solemn custom amongst them all, to seek out for a *Comrade*
 or *Companion*, whom we may call *Partner*, in their fortunes; with
 whom they joyn the whole stock of what they possess, towards a mu-
 tual and reciprocal gain. This is done also by Articles drawn and
 signed on both sides, according to what hath been agreed between
 them. Some of these constitute their surviving Companion, absolute
 Heir unto what is left, by the Death of the first of the two. Others,
 if they be married, leave their Estates unto their Wives and Chil-
 dren; others unto other Relations. This being done, every one ap-
 plieth himself unto his calling; which is always one of the three
 aforementioned.

French Nation
in these parts.

The Hunters are again subdivided into two several sorts. For
 some of these are onely given to hunt wild Bulls and Cows; others
 only hunt wild Bores. The first of these two sorts of Hunters, are cal-
 led *Bucaniers*. These not long ago, were about the number of six hun-
 dred upon this Island; but at present, there are not reckoned to be
 above three hundred more or less: The cause hath been, the great
 decrease of wild Cattel, through the dominions of the French in *Hi-
 spaniola*; which hath appeared to be so notable, that far from getting
 any considerable gain, they at present are but poor, in this exercise.
 When the *Bucaniers* go into the Woods, to hunt for wild Bulls and
 Cows, they commonly remain there the space of a whole twelve-
 month, or two years, without returning home. After the hunt is
 over, and the spoil divided among them, they commonly sail unto
 the Isle of *Tortuga*, there to provide themselves with Guns, Powder,
 Bullets, and small Shot, with all other necessaries against another
 going out, or hunting. The rest of their gains they spend with
 great

Bucaniers.

great liberality, giving themselves freely unto all manner of vices and debauchery: Among which, the first is that of drunkenness, which they exercise, for the most part, with Brandy: This they drink as liberally, as the Spaniards do clear fountain-Water. Sometimes they buy together a Pipe of Wine, this they stave at the one end, and never cease drinking till they have made an end of it. Thus they celebrate the Festivals of Bacchus so long as they have any money left. Neither do they forget at the same time the Goddess Venus; for whose beastly delights, they find more Women than they can make use of. For all the Tavern-keepers and Strumpets, wait for the coming of these lewd Bucaniers, even after the same manner that they do at Amsterdam, for the arrival of the East-India Fleet at the Texel. The said Bucaniers are hugely cruel and tyrannical towards their Servants; insomuch, that commonly these had rather be Galley-slaves in the Straights, or saw Brasil-wood in the Rast-bouwer of Holland, than serve such barbarous Masters.

The second sort of Hunters hunt nothing else but wild Bores. The flesh of these they salt, and being thus preserved from corruption, they sell it unto the Planters. These Hunters have also the same vicious customs of life, and are as much addicted to all manner of debauchery, as the former. But their manner of hunting is quite different from what is practiced in Europe. For these Bucaniers have certain places designed for hunting, where they live for the space of three or four months; and sometimes, though not often, a whole year: Such places are called *Dena Boulan*; and in these with only the company of five or six friends, who go along with them, they continue all the time abovementioned, in mutual friendship. The first Bucaniers well spoke of, many times make an agreement with certain Planters, to furnish them with meat all the whole year, at a certain price. The payment hereof is often made with two or three hundred weight of Tobacco in the leaf. But the Planters commonly do so for bargain, furnish them likewise with a Servant; whom they send to help. Unto the Servant they afford a sufficient quantity of all necessaries for that purpose, especially of powder, bullets, and small shot, to hunt withal.

The Planters began to cultivate and plant the Isle of *Tortuga*, in the year 1598. The first Plantation was of Tobacco, the which grew to admiration, being likewise of very good quality. Notwithstanding, by reason of the small circumference of the Island, they were then able to plant but little. Especially there being many pieces of Land in that Isle, that were not fit to produce Tobacco. They attempted likewise to make Sugar, but by reason of the great expence necessary to defray the Charges, they could not bring it to

any effect. So that the greatest part of the Inhabitants, as we said before, betook themselves to the exercise of hunting; and the remaining part into that of Piracy. At last the Hunters finding themselves scarce able to subsist by their first profession, began likewise to seek out lands that might be rendered fit for culture; and in these they also planted *Tobacco*. The first land that they chose for this purpose, was *Cal de Sac*; whose territory extendeth towards the Southern part of the Island. This piece of ground they divided into several quarters, which were called, *The great Amer, Nicp, Roche-loie, the little Grave, the great Grave, and the Augame*. Here by little and little they increased so much, that at present, there are above two thousand Planters in those fields. At the beginning, they endured very much hardship; seeing that mean while they were busied about their Husbandry, they could not go out of the Island to seek provisions. This hardship was also increased by the necessity of grubbing, cutting down, burning, and digging, whereby to extirpate the innumerable roots of shrubs and trees. For when the French possessed themselves of that Island, it was wholly overgrown with Woods extremely thick; these being onely inhabited by an extraordinary number of wild Bees. The method they took to clear the ground, was, to divide themselves into small companies of two or three persons together, and these companies to separate far enough from each other, provided with a few hatchets, and some quantity of coarse provision. With these things they use to go into the Woods, and there to build Huts for their habitation, onely of a few rafters and boughs of trees. The first endeavour was to root up the shrubs, and little trees: Afterwards to cut down the great ones. These they gathered into heaps, with their branches, and then set them on fire; excepting the roots, which last of all, they were constrained to grub, and dig up after the best manner they could. The first seed they committed to the ground, was *Beans*. These in those Countries, both ripen and dry away, in the space of six Weeks. The first fruit was Beans.

The second fruit, necessary unto humane life, which here they tried, was *Potatoes*. These come not to perfection in lesser time, than four or five months. On these they most commonly make their breakfasts every morning. They dress them no otherwise, than boiling them in a kettle with fair water. Afterwards they cover them with a cloath, for the space of half an hour; by which manner of dressing, they become as soft as boyled *Chestnuts*. Of the said *Potatoes* also, they use to make a drink called *Mais*. They cut them into small slices, and cover them with hot water. When they are well imbib'd with water, they press them through a coarse cloath; and

Potatoes

and the liquor that cometh out, although something thick, they keep in vessels made for that purpose. Here after setting two or three days it beginneth to work; and having thrown off its lees, is fit for drink. They use it with great delight; and although the taste hereof is somewhat fowr, yet is it very pleasant, substantial, and wholsom. The industry of this composition is owing unto the *Indians*, as well as of many others, which the ingeniosity of those *Barbarians* caused them to invent, both for the preservation and pleasure of their own life.

Mandioca.

The third fruit the newly cultivated Land afforded, was *Mandioca*, which the *Indians*, by another name call *Caxave*. This is a certain root which they plant; but cometh not to perfection till after eight or nine months; yea, sometimes a whole year. Being thoroughly ripe, it may be left in the ground, the space of eleven or twelve months, without the least suspicion of corruption. But this time being past, the said roots must be converted unto use some way or another; otherwise they conceive a total putrefaction. Of these roots of *Caxave*, in those Countrys is made a sort of granulous flour or meal, extremely dry and white, which supplieth the want of common bread made of wheat; whereof the fields are altogether barren in that Island. For this purpose they have in their houses certain graters, made either of Copper or Tin, wherewith they grate the aforementioned roots, even just as they use to do *Mirick* in *Holland*. By the by let me tell you, *Mirick* is a certain root of a very biting taste, not unlike unto strong Mustard, wherewith they usually make sauces for some sorts of Fish. When they have grated as much *Caxave*-roots as will serve turn, they put the gratings into bags or sacks made of course linnen, and press out all the moisture, until they remain very dry. Afterwards they pass the gratings through a sieve, leaving them, after sifting, very like unto saw-dust. The meal being thus prepared, they lay it upon planches of iron, which are made very hot, upon which it is converted into a sort of Cakes very thin. These Cakes are afterwards placed in the Sun upon the tops of houses, where they are thoroughly and perfectly dried. And lest they should lose any part of their meal, what did not pass the sieve, is made up into rowles five or six inches thick. These are placed one upon another, and left in this posture until they begin to corrupt. Of this corrupted matter, they make a Liquor, by them called *Poyson*, which they find very excellent, and certainly is not inferiour unto our English Beer.

Bananas.

Bananas are likewise another sort of fruit, of which is made another excellent liquor, which both in strength and pleasantness of taste, may be compared unto the best Wines of *Spain*. But this liquor

quor of *Bananas*, as it easily causeth drunkenness, in such as use it immoderately. It doth it likewise very frequently inflame the throat, and produce dangerous diseases in that part. *Guinea agouti* is also another fruit whereof they make drink. But this sort of liquor is not so strong as the precedent. Howbeit both the one and the other are frequently mingled with water, thereby to quench thirst.

After they had cultivated these Plantations, and filled them with all sorts of roots & fruits necessary for humane life, they began to plant *Tobacco* for trading. The manner of planting this frequent commodity is as followeth: They make certain beds of earth in the field, no larger than of twelve foot square. These beds they cover very well with *Palmetto*-leaves, to the intent the rays of the Sun may not touch the earth wherein *Tobacco* is sowed. They water them likewise, when it doth not rain, as we do our Gardens in Europe. When it is grown about the bigness of young lettuce, they transplant it into straight lines, which they make in other spacious fields; setting every plant at the distance of three foot from each other. They observe likewise, the fittest seasons of the year for these things; which are commonly from *January*, until the end of *March*; these being the Months wherein most rains do fall in those Countries. *Tobacco* ought to be weeded very carefully, seeing the least root of any other Herb coming near it is sufficient to hinder it's growth. When it is grown to the height of one foot and half, or thereabouts, they cut off the tops, thereby to hinder the stalks and leaves from shooting too high upwards, to the intent the whole Plant may receive greater strength from the earth, which affordeth unto it all its vigour and taste. Mean while it ripeneth and cometh to full perfection, they prepare in their houses certain apartments of fifty or threescore foot in length, and thirty or forty in breadth. These they fill with branches of trees and rafters, and upon them lay the green *Tobacco* to dry. When it is thoroughly dried, they strip off the leaf from the stalk, and cause it to be rolled up by certain people, who are employed in this work and no other. Unto these they afford for their labour, the tenth part of what they make up into Rowles. This property is peculiar unto *Tobacco*, which therefore I shall not omit, that if while it is yet in the ground, the leaf be pulled off from the stalk, it shooteth again, no less than four times in one year. Here I should be glad to give an account also of the manner of making *Sugar*, *Indigo*, and *Gumbe*; but seeing these things are not planted in those parts, whereof we now speak, I have thought fit to pass them over in silence.

The French Planters of the Isle of *Havana's*, have always unto Subjection of this present time been subject unto the Governours of *Veragua*. Yet the Planters of *Hispaniola*.

Manner of
planting To-
bacco.

to harvest this
certain Roll of
about 100 lb

the Tobacco
plant.
Property of the
Tobacco-plant.

this Obedience hath not been rendered, without much reluctancy and grudging on their side. In the year 1665, the *West-India Company of France* laid the foundations of a Colony in *Yoranga*, under which Colony the Planters of *Hispaniola* were comprehended, and named as Subjects thereunto. This Decree disgusted the said Planters very much; they taking it very ill to be reputed Subjects unto a private Company of men, who had no authority to make them so. Especially being in a Country which belonged not unto the Dominions of the King of *France*. Hereupon they refused to work no longer for the said Company. And this refusal of theirs was sufficient to compel the Company to a total dissolution of the Colony. But at last the Governour of *Yoranga*, who was pretty well stocked with Planters, conceiving he could more easily force them than the *West-India Company*, found an invention whereby to draw them unto his obedience. He promised them he would put off their several sorts of Merchandize, and cause such returns to be made, in lieu of their goods from *France*, as they should best like. Withal he dealt with the Merchants under-band, that all ships whatsoever should come consigned unto him, and no person should entertain any correspondence with those Planters of *Hispaniola*; thinking thereby to evite many inconveniences, and compel them, through necessity and want of all things, to obey. By these means, he not only obtained the obedience he designed from those people, but also that some Merchants, who had promised to deal with them, and quit them now and then, no longer did it.

First arrival of the Hollanders at Hispaniola.

Notwithstanding what hath been said, in the year 1666, two Ships from *Holland* happened to arrive at the Isle of *Hispaniola*, with all sorts of Merchandize necessary in those parts. With these Ships presently the Planters aforesaid resolved to deal, and with the Dutch Nation for the future, thinking hereby to withdraw their obedience from the Governour of *Yoranga*, and by frustrating his designs, revenge themselves of what they had endured under his Government. Not long after the arrival of the Hollanders, the Governour of *Yoranga* came to visit the Plantation of *Hispaniola*, in a Vessel very well armed. But the Planters not only forbid him to erect a shore, but with their guns also forced him to weigh anchor, and retire faster than he came. Thus the Hollanders began to trade with these people for all manner of things. Not such Relations and friendships the Governour had in *Hispaniola*, used all the endeavours they were capable of, to impede the commerce. This being understood by the Planters, they sent them word, that in case they lay'd not aside their animosity for the betterment of the commerce, which was begun with the Hollanders, they should soon see a flagell be torn in pieces.

More.

The Planters Rebel.

Moreover to oblige farther the Hollanders, and content the Governour and his party, they gave greater ladings unto the two Ships than they could desire, with many gifts and presents unto the Officers and Mariners; whereby they lent them very well contented to their own Country. The Hollanders came again, very punctually according to their promise, and found the Planters under a greater lodigation than before, against the Governour. Either because of the great satisfaction they had already conceived of this commerce with the Dutch, or that by their means they hoped to subsist by themselves, without any further dependance upon the French Nation. However it was, suddenly after, they set up another resolution, something more strange than the precedent. The Temp hereof was, that they would go unto the Island of *Tortuga*, and cut the Governour in pieces. Hereupon they gathered together as many Cannoes as they could, and set sail from *Hispaniola*, with design not only to kill the Governour, but also to possess themselves of the whole Island. This they thought they could more easily perform, by reason of all necessary assistance, which they believed would at any time be sent them from *Holland*. By which means, they were already determined in their minds, to erect themselves into a new Commonwealth, independent of the Crown of *France*. But no sooner had they began this great revolution of their little State, when they received news of a War, declared between the two Nations in *Europe*. This wrought such a confirmation in their minds, as caused them to give over that enterprise, and retire without attempting any thing.

They resolve to
kill the Governour.

In the mean while the Governour of *Tortuga* sent into *France*, for aid towards his own security, and the reduction of those people unto their former Obedience. This was granted him, and two Men of War were sent unto *Tortuga*, with orders to be at his Commands. Having received such a considerable support, he sent them very well equipped unto the Isle of *Hispaniola*. Being arrived at the place, they landed part of their forces, with a design to force the people to the obedience of whom they much hated in their hearts. But the Planters seeing the arrival of those two Frigates, and not being ignorant of their design, fled into the woods, abandoning their houses and many of their goods, which they left behind. These were immediately rifled and burnt by the French without any compassion, nor sparing the least Cottage they found. Afterwards the Governour began to relent in his anger, and let them know by some Messengers, that in case they would return unto his Obedience, he would give them some accommodations towards them. Hereupon the Planters finding themselves destitute of all human relief, and that they could

The Governour
craveth aid
from the Crown
of France.

The Planters
flee.

expect no help from any side, surrendered unto the Governour upon Articles, which were made and signed on both sides. But these were not too strictly observed; for he commanded two of the chiefest among them to be hanged. The residue were pardoned; and withall he gave them free leave to Trade with any Nation whatsoever they found ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~for~~ ^{for} ~~their~~ ^{their} ~~purpose~~ ^{purpose}. With the grant of this liberty they began to recultivate their Plantations, which gave them an huge quantity of very good Tobacco; they selling yearly to the sum of twenty or thirty thousand rowls.

In this Countrey the Planters have but very few slaves. For want of which, they themselves, and some servants they have, are constrained to do all the drudgery. These Servants commonly oblige and bind themselves unto their Masters, for the space of three years. But their Masters forsaking all conscience and justice, oftentimes traffick with their Bodies, as with Horses at a Fair; selling them unto other Masters, even just as they sell Negroes brought from the Coast of Guinea. Yea, to advance this Trade, some persons there are who go purposely into France, (the same happeneth in England and other Countries) and Travelling through the Cities, Towns, and Villages, endeavour to pick up young men or boys, whom they transport, by making them great promises. These having once alighted and conveyed them into the Islands I speak of, they force to work like horses; the toil they impose upon them being much harder than what they usually enjoyn unto the Negro's, their slaves. For these they endeavour in some manner to preserve, as being their perpetual bond-men; but as for their *White Servants*, they care not whether they live or die, seeing they are to continue no longer than three years in their service. These miserable kidnapt people, are frequently subject unto a certain disease, which in those parts is called *Coma*; being a total privation of all their senses. And this distemper is judged to proceed from their hard usage, together with the change of their Native Climate, into that which is directly opposite. Oftentimes it happeneth, that among these transported people, such are found as are persons of good quality, and tender education, And these being of a softer constitution, are more suddenly surprized with the disease above-mentioned; and with several others belonging to these Countreys, than those who have harder bodies, and have been brought up to all manner of fatigue. Besides the hard usage they endure in their Dyet, Apparel, and Repose; many times they beat them so cruelly, that some of them fall down dead under the hands of their cruel Masters. This I have often seen with my own eyes, but without great grief and regret. Of many instances of this nature, I shall only give you the following History, as being something more remarkable in its circumstances.

It happened that a certain Planter of these *Caribby* Islands, exercised such cruelty towards one of his Servants, that he made him to run away. Having absconded for some days in the Woods from the View of his tyrannical Master, at last he was taken and brought back to the dominion of this wicked *Pharao*. No sooner had he got him into his hands, but he commanded him to be tyed unto a Tree. Here he gave him so many lashes upon his naked back, as made his body run an entire stream of gore blood, embracing therewith the ground about the Tree. Afterwards to make the smart of his wounds the greater, he anointed them with juyce of Lemmon mingled with Sale and Pepper, being grounded small together. In this miserable posture he left him, tyed unto the tree, for the space of four and twenty hours. These being past, he recommenced his punishment again, lashing him as before, with so much cruelty, that the miserable wretch under this torture gave up the ghost; with these dying words in his mouth: *I beseech the Almighty God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, that he permit the wicked Spirit to make thee feel as many Torments before thy death, as thou hast caused me to feel before mine.* A strange thing, and worthy all astonishment and admiration! Scarce three or four days were past after this horrible fact, when the Almighty Judge who had heard the clamours of that tormented wretch, gave permission unto the author of wickedness, suddenly to possess the body of that barbarous and inhumane *Antiricide*, who tormented him unto death. In so much, that those tyrannical hands, wherewith he had punished to death his innocent Servant, were the tormentours of his own body. For with them after a miserable manner he did beat himself, and lacerate his own flesh, till he lost the very shape of man which nature had given him; not ceasing to howl and cry without any rest, either by day or night. Thus he continued to do, until he dyed in that condition of raving madness, wherein he surrendered his Ghost unto the same spirit of darkness who had tormented his body. Many other examples of this kind I could rehearse, but these not belonging unto our present discourse, I shall therefore omit them.

The Planters that inhabit the *Caribby Islands*, are rather worse, and more cruel unto their Servants than the precedent. In the Isle of *St. Christopher* dwelleth one, whose name is *Benny*, very well known among the Dutch Merchants, who hath killed above an hundred of his Servants with blows and stripes. The English do the same with their Servants. And the mildest cruelty they exercise towards them, is, that when they have served six years of their time, (the years they are bound for among the English, being seven compleat) they are sent with such cruel hardship, as smother them to beg of their Masters to sell them unto others, although it be to begin another servitude.

a [to [than] 2
- [of] [vital] 9
[id] [thru] w
The English
to fall out and
their for debts.

of seven years, or at least, three or four. I have known many who after this manner served fifteen, and twenty years, before they could obtain their freedom. Another thing, very rigorous among that Nation, is a Law in those Islands, whereby if any man oweth unto another above five and twenty shillings English money, in case he cannot pay, he is liable to be sold for the space of six or eight months. I shall not trouble the patience of my Reader any longer with Relations of this kind, as belonging unto another subject, different from what I have purposed to my self in this History. Whereupon I shall take my beginning from hence, to describe the famous Actions and Exploits of the greatest Pirates of my time, during my residence in those parts. These I shall endeavour to relate without the least note, of passion or partiality; yea, with that candour which is peculiar both to my mind and stile. Withal, certifying my Reader, I shall give him no Stories taken from others, upon trust or hearsay, but only those Enterprizes unto which I was myself an eye-witness.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Origine of the most Famous Pirates of the Coasts of America. A notable Exploit of Pierre le Grand.

The King of
Spain complains
against the Pi-
rates.

I Have told you in the precedent Chapters of this Book, after what manner I was compelled to adventure my life among the Pirates of America. Unto which sort of men I think myself obliged to give this name, for no other reason, but that they are not maintained or upheld in their villainy by any Sovereign Prince. For this is certain, that the Kings of Spain have upon several occasions sent by their Embassadors unto the Kings of France and England, complaining of the molestations and ravishes these Pirates did often cause upon the Coasts of America, even to the value of France. Unto whose Embassadors it hath always been answered: That such men did no manner wrong, all of Right, and Duty, as Subjects unto their Majesties; and therefore his Catholic Majesty might grant against them according as he should find fit. The King of France, before whom hath been said, added unto this answer: That he had in his Majesty's Castle upon the Isle of Hispaniola, within his jurisdiction one sailing of Twelve from thence. Moreover, the King of England answered: That he had never given any Patent or Commission unto these Pirates of Jamaica, for committing any hostility or depredation upon the Coast of Jamaica. Neither

there did he only give this bare answer, but also out of his Royal desire to please the Court of Spain, recalled the Governor of Jamaica, placing another in his room. All this was not sufficient to prevent the Pirates of those parts from acting what mischief they could to the contrary. But before I commence the Relation of their bold and insolent actions, I shall say something of their Origins, and most common exercises; as also of the chiefest among them, and their manner of Arming before they go out to Sea.

The first Pirate that was known upon the Island of Tortuga, was *Pierre le Grand*, or *Peter the Great*. He was born at the Town *erre le Grand* of *Die* in Normandy. That Action which rendered him famous, was his taking of the Vice-Admiral of the Spanish Fleet, nigh unto the Cape of *Villavieja*, upon the Western side of the Island of *Hispaniola*. This bold Exploit he performed alone, with privately boat; wherein he had eight and twenty persons, no more to help him. What gave occasion unto this Enterprize, was, that until that time the Spaniards had passed and re-passed, with all security, and without finding the least opposition, through the Channel of *Sabana*. So that *Pierre le Grand* set out to Sea by the *Cayou*, where he took this great Ship, with almost all facility imaginable. The Spaniards they found aboard were all set on Shore, and the Vessel presently sent into France. The manner how this undaunted Spirit attempted and took such a huge Ship, I shall give you out of the Journal of a true and faithful Author, in the same words I read them. *The Boat with his Bold attempt*
wherein Pierre le Grand was with his Companions, had now been at Sea of Pierre le
a long time, without finding any thing answering to his intent of Piracy for
able to make a prey. And now their Provisions beginning to fail, they
could keep themselves no longer upon the Ocean, or they must of necessity
starve. Being almost reduced to despair, they espied a great Ship belong-
ing unto the Spanish Fleet, which had separated from the rest. This bold
they Vessel they resolved to set upon and take, or die in the attempt. Here
upon they made sail towards her, with design to view her strength. And
although they judged the Vessel to be far above their Force, yet the con-
tempt of such a prey, and the curiosity of fortune they were resolved to
make them adventure upon such an enterprize. Being also come so near
that they could see the Vessel without danger of being discovered, the Pirates
jointly made an Oath upon their Calvary, Pledge to God, and to his
that they would continue to the last, without ever being taken, or
that if they were taken, they would never reveal their secret, nor
find the Ship surprised to fight, and that although this occasion they
might suffer by the event. It was in the dusk of the Evening, or soon
after, when this bold action was performed. The Spanish ship began to
see the Boat, and the Challenge of the Boat, which was a little before
thereof,

they were obliged to take, and they were not to be
 compelled to do so, and they were not to be
 aboard the great Ship. This was performed accordingly, and without
 any other delay than a Pistol in one of their hands, and a Sword in the
 other, they immediately climbed up the sides of the Ship, and ran all up
 the side of the great Cabin, where they found the Captain, who was
 his Companion, who was not far from him, they saw a Pistol in his hand,
 commanding him to deliver up the Ship into their hands. The Spaniards
 and seeing the Pirates aboard their Ship, with all scarce having time to
 at Sea, cried out, Jesu blest us! Are these Devils, or what are they?
 In the mean while some of them took possession of the Gun-room, and se-
 ized the Arms and Military stores they found there, killing as many of
 the Ship as in the Ship could. By which means the Spaniards pre-
 sently were compelled to surrender. That very day the Captain of the
 Ship had been told by some of the Seamen, that the boat which was in
 their midst, was a boat of Pirates. Whereupon the Captain, sighting
 their wives, made answer, What then? Must I be afraid of such a
 pitiful thing as that is? No, nor though the vessel was big and
 as strong as mine here. At noon the Picture de Grand had taken the mag-
 nificent prize, he detained in his service as many of the common Seamen
 as he had need of, and the rest he set on shore. This being done, he imme-
 diately set sail for France, carrying with him all the Riches he found in
 that huge Vessel. There he continued, without ever returning into the
 Barbary of America.

Twelfth
 tants of Tor-
 tuga begin to
 follow Piracy.

They take a
 great number
 of Boats.

The Pirates and Hunters of the Isle of Tortuga, had no longer
 understood this happy event, and the rich prize those Pirates had
 obtained, but they resolved to follow their example. Hereupon,
 many of them left their ordinary exercises and common employs,
 and used what means they could to get either Boats or small Vessels
 wherein to exercise Piracy. But being not able either to purchase or
 build them at Tortuga, at last they resolved to set forth in their Ca-
 noes, and seek them elsewhere. With these therefore they cruized
 at first upon Cape de Alcares, whereabouts the Spaniards use much
 to trade from one City to another in small boats. In these they
 carry Hides, Tobacco, and other commodities unto the Port of Ha-
 vana, which is the Metropolis of that Island, and unto which the
 Spaniards from every distant place resort. Whereabouts it was that those Pirates at the beginning took a great
 number of Boats laden with the above said Commodities. These
 Boats they used to carry to the Isle of Tortuga, and there sell the
 whole purchase unto the Ships that resided in the Port for their re-
 turn, or accidentally happened to be there. With the gain of these
 Boats they provided themselves with necessaries, were willing to un-
 dertake

dertake other Voyages. Some of these Voyages were made towards the Coast of Campeche, and others towards that of New Spain. In both which places the Spaniards at that time, did frequently exercise much Commerce and Trade. Upon those Coasts they commonly found great number of Trading Vessels, and many times Ships of great burthen. Two of the biggest of these Vessels, and two great Ships which the Spaniards had laden with Plate, in the Port of Campeche, for to go unto Caracas; they took in less then a Months time, by cruising to and fro. Being arrived at Tortuga with these Prizes, and the whole people of the Island admiring their progresses, especially that within the space of two years, the Riches of the Country were much increased, the number also of Pirates did augment so fast, that from these beginnings within a little space of time, there were to be numbered in that small Island and Port, above twenty Ships of this sort of people. Hereupon, the Spaniards not able to bear their Robberies any longer, were constrained to put forth to Sea two great Men of War, both for the defence of their own Coasts, and to cruise upon the Enemies.

The number of Pirates in Tortuga.

CHAP. VII.

After what manner, the Pirates Arm their Vessels, and how they regulate their Voyages.

BEfore the Pirates go out to Sea, they give notice unto every one that goeth upon the Voyage, of the day on which they ought precisely to imbarque. Intimating also unto them, their obligation of bringing each man in particular so many pound of Powder and Bullet, as they think necessary for that Expedition. Being all come on Board, they joyn together in Council, concerning what place they ought first to go unto, wherein to get Provisions; especially of flesh, seeing they scarce eat any thing else. And of this the most common sort among them is Pork. The next food is Tortoises, which they use to salt a little. Sometimes they resolve to rob such or such Hog-yards, wherein the Spaniards often have a thousand heads of Swine together. They come unto these places in the dark of the night, and having beset the Keepers Lodge, they force them to rise and give them as many heads as they desire; threatening withal to kill him in case he disobeyeth their commands, or maketh any noise. Yet these men are so offensive, that in execution, without giving

How the Pirates arm their boats.

Their ordinary food.

any quarter unto the miserable Seamen, keepers, or any other person that enslaveeth to hinder their Robberies.

Having gotten provisions of fish sufficient for their Voyage, they return unto their Ship. Here their allowance twice a day unto every one, is as much as he can eat, without either weight, or measure. Neither doth the Steward of the Vessel give any greater proportion of fish or any thing else unto the Captain, than unto the meanest Mariner. The Ship being well victualled, they call another Council to deliberate towards what place they shall go to seek their desperate fortunes. In this Council likewise they agree upon certain

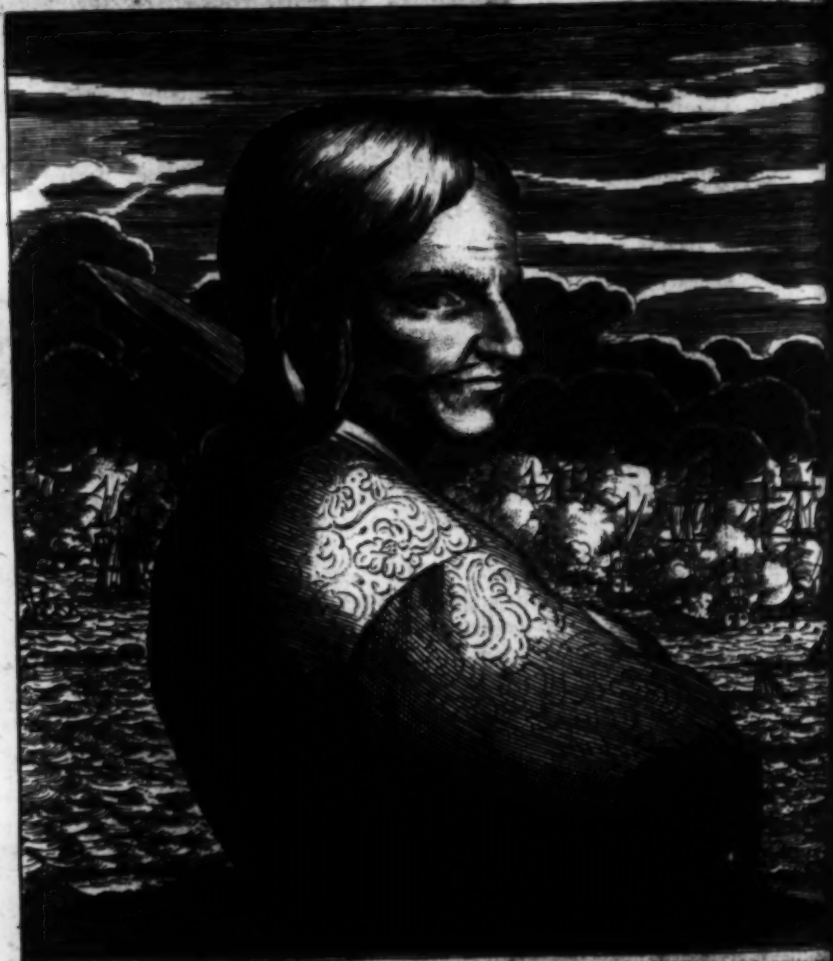
Articles they agree upon as follows.

Articles which are put in writing, by way of Bond or Obligation, the which every one is bound to observe, and all of them, or the chiefest, do for their faults note. Herein they specify and set down very distinctly what sums of Money each particular person ought to have for that Voyage. The sort of all the payments being the common stock of what is gotten by the whole Expedition; for otherwise it is the same law among these people, as with other Pirates, No prey, no pay. In the first place therefore they mention how much the Captain ought to have for his Ship. Next, the Salary of the Carpenter or Shipwright, who carend, mended, and rigg'd the

Every piece of Eight is about 5 s. Ster.

Vessel. This commonly amounteth unto one hundred, or an hundred and fifty pieces of eight; being according to the agreement, more or less. Afterwards for provisions and victualling, they draw out of the same common stock about 200 pieces of Eight. Also a competent Salary for the Surgeon, & his chest of Medicaments, which usually is rated at two hundred, or two hundred and fifty pieces of Eight. Lastly, they stipulate in writing, what recompence or reward each one ought to have, that is either wounded or maimed in his body, suffering the loss of any Limb by that Voyage. Thus they order for the loss of a right Arm six hundred pieces of Eight, or six slaves: For the loss of a left Arm, five hundred pieces of Eight, or five slaves: For a right Leg, five hundred pieces of Eight, or five slaves: For the left Leg, four hundred pieces of Eight, or four slaves: For an eye, one hundred pieces of Eight, or one slave: For a finger of the hand, the same reward as for the eye. All which sums of Money, as I have said before, are taken out of the capital sum, or common stock of what is gotten by their Piracy. For a very exact and equal dividend is made of the remainder among them all. Yet herein they have also regard unto qualities and places. Thus the Captain or chief Commander, is allotted five or six portions to what the ordinary Seamen have. The Masters Mate only two, and other Officers proportionable to their employ. After whom they draw equal parts from the highest even to the lowest manner, the Boys not being omitted. For even these draw half a share; by reason that duty

REPRODUCTION OF THE



BARTOLOMEU PORTUGUES

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when they happen to take a better Vessel than their own, it is the duty of the Boys to set fire unto the Ship or Boat wherein they are, and then retire unto the Prize which they have taken.

They observe among themselves very good orders. For in the Prizes they take, it is severely prohibited unto every one to usurp any thing in particular unto themselves. Hence all they take is equally divided, according to what hath been said before. Yea, they make a solemn Oath to each other, not to abscond or conceal the least thing they find amongst the prey. If afterwards any one is found unfaithful, and that hath contraven'd the said Oath, immediately he is separated and turned out of the society. Among themselves they are very civil and charitable to each other, inasmuch, that if any wanten what another hath, with great liberality they give to one another. As soon as these Pirates have taken any Prize of Ship or Boat, the first thing they endeavour is to set on shore the Prisoners, detaining only some few for their own help and service. Unto whom also they give their liberty after the space of two or three years. They put in very frequently for refreshment at one Island or another. But more especially into those which lie on the Southern side of the Isle of *Cuba*. Here they careen their vessels, and put mean while some of them go to hunt, others to cruise upon the Seas in Canows, seeking their fortune. Many times they take the poor Fishermen of Tortoises, and carrying them to their habitations they make them work so long as the Pirates are pleased.

In the several parts of *America* are found four distinct species of Tortoises. The first hereof are so great, that every one reaches to the weight of two or three thousand pound. The scales of the species are so soft, as that easily they may be cut with a knife. Yet these Tortoises are not good to be eaten. The second species is of an indifferent bigness, and are green in colour. The scales of these are harder than the first, and this sort is of a very pleasant taste. The third is very little different in size and bigness from the second, unless that it hath the head something bigger. This third species is called by the French *Cavana*, and is not good for food. The fourth is named *Cara*, being very like to the Tortoises we have in Europe. This sort keepeth most commonly among the Rocks, from whence they crawl out to seek their food, which is for the greater part nothing but Apples of the Sea. Those other species above-mentioned, feed upon grass which groweth in the water upon the banks of the sand. These banks or selves for their pleasant green, do here resemble the delightful Meadows of the United Provinces. Their eggs are almost like unto those of the *Cresset*, but without any shell, being only covered with a thin Membrane or film. They are found in such prodigious quantities along the sandy shores of those Countries, that

They are very faithful among themselves.

Where they refresh themselves

Four species of Tortoises.

Their Eggs

Where they lay
them.

were they not frequently destroyed by birds, the Sea would infinitely abound with Tortoises.

These Creatures have certain customary places whether they repair every year to lay their eggs. The chiefest of these places are the three Islands called *Caymanes*, situated in the altitude of twenty degrees and sixteen minutes Northern latitude; being at the distance of five and forty leagues from the Isle of *Cuba*, on the Northern side thereof.

Their manner
of fishing for
Tortoises.

It is a thing much deserving consideration, how the Tortoises can find out these Islands. For the greatest part of them come from the *Gulf of Honduras*; distant from thence the whole space of one hundred and fifty leagues. Certain it is, that many times the ships having lost their altitude through the darkness of the weather, have discerned their course only by the noise of Tortoises swimming that way, and have arrived unto those Isles. When their season of hatching is past, they retire towards the Island of *Cuba*, where be many good places that afford them food. But the mean while they are at the Islands of *Caymanes*, they eat very little or nothing. When they have been about the space of one Month in the Seas of *Cuba*, and are grown fat, the *Spaniards* go out to fish for them; they being then to be taken in such abundance, that they provide with them sufficiently, their Cities, Towns, and Villages. Their manner of taking them, is, by making with a great nail a certain kind of dart. This they fix at the end of a long stick or pole; with which they wound the Tortoises as with a dagger, whensoever they appear above water to breath fresh air.

Places where
commonly the
Pirates do
cruize.

The Inhabitants of *New Spain* and *Campeche*, lade their principal sorts of Merchandises in Ships of great bulk; and with these they exercise their Commerce to and fro. The Vessels from *Campeche* in winter time set out towards *Caracas*, *Trinity* *Isle*, and that of *Margarita*. For in summer the winds are contrary; though very favourable to return unto *Campeche*, as they use to do at the beginning of that season. The Pirates are not ignorant of these times, as being very dextrous in searching out all places and circumstances most suitable to their designs. Hence in the places and seasons afore-mentioned, they cruize upon the said Ships for some while. But in case they can perform nothing, and that fortune doth not favour them with some Prize or other, after holding a Council thereupon, they commonly enterprize things very desperate. Of these their resolutions I shall give you one instance very remarkable. One certain Pirate, whose name was *Pierre Francois*, or *Peter Francis*, happened to be a long time at Sea with his Boat, and six and twenty persons, waiting for the Ships that were to return from *Morazano* towards *Campeche*. Not being able to find any thing, nor get any prey, at last he

Pierre Fran-
cois.

resolved to direct his course to *Rancheria*, which is nigh unto the River called *de la Plata*, in the altitude of twelve degrees and a half Northern latitude. In this place lieth a rich Bank of Pearl, to the fishery whereof they yearly send from *Cartagena*, a Fleet of a dozen vessels, with a man of war for their defence. Every vessel hath at least a couple of *Negrees* in it, who are very dextrous in diving, even to the depth of six fathoms within the Sea, whereabouts they find good store of Pearls. Upon this Fleet of Vessels, though small, called the *Pearl Fleet*, *Pierre Francois* resolved to adventure, rather then go home with empty hands. They rid at Anchor at that time at the mouth of the River *de la Hacha*; the Man of War being scarce half a league distant from the small Ships, and the wind very calm. Having espied them in this posture, he presently pulled down his Sails, and rowed along the Coast, dissembling to be a Spanish Vessel that came from *Manacaibo*, and only passed that way. But no sooner was he come unto the *Pearl-bank*, when suddenly he assaulted the Vice-Admiral of the said Fleet, mounted with eight Guns, and three score men well Armed, commanding them to surrender. But the *Spaniards* running to their Arms, did do what they could to defend themselves, fighting for some while; till at last they were constrained to submit unto the Pirate. Being thus possessed of the Vice-Admiral, he resolved next to adventure with some other stratagem upon the man of War, thinking thereby to get strength sufficient to master the rest of the Fleet. With this intent he presently sunk his own Boat in the River, and putting forth the Spanish Colours, weighed Anchor, with a little wind they began to stir, having with promises and menaces compelled most of the *Spaniards* to assist him in his design. But no sooner did the man of War perceive one of his Fleet to set sail, when he did so too; fearing least the *Mariners* should have any design to run away with the Vessel and Riches they had on board. This caused the Pirates immediately to give over that dangerous enterprize, as thinking themselves unable to encounter force to force with the said Man of War, that now came against them. Hereupon they attempted to get out of the River, & gain the open Seas with the riches they had taken by making as much sail, as possibly the vessel would bear. This being perceived by the Man of War, he presently gave 'um chase. But the Pirates having laid on too much sail, and a gust of wind suddenly arising, had their Main-Mast blown down by the board, which disabled 'um from prosecuting their escape.

This unhappy event much encouraged those that were in the man of War; they advancing and gaining upon the Pirates every moment. By which means at last they were overtaken. But these notwithstanding, finding themselves still with two and twenty persons sound, the rest being either killed or wounded, resolved to defend

He goeth unto the River de la Hacha and setteth up on a Fleet of Pearl-Fishers.

He taketh the Vice-Admiral.

And dissigneth against the man of War.

They lose their Main-mast.

thence

They surrender
unto the Man
of War.

Upon Articles.

Bartholomew
Portugues.

He taketh a
great Spanish
Ship.

Is taken, and
losth his liber-
ty.

themselves so long as it were possible. This they performed very courageously for some while, until they were forced by the Man of War, they were compelled to surrender. Yet was not this done without Articles, which the Spaniards were glad to allow them; as followeth: That they should not use them as slaves, forcing them to carry or bring stones, or employing them in other labour for three or four years, as they commonly employ their Negro's. But that they should set them on shore upon free land, without doing them any harm in their bodies. Upon these Articles they delivered themselves with all that they had taken; which was worth onely in Pearls, to the value of above one hundred thousand pieces of eight, besides the Vessel, Provisions, Goods, and other things. All which being put together, would have made unto this Pirate, one of the greatest prizes he could desire. Which he had certainly obtained, had it not been for the loss of his Main-mast, as was said before.

Another bold attempt, not unlike unto that which I have related, nor less remarkable, I shall also give you at present: A certain Pirate, born in Portugal, and from the name of his Country, called Bartholomew Portugues, was cruising in his Boat from Jamaica (wherein he had onely thirty men, and four small guns) upon the Cape de Corrientes, in the Island of Cuba. In this place he met with a great ship that came from Maracaibo, and Cartagena, bound for the Havana, well provided, with twenty great guns, and three score and ten men, between passengers and Mariners. This ship he presently assaulted, but found as strongly defended by them that were on board. The Pirate escaped the first encounter, resolving to attack her more vigorously than before, seeing he had sustained no great damage hitherto. This resolution of his he boldly performed, renewing his assaults so often, till that after a long and dangerous fight, he became Master of the great Vessel. The Portuguese lost onely ten men, and had four wounded, so that he had still remaining twenty fighting men, whereas the Spaniards had double the same number. Having possessed themselves of such a ship, and the wind being contrary to return unto Jamaica, they resolved to steer their course towards the Cape of Saint Antony (which lieth on the Western side of the Isle of Cuba) there to repair themselves, and take in fresh water, of which they had great necessity at that time.

Being now very near unto the Cape abovementioned, they unexpectedly met with three great ships that were coming from New Spain, and bound for the Havana. By these, as not being able to escape, they were easily retaken both Ship and Pirates. Thus they were all made Prisoners, through the sudden change of fortune, and found themselves poor, oppressed, and deprived of all the riches they had

purchased so little before. The Cargo of this Ship consisted in one hundred and twenty thousand weight of *Cacao-nuts*, the chiefest ingredient of that rich liquor called *Chocolate*, and three score and ten thousand pieces of eight. Two days after this misfortune, there happened to arise an huge and dangerous tempest, which largely separated the Ships from one another. The great Vessel, wherein the Pirates were, arrived at *Campeche*; where many considerable Merchants came to salute and welcome the Captain thereof. These presently knew the *Portugues* Pirate, as being him who had committed innumerable excessive insolencies upon those coasts, not onely infinite Murthers and Robberies, but also lamentable *incendiums*, which those of *Campeche* still preserved very fresh in their memory.

*He is brought
unto Campeche.*

Hereupon, the next day after their arrival, the Magistrates of the City sent several of their Officers, to demand and take into custody the criminal prisoners from on board the ship, with intent to punish them according to their deserts. Yet fearing lest the Captain of those Pirates should escape out of their hands on shore (as he had formerly done, being once their Prisoner in the City before) they judg'd it more convenient to leave him safely guarded on boarded the Ship for that present. In the mean while they caused a Gibbet to be erected, whereupon to hang him the very next day, without any other form of process, than to lead him from the ship unto the place of punishment. The rumour of this future tragedy, was presently brought unto *Bartholomew Portugues* his ears, whereby he sought all the means he could to escape that night. With this design he took two earthen Jars, wherein the *Spaniards* usually carry Wine from *Spain* unto the *West-Indies*, and stopp'd them very well; intending to use them for swimming, as those who are unskilful in that art do *Calabashes*; a sort of pumpkins in *Spain*; and in other places empty bladders. Having made this necessary preparation, he waited for the night when all should be a sleep; even the Centry that guarded him. But seeing he could not escape his vigilancy, he secretly purchased a knife, and with the same gave him such a mortal stab, as suddenly depriv'd him of life, and the possibility of making any noise. At that instant he committed himself to Sea, with those two earthen-jars aforementioned, and by their help and support, though never having learned to swim, he reached the shore. Being arrived upon land, without any delay he took his refuge in the Woods, where he hid himself for three days, without daring to appear, nor eating any other food than wild herbs.

*Is condemn'd
to the Gallows.*

*He killeth his
Centry, and escapes.*

Those of the City failed not the next day to make a diligent search for him in the Woods, where they concluded him to be. This

*They seek after
him in vain.*

But *Bartholomew Portugues* had the convenience to espy from the hollow

of

He went to the
coasts of Golfo
triste.

of a tree, wherein he lay absconded. Hence perceiving them to return without finding what they sought for, he adventured to sail forth towards the Coasts, called *del Golfo triste*, forty leagues distant from the City of *Campeche*. Hither he arrived within a fortnight after his escape from the Ship. In which space of time, as also afterwards, he endured extreme hunger, thirst, and fears, of falling again into the hands of the Spaniards. For during all this journey, he had no other provision with him, than a small *Calabasca* with a little water: Neither did he eat any thing else, than a few shell-fish, which he found among the Rocks, nigh the Sea-shore. Besides that, he was compelled to pass as yet some Rivers, not knowing well to swim. Being in this distress, he found an old board, which the waves had thrown upon the shore, wherein did stick a few great nails. These he took, and with no small labour whetted against a stone, until that he had made them capable of cutting like unto knives, though very imperfectly. With these, and no better instruments, he cut down some branches of Trees, the which with twigs and Oliers he joined together, and made as well as he could a boat, or rather a wattle, where-with he waded over the Rivers. Thus he arrived finally at the Cape of *Golfo triste*, as was said before; where he hapned to find a certain Vessel of Pirates, who were great Comrades of his own, and were lately come from *Jamaica*.

He getteth
aboard a boat.

Unto these Pirates he instantly related all his adventures and misfortunes. And withal demanded of them, they would fit him with a boat and twenty men; with which company alone, he promised to return unto *Campeche*, and assault the Ship that was in the River, by which he had been taken and escaped fourteen days before. They easily granted his request, and equipped him a Boat with the said number of Men. With this small company he set forth towards the execution of his design; which he bravely performed eight days after he separated from his Comrades at the Cape of *Golfo triste*. For being arrived at the River of *Campeche*, with an undaunted courage, and without any rumour of noise, he assaulted the Ship aforesaid. Those that were on board, were perswaded this was a boat from land, that came to bring *contra banda* goods; and hereupon were not in any posture of defence. Thus the Pirates laying hold on this occasion, assaulted them without any fear of ill success, and in short space of time compelled the Spaniards to surrender.

And recasteth
the Ship by
which he was
taken.

Being now Masters of the Ship, they immediately weighed Anchor, and set Sail, determining to fly from the Port, lest they should be pursued by other Vessels. This they did with extremity of joy, seeing themselves possessors of such a brave Ship. Especially *Pe-*

former this Captain, who now by a second turn of fortunes wheel, was become rich and powerful again, who had been so lately in that same Vessel a poor miserable prisoner, and condemned to the Gallows: With this great purchase he designed in his mind greater things; which he might well hope to obtain, seeing he had found in the Vessel great quantity of rich Merchandise still remaining on board, although the Plate had been transported into the City. Thus he continued his Voyage towards *Jamaica* for some days; but going nigh unto the Isle of *Pinar*, on the South side of the Island of *Cuba*, fortune suddenly turned her back unto him once more, never to shew him her countenance again. For a horrible storm arising at Sea, occasioned the Ship to split against the Rocks or Banks called *Jordians*, inasmuch that the Vessel was totally lost, and *Teodora* with his Companions escaped in a Canoe. After this manner he arrived at *Jamaica*, where he remained no long time, being only there till he could prepare himself to seek his fortune anew, which from that time proved always adverse unto him.

He loseth the Ship in a storm

And escapeth in a Canoe.

Nothing less rare and admirable than this precedent are the Actions of another Pirate; who at present liveth at *Jamaica*, and who hath on sundry occasions enterprized andatchieved things very strange. The place of his Birth was the City of *Grimsby*, in the *United Provinces*; but his own proper Name is not known: The Pirates his Companions having only given him that of *Roche Brasilliano*, by reason of his long residence in the Country of *Brasil*, from whence he was forced to flee when the *Portugalses* retook those Countries from the *West-Indis* Company of *Amsterdam*: Several Nations then inhabiting at *Brasil* (as English, French, Dutch, and others) being constrained to seek new Fortunes.

Roche Brasilliano.

This Fellow at that conjuncture of time retired unto *Jamaica*. Where being at a stand how to get a livelihood, he entered himself into the Society of Pirates. Under these he served in quality of a private Mariner for some while. In which degree he behaved himself so well, as made him both beloved and respected by all; as one that deserved to be their Commander for the future. One day certain Mariners happen'd to engage in a dissention with their Captain: the effect whereof was, that they left the Boat. *Brasilliano* followed the rest, and by these was chosen for their Conductor and Leader, who also fitted him out a Boat, or small Vessel, wherein he received the Title of Captain.

Teodora Captain.

Few days were past from his being chosen Captain, when he took a great Ship that was coming from *New Spain*. On board of which he found a great quantity of Plate; and both one and the other he carried into *Jamaica*. This action gave him reputation, and caused

He taketh a great Ship.

him to be both esteemed and feared: every one apprehending him much afraid. However, in his domestick and private affairs, he had no good behaviour nor government over himself: for in these he would oftentimes shew himself either brutish or foolish. Many times, being in drink, he would run up and down the Streets beating or wounding whom he met: no person daring to oppose him or make any resistance.

Unto the *Spaniards* he always shewed himself very barbarous and cruel: only out of an inveterate hatred he had against that Nation. Of these he commanded several to be rosted alive upon wooden spits, for no other crime, than that they would not show him the places or *Hogwards* where he might steal Swine. After many of these Cruelties, it happened as he was cruising upon the Coasts of *Campche*, that a dismal tempest suddenly surpris'd him. This proved to be so violent, that at last his Ship was wrackt upon the Coasts: the Mariners only escaping with their Muskets, and some few Bullets and Powder, which were the only things they could save, of all that was in the Vessel. The place where the Ship was lost, was precisely between *Campche* and the *Golfo: trista*. Here they got on shore in a *Canoa*, and marching along the Coast with all the speed they could, they directed their course towards *Golfo: trista*, as being a place where the Pirates commonly use to repair and refresh themselves. Being upon this Journey, and all very hungry and thirsty, as is usual in desert places, they were pursued by some *Spaniards*, being a whole Troop of a hundred Horsemen. *Brasilians* no sooner perceived this imminent danger, than he animated his Companions, telling them: *We had better follow Soldiers chose to die under our Arms fighting as it becometh men of courage, than surrender unto the Spaniards: who in case they overcome us, will take away our lives with cruel torments.* The Pirates were no more than thirty in number, who notwithstanding, seeing their brave Commander oppose himself with courage unto the enemy, resolved to do the like. Hereupon they faced the Troop of *Spaniards*, and discharged their Muskets against them, with such dexterity, as they almost kill'd one horseman with every shot. The fight continued for the space of an hour, till at last the *Spaniards* were put to flight by the Pirates.

He left his Ship, and escaped in a Canoe.

Is pursued by a Troop of Spaniards.

Part of them so fight.

They stripped the dead, and took from them what they thought most convenient for their use. But such as were not already dead, they helped to quit the miseries of life, with the ends of their Muskets.

Having vanquished the Enemy, they all mounted on several horses they found in the field, and continued the Journey aforementioned. *Brasilians* having lost but two of his Companions in this bloody fight,



ROCK HILL, S.C.



ROCK. BRASILIANO

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fight, and had two other wounded. As they prosecuted their way before they came unto the Port, they espied a boat from Calapoco well mann'd, that rid at anchor, possessing a small number of Canoes that were lading wood. Hereupon they sent a detachment of six of their men to watch them, and these the next morning by a wild possessed themselves of the Canoes. Having given notice into their Companions, they went all on board, and with no great difficulty took also the Boat, or little man of War their Company. Thus having rendered themselves Masters of the whole Fleet, they wanted only provisions, which they found but very small aboard those Vessels. But this defect was supplied by the horses, which they instantly killed and salted, with Salt which by good fortune the Wood-cutters had brought with them. Upon which Victuals they made shift to keep themselves, until such time as they could purchase better.

They take a Fleet of Canoes, and a Boat of War.

They take a Ship from New-Spain.

These very same Pirates, I mean *Brasiliano* and his Companions, took also another Ship that was going from New-Spain unto *Murcia*, laden with divers sorts of Merchandize, and a very considerable number of pieces of Eight, which were designed to buy Cloths for their lading home. All these prizes they carried into *San Mateo*, where they safely arrived, and according to their custom rested in in a few days in Taverns and Stews all they had gotten, giving themselves to all manner of debauchery, with Scrumpets and Wine. Such of these Pirates are found, who will spend a or 2000 pieces of Eight in one night, not leaving themselves peradventure a good shirt to wear on their backs in the morning. Thus upon a certain time, I saw one of them give unto a common Strumpet, five hundred pieces of Eight, only that he might see her naked. My own Master would buy in like occasions a whole pipe of wine, and placing it in the street, would force every one that passed by to drink with him, threatening also to Pistol them in case they would not do it. At other times he would do the same with Barrels of Ale or Beer. And very often with both his hands he would throw these Liquors about the streets, and wet the cloaths of such as walked by, without regarding whether he spoil'd their Apparel or not, were they Men or Women.

Pirates will spend 2000, or 3000 pieces of Eight in one night.

Among themselves, and to each other, these Pirates are extremely liberal and free. If any one of them hath all his Goods, which often happeneth in their manner of life, they freely give him and make him partaker of what they have. In Taverns and Ale-houses they always have great credit; but in such houses as *Jamies* they ought not to run very deep in debt, lesting the limitation of that should do easily sell one another for debt. Thus it happened unto my

Patron,

Father, or *Master*, to be sold for a debt of a Tavern, wherein he had spent the greatest part of his money. This man had within the space of three months before, three thousand pieces of Eight in ready cash; all which he wasted in that short space of time, and became so poor as I have told you.

Brasiliano goes to Sea.

But now to return unto our discourse, I must let my Reader know, that *Brasiliano* after having spent all that he had robb'd, was constrained to go to Sea again to seek his fortune once more. Thus he set forth towards the Coast of *Campêche*, his common place of Rendezvous. Fifteen days after his arrival there, he put himself into a *Galley*, with intent to espy the Port of that City, and see if he could rob any Spanish Vessel. But his fortune was so bad, that both he and all his men were taken prisoners, and carried unto the presence of the Governour. This man immediately cast them into a dungeon, with full intention to hang them every person. And doubtless he had performed his intent, were it not for a Stratagem that *Brasiliano* used, which proved sufficient to save their lives. He writ therefore a Letter unto the Governour, making him believe it came from other Pirates that were abroad at Sea; and withall telling him, *He should have a care how he used those persons he had in his custody. For in case he caused them any harm, they did swear unto him they would never give quarter unto any person of the Spanish Nation that should fall into their hands.*

And is made prisoner with all his men.

He is set at liberty, and sent to Spain.

Because these Pirates had been many times at *Campêche*, and in many other Towns and Villages of the *West-Indies*, belonging to the Spanish Dominions, the Governour began to fear what mischief they might cause by the means of their companions abroad, in case he should punish them. Hereupon he released them out of prison, exacting only an Oath of them before-hand, that they would leave their exercise of Piracy for ever. And withal he sent them as common Striders or Passengers in the *Galley* to Spain. They got in this Voyage all together five hundred pieces of Eight, whereby they carried not long there after their arrival. But providing themselves with some few necessities, they all returned unto *Jamaica* within a little while. From whence they set forth again to Sea, committing greater Robberies and Cruelties than ever they had done before. But more especially abusing the poor *Spaniards* that happened to fall into their hands, with all sorts of cruelty imaginable. The *Spaniards* perceiving they could gain nothing upon this sort of people, nor diminish their number, which rather increased daily, resolved to diminish the number of their Ships, wherein they exercised trading to and from. But neither this resolution was of any effect, as did them any good service. For the Pirates finding not so many

many Ships at Sea as before, began to gather into greater Companies, and land upon the Spanish Dominions, ruining whole Cities, Towns, and Villages; and withal pillaging, burning, and carrying away as much as they could possible. The Pirates made in such great numbers

The first Pirate who gave a beginning unto these invasions by Land, was named *Lewis Scot*, who Sack'd and Pillag'd the City of *Campeche*. He almost ruin'd the Town, robbing and destroying all he could; and after he had put it to the ranfome of an excessive sum of money, he left it. After *Scot* came another named *Manivela*, who enterpris'd to set footing in *Granada*, and penetrate with his Piracies even unto the South Sea. Both which things he effected, till that at last for want of provision, he was constrained to go back. He assaulted the Isle of *Saint Catherine*, which was the first Land he took, and upon it some few Prisoners. These shew'd him the way towards *Cartagena*, which is a principal City, situate in the Kingdom of *Nueva Granada*. But the bold attempts and actions of *John Davis*, born at *Jamaica*, ought not to be forgotten in this History, as being some of the most remarkable thereof. Especially his rare prudence and valour, wherewith he behaved himself in the afore-mentioned Kingdom of *Granada*. This Pirate having cruized a long time in the Gulf of *Pocatauro* upon the Ships that were expected from *Cartagena*, bound for *Nicaragua*, and not being able to meet any of the said Ships, resolv'd at last to land in *Nicaragua*, leaving his Ship conceal'd about the Coast.

This design he presently put in execution; for taking fourscore men, out of fourscore and ten, which he had in all; (the rest being left to keep the Ship) he divided them equally into three Canows. His intent was to Rob the Churches, and rife the Houses of the chiefest Citizens of the afore-said Town of *Nicaragua*. Thus in the obscurity of the night they mounted the River which leadeth to that City, Rowing with Oars in their Canows. By day they conceal'd themselves, and Boats under the branches of Trees that were upon the banks. These grow very thick and intricate, along the sides of the Rivers in those Countries, as also along the Sea-coast. Under which likewise those who remained behind absconded their Vessel, lest they should be seen either by Fishermen or Indians. After this manner they arriv'd at the City the third night, where the Centry who kept the post of the River, thought them to be Fishermen that had been fishing in the Lake. And as the greatest part of the Pirates are skilful in the Spanish Tongue, so he never doubted thereof, as soon as he heard them speak. They had in their company an Indian who was run away from his Master, because he would make him a slave, after having serv'd him a long time. This

They all the
City.

And enter it.
Jan 2 1717

They spare not
the Churches.

They went the first on shore, and robbing at the Entry he instantly killed him. Being animated with this success, they entered into the City, and went directly unto three or four houses of the chiefest Citizens, where they knocked with dissimulation. These believing them to be Friends, opened the doors, and the Pirates suddenly possessing themselves of the Houses, Robb'd all the Money and Plate they could find. Neither did they spare the Churches and most sacred things, all which were pillag'd and prophan'd, without any respect or veneration.

They get away
with many
riches.

Are pursued by
500 Spaniards

But all in
vain.

In the mean while great cries and lamentation were heard about the Town, of some who had escaped their hands; by which means the whole City was brought into an uproar and alarm. From hence the whole number of Citizens rallied together, intending to put themselves in defence. This being perceived by the Pirates, they instantly put themselves to flight, carrying with them all that they had Robb'd and likewise some Prisoners. These they led away to the intent that if any of them should happen to be taken by the Spaniards, they might make use of them for ransom. Thus they got unto their Ship, and with all speed imaginable put out to Sea; forcing the Prisoners before they would let them go, to procure them as much flesh as they thought necessary for their Voyage to Jamaica. But no sooner had they weighed Anchor, when they saw on shore a Troop of about five hundred Spaniards, all being very well arm'd, at the Sea-side. Against these they let fire several Guns, wherewith they forced them to quit the lands, and retire towards home with no small regret, to see those Pirates carry away so much Plate of their Churches and Houses, though distant at least forty Leagues from the Sea.

They brought
away 30000
pieces of eight.

John Davis
is made Admi-
ral of the Pi-
rates.

These Pirates Robb'd in this occasion, above four thousand pieces of Eight in ready money. Besides great quantity of Plate uncoyned, and many Jewels. All which was computed to be worth the Sum of fifty thousand pieces of Eight, or more. With this great purchase they arrived at Jamaica, soon after the Exploit. But as this sort of people are never Masters of their Money but a very little while, so were they soon constrained to seek more by the same means they had used before. This adventure caused Captain John Davis, presently after his return to be chosen Admiral of seven or eight Boats of Pirates; he being now esteemed by common consent an able Conductor for such enterprizes as these were. He began the exercise of this new Command, by directing his Fleet towards the Coasts of the North of Cuba, there to wait for the Fleet which was to pass from New-Spain. But not being able to find any thing by this design, they determined to go towards the Coasts of Florida being ar-
rived

rived there, they landed part of their Men, and Sacked a small City named Saint *Augustine* of *Florida*. The Castle of which place had a Garrison of two hundred men. The which notwithstanding, could not prevent the pillage of the City; they effecting it without receiving the least damage from either Souldiers or Townsmen.

He ravaged the City of St. Augustine.

Hitherto we have spoken in the first part of this Book, of the Constitution of the Islands of *Hispaniola* and *Tortuga*, their Proprieties and Inhabitants; as also of the Fruits, to be found in those Countries. In the Second Part of this Work, we shall bend our Discourse to describe the Actions of two of the most famous Pirates, who committed many horrible crimes and inhumane cruelties against the Spanish Nation.

The End of the First Part.



FRANCIS LOLONQIS.

Part. 2. Page. 1.

BUCHANIERS

OF

AMERICA.

PART II.

CHAP. I.

Origine of Francis Lolonois, and beginning of his Robberies.

Francis Lolonois was Native of that Territory in France, which is called *Les Sables d'Olonne*, or the Sands of Olone, In his Youth he was transported into the *Caribby Islands*, in quality of a Servant or Slave, according to the custom of France and other Countries, of which we have already spoken in the first part of this Book. Being out of his time, when he had obtained his Freedom he came into the Isle of *Hispaniola*. Here he placed himself for some while among the *Hunters*, before he began his Robberies against the *Spaniards*; whereof I shall make mention at present, until his unfortunate Death.

At first he made two or three Voyages in quality of a common Mariner; wherein he behaved himself so courageously, as to deserve the favour and esteem of the Governour of *Tortuga*, who was then *Monsieur de La Place*. Insomuch that this Gentleman gave him a Ship, and made him Captain thereof, to the intent he might seek his fortune. This Dame shewed her self very favourable unto him at the beginning; for in a short while he purchased great Riches. But withal, his Cruelties against the *Spaniards* were such, as that the very fame of them made him known through the whole *Indies*. For which reason the *Spaniards*, in his time, whensoever they were attacked by Sea, would chuse rather to die or sink fighting, than surrender; as knowing they should have

Francis Lolonois.

He serveth the *Pyrate*.

Is soon advanc'd to be a Captain.

have no Mercy nor Quarter at his hands. But as Fortune is seldom constant, for after some time, she turned her back unto him. The beginning of whose Disasters was, that in a huge Storm he lost his Ship upon the Coasts of Campeche. The men were all saved; but coming upon dry Land, the Spaniards pursu'd them, and killed the greatest part, wounding also Lolonois their Captain. Not knowing how to escape, he thought to save his life by a Stratagem. Hereupon he took several handfuls of Sand and mingled them with the Blood of his own Wounds, with which he besmeared his face and other parts of his body. Then hiding himself dextrously among the Dead, he continued there till the Spaniards had quitted the Field.

*Lolonois loses his Ship,
and is wounded.*

*Escapes by a
Stratagem.*

*He retireth un-
to the Woods.*

After they were gone, he retired into the Woods, and bound up his Wounds as well as he could. These being by the help of Nature pretty well healed, he took his way to the City of Campeche, having perfectly disguised himself in Spanish Habit. Here he spoke with certain Slaves, unto whom he promised their liberty, in case they would obey him, and trust in his Conduct. They accepted his Promises, and stealing one night a Canow, from one of their Masters, they went to Sea with the Pyrat. The Spaniards in the mean while had made Prisoners several of his Companions, whom they kept in close Dungeons in the City, while Lolonois went about the Town and saw all that passed. These were often asked by the Spaniards, What is become of your Captain? Unto whom they constantly answered, *He was dead.* With which news the Spaniards were hugely gladdened, and made great demonstrations of joy, kindling Bonfires, and, as them that knew nothing to the contrary, giving thanks to God Almighty for their deliverance from such a cruel Pyrat. Lolonois having seen these Joys for his death, made haste to escape with the Slaves above-mentioned and came safe to Tortuga, the common place of Refuge of all sort of Wickedness, and the Seminary, as it were, of all manner of Pyrats and Thieves. Though now his Fortune was but low, yet he failed not of means to get another Ship; which with Craft and Subtily he obtained, and in it one and twenty persons. Being well provided with Arms and other necessaries, he set forth towards the Isle of Cuba, on the South side whereof lieth a small Village which is called *de los Cayos*. The Inhabitants of this Town drive a great Trade in Tobacco, Sugar, and Hides; and all in Boats, as not being able to make use of Ships, by reason of the little depth of that Sea.

*The Spaniards
believe him
dead.*

*He goes to Sea
again.*

*His Enterprise
at the Village
de los Cayos.*

Lolonois was greatly Perswaded he should get here some considerable Prey; But by the good fortune of some Fishermen who saw him,

him, and the mercy of the Almighty, they escaped his brutal hands. For the Inhabitants of the Town of *Cape de San Cristobal* immediately a Messenger over Land unto the *Governour*, complaining unto the *Governour* that *Lolonois* was come to destroy them, with two Canows. The *Governour* could very hardly be persuaded unto the truth of this Story, seeing he had received Letters from *Campeche* that he was dead. Notwithstanding, at the importunity of the Petitioners he sent a Ship, to their relief, with ten Guns, and four score and ten Persons well armed; giving them withal this express Command: *They should not return unto his presence, without having totally destroyed those Pirates.* Unto this effect he gave them also a *Negro*, who might serve them for a Hangman; his Orders being such, as *They should immediately hang every one of the said Pirates, excepting Lolonois their Captain, whom they should bring alive unto the Havana.* This Ship arrived at *Cayo*; of whose coming the *Pirates* were advertised beforehand; and instead of flying, went to seek the said Vessel in the *River Estero*, where she rid at Anchor. The *Pirates* apprehended some *Fishermen*, and forced them, by night, to shew the entry of the Port, hoping soon to obtain a greater Vessel than their two Canows, & thereby to mend their Fortune. They arrived, after two of the clock in the morning, very nigh unto the Ship. And the Watch on board the Ship asking them *From whence they came, and if they had seen any Pirates abroad?* They caused one of the Prisoners to answer, *They had seen no Pirates, nor anything else.* Which answer brought them into persuasion that they were fled away, having heard of their coming.

But they experimented very soon the contrary: For about break of day the *Pirates* began to assault the Vessel on both sides with their two Canows. This attack they performed with such vigour, that although the *Spaniards* behaved themselves as they ought, and made as good defence as they could, shooting against them likewise some great Guns; yet they were forced to surrender, after being beaten by the *Pirates*, with Swords in hands, down under the Hatches. From hence *Lolonois* commanded them to be brought up one by one, and in this order caused their heads to be struck off. Among the rest, came up the *Negro*, designed to be the *Pirates* Executioner by the *Governor of Havana*. This Fellow implored mercy at his hands very dolefully, desiring not to be killed, and telling *Lolonois* he was constituted Hangman of that Ship; and that in case he would spare him, he would tell him faithfully all that he should desire to know. *Lolonois* made him confess as many things as he thought fit to ask him; and

His Cruelty.

having

having already commanded him to be murdered with the rest: He then cruelly and barbarously put them all to death, reserving of the whole number only one alive; whom he sent back unto the Governour of Havana, with this Message given him in writing: *I shall never henceforward give Quarter unto any Spaniard who shall be taken by me: And I have great hope I shall execute on your own person the very same punishment I have done upon them you sent against me.* Thus I have satisfied the kindness you designed unto me and my Companions. The Governour was much troubled to understand these sad and, withal, insolent News; which occasioned him to swear, (in the presence of many, he would never grant Quarter unto any Pirat that should fall into his hands. But the Citizens of the Havana desired him not to persist in the execution of that rash and rigorous Oath; Seeing like the Pirats would certainly take occasion from thence to do the same; and they had an hundred times more opportunity of Revenge than he: That being necessitated to give their Livelihood by Fishery, they should hereafter always be in danger of losing their lives. By these Reasons he was perswaded to bridle his Anger, and remit the severity of his Oath as before mentioned. His own ships and little Vessels, and a shoal of good sailors in Now Zelandia had got himself a good Ship, but withal very few Provisions and people in it. Hereupon to purchase both the one and the other, he resolved to use his customary means of cruising from one Port to another. Thus he did for some while, till at last not being able to purchase any thing, he determined to go unto the Port of Maracaibo. Here he took, by surprize, a Ship, that was laden with Plate and other Merchandize, being outward bound to buy Cacao-nuts. With these Prizes he returned unto Tortuga; where he was received with no small Joy by the Inhabitants, they congratulating his happy Success, and their own private Interest. He continued not long there, but pitched upon new designs, of equipping a whole Fleet sufficient to transport five hundred men, with all other necessities. With these Preparations he resolved to go unto the Spanish Dominions, and pillage both Cities, Towns and Villages; and finally, take Maracaibo in itself. For this purpose he knew the Island of Tortuga would afford him many resolute and courageous men, very fit for such Enterprises. Besides, that he had in his service several Prisoners, who exactly were acquainted with the way and places he designed upon.

He takes a Ship of Maracaibo.

John 111

CHAP. II.

Lolonois equippeth a Fleet, to land upon the Spanisb Islands Of America, with intent to rob, sack, and burn whatever be met.

OF this his design *Lolonois* gave notice unto all the Pirats, who at that conjuncture of time were either at home or abroad. By which means he got together, in a little while above 400 men. Besides which, there was at that present in the Isle of *Torunga* another Pirat, whose name was *Michael de Basco*. This man by his Piracy had gotten Riches sufficient to live at ease, and go no more abroad to Sea; having withal the Office of Major of the Island. Yet seeing the great Preparations that *Lolonois* made for this Expedition, he entred into a streight League of Friendship with him, and proffered unto him, that in case he would make him his chief Captain by Land (seeing he knew the Country very well, and all its Avenues) he would take part in his Fortunes, and go along with him. They both agreed upon Articles, with great joy of *Lolonois*, as knowing that *Basco* had performed great Actions in *Europe*, and had gained the repute of a good Souldier. He gave him therefore the Command he desired, and the Conduct of all his People by Land. Thus they all embarked in eight Vessels; that of *Lolonois* being the greatest, as having ten Guns of indifferent carriage.

Lolonois
joyneth another
Pirat unto him.

All things being in a readines, and the whole Company on board, they set sail together about the end of *April*, having a considerable number of men for those parts, that is in all, six hundred and threescore persons. They directed their course towards that part which is called *Bayala*, situated on the North-side of the Island of *Hispaniola*. Here they also took into their company a certain number of French Hunters, who voluntarily offered themselves to go along with them. And here likewise they provided themselves with Victuals and other Necessaries for that Voyage. From hence they set sail again the last day of *July*, and steered directly towards the eastern Cape of the Isle, called *Punta de Espada*. Hereabouts they suddenly espied a Ship that was coming from *Puerto Rico*, and bound for *New Spain*, being laden with *Cacao-nuts*. *Lolonois*, the Adimiral presently commanded the rest of the Fleet they should wait for him nigh unto the Isle of *Savona*, situate on the Eastern side of Cape *Punta de Espada*, for-

They set sail and
come to Bayala.

They sail again;
and take a Span-
ish Ship.

asmuch

Lading of the
Ship.

asmuch as he alone intended to go and take the said Vessel. The Spaniards, although they had been in fight now full two hours, and knew them to be Pirats, yet would they not flie, but rather prepared to fight; as being well armed, and provided of all things necessary thereunto. Thus the Combat began between Lolonois and the Spanish Vessel, which lasted three hours; and these being past, they surrendered unto him. This Ship was mounted with Sixteen Guns, and had fifty fighting men on board. They found in her *One hundred and twenty thousand weight of Cacao, forty thousand Pieces of Eight, and the value of ten thousand more in Jewels.* Lolonois sent the Vessel presently unto Tortuga to be unladed, with orders to return with the said Ship as soon as possible unto the Isle of Savona, where he would wait for their coming. In the mean while the rest of the Fleet, being arrived at the said Island of Savona, met with another Spanish Vessel that was coming from Comana with Military Provisions unto the Isle of Hispaniola; and also with Money to pay the Garrisons of the said Island. This Vessel also they took without any resistance, though mounted with eight Guns. Here were found seven thousand weight of Powder, great number of Muskets, and other things of this kind, together with twelve thousand Pieces of Eight in ready money.

These forementioned Events gave good encouragement unto the Pirats, as judging them very good beginnings unto the business they had in hand. Especially finding their Fleet pretty well recruited within a little while. For the first Ship that was taken being arrived at Tortuga, the Governour ordered to be instantly unladen, and soon after sent her back with fresh Provisions, and other Necessaries, unto Lolonois. This Ship he chose for his own, and gave that which he commanded, unto his Comrade Anthony du Pais. Thus having received new recruits of men, in lieu of them he had lost in taking the Prizes abovementioned, and by sickness; he found himself in a good condition to prosecute his Voyage. All being well animated and full of courage, they set sail for Maracaibo, which Port is situated in the Province of Nueva Venezuela, in the Altitude of twelve degrees and some minutes of Northern Latitude. This Island is in length twenty leagues, and twelve in breadth. Unto this Port also do belong the Islands of Omega and Monjes. The East-side thereof is called Cape St. Roman, and the Western side Cape of Caquibaca. The Gulf is called by some, the Gulf of Venezuela; but the Pirats usually call it the Bay of Maracaibo.

At the beginning of this Gulf are two Islands, which extend for the greatest part from East to West. That lieth towards the East is called *Isla de las Vigilia*, or the *Watch-Iste*; because in the middle thereof is to be seen an high Hill, upon which standeth a house wherein dwelleth perpetually a Watchman. The other is called *Isla de la Palomas*, or the *Iste of Pigeons*. Between these two Islands runneth a little Sea, or rather a Lake, of fresh water, being threescore leagues in length, and thirty in breadth; which disgorgeth into the Ocean, and disateth it self about the two Islands aforementioned. Between them is found the best passage for Ships, the Chanel of this passage being no broader than the flight of a great Gun of eight pound carriage, more or less. Upon the *Iste of Pigeons* standeth a Castle, to impede the entry of any Vessels; all such as will come in, being necessitated to approach very nigh unto the Castle, by reason of two Banks of Sand that lie on the other side, with only fourteen foot water. Many other Banks of Sand there be also found in this Lake, as that which is called *el Tablazo*, or the *great Table*, which is no deeper than ten foot; but this lieth forty leagues within the Lake. Others there be that have no more than six, seven, or eight foot in depth. All of them are very dangerous, especially unto such Mariners as are little acquainted with this Lake. On the West-side hereof is situated the Citie of *Maracaibo*, being very pleasant to the view, by reason its Houses are built along the shore, having delicate Prospects every-where round about. The City may possibly contain three or four thousand persons, the Slaves being included in this number; all which do make a Town of a reasonable bigness. Among these are judged to be eight hundred Persons more or less, able to bear Arms, all of them *Spaniards*. Here is also one Parish-Church, of very good Fabrick, and well adorned; four Monasteries, and one Hospital. The City is governed by a Deputy-Governour, who is substituted here by the Governour of *Caracas*, as being his Dependency. The Commerce or Trading here exercised, consisteth for the greatest part in Hides and Tobacco. The Inhabitants possess great numbers of Cattel, and many Plantations, which extend for the space of thirty leagues within the Countrey; especially on that side that looketh towards the great and populous Town of *Gibraltar*. At which place are gathered huge quantities of *Cacao-nuts*, and all other sorts of Garden-fruits; which greatly serve for the regale and sustenance of the Inhabitants of *Maracaibo*, whose Territories are much hotter than those of *Gibraltar*. Unto this place, those of *Maracaibo* send great quantities of Flesh; they

Lake of Maracaibo.

Castle.

Sand-bank.

Situation of Maracaibo.

Commerce of Maracaibo.

they making returns in Orenge, Lemons, and several other Fruits. For the Inhabitants of *Gibraltar* have great Scarcity of Provisions of Flesh, their Fields being not capable of feeding Cows nor Sheep.

The Port.

Before the City of *Maracaibo* lieth a very Spacious and secure Port, wherein may be built all sort of Vessels; as having great convenience of Timber, which may be transported thither at very little charge. Nigh unto the Town lieth also a small Island

Isle of *Borrica*.

called *Borrica*, which serveth them to feed great numbers of Goats. Of which Cattel the Inhabitants of *Maracaibo* make greater use for their Skins, than for their Flesh or Milk; they making no great account of these two, unless while they are as yet but tender and young Kids. In the Fields about the Town are fed some numbers of Sheep, but of a very small size.

Wild Indians.

In some of the Islands that belong unto the Lake, and in other places hereabouts, do inhabit many *Savage Indians*, whom the Spaniards call *Bravos*, or Wild. These *Indians* could never agree as yet, nor be reduced to any Accord with the Spaniards, by reason of their brutish and untamable nature. They dwell for the most part towards the Western side of the Lake, in little Huts that are built upon Trees which grow in the water. The cause hereof being only to exempt themselves as much as possible from the innumerable quantity of *Mosquito's*, or *Gnats*, that infest those parts, and by which they are tormented night and day. Towards the East-side of the said Lake are also to be seen whole Towns of Fishermen, who likewise are constrained to live in Huts, built upon Trees, like unto the former. Another reason of this dwelling, is the frequent Inundations of Waters: for after great Rains, the Land is often overflowed for the space of two or three leagues; there being no less than five and twenty great Rivers that feed this Lake. The Town of *Gibraltar* is also fre-

Inundations of *Gibraltar*.

quently drowned by these Inundations, insomuch as the Inhabitants are constrained to leave their Houses, and retire unto their Plantations.

Its Situation.

Gibraltar is situated at the side of the Lake, forty leagues or thereabouts within it, and receiveth its necessary Provisions of Flesh, as hath been said, from *Maracaibo*. The Town is inhabited by fifteen hundred persons, more or less; whereof four hundred may be capable of bearing Arms. The greatest part of the Inhabitants keep open Shops, wherein they exercise one mechanick Trade or other. All the adjacent Fields about this Town are cultivated with numerous Plantations of *Sugar* and *Cacao*; in which are many tall and beautiful Trees, of whose Timber

Tobacco Houses may be built, and also Ships. Among these Trees are found great store of Handsome and proportionable Cedars, Cedars being seven or eight foot in circumference, which serve there very commonly to build Boats and Ships. These they build after such manner as to bear one onely great Sail; and such Vessels are called *Piraguas*. The whole Country round about is sufficiently furnished with Rivers and Brooks, which are very useful to the Inhabitants in time of Drowths, they opening in that occasion many little Channels, through which they lead the Rivolets to water their Fields and Plantations. They plant in like manner great quantity of Tobacco, which is much esteemed in Europe; and for its goodnesse, is called there, *Tobacco de Sacerdotes*, or *Priests Tobacco*. They enjoy nigh twenty Leagues of Jurisdiction; which is bounded and defended by very high Mountains that are perpetually covered with Snow. On the other side of these Mountains is situated a great City called *Advida*, unto which the Town of *Gibraltar* is subject. All sort of Merchandize is carried from this Town unto the aforesaid City, upon Mules; and that but at one season of the year, by reason of the excessive Cold endured in those high Mountains. Upon the said Mules great returns are made in Flour of Meal, which cometh from towards *Peru*, by the way of *Estasse*.

Priests Tobacco, so called;

Merida.

Thus far I thought it convenient to make a short description of the aforesaid Lake of *Manatibo*, and its Situation; to the intent my Reader might the better be enabled to comprehend what I shall say concerning what was acted by the Pirates in this place. The History whereof, I shall presently begin.

Arrival of Lolois to the Gulf.

Arrival of Lolois to the Gulf.

Arrival of Lolois to the Gulf.

Arrival of Lolois to the Gulf.

As soon as *Lolois* arrived at the Gulf of *Venezuela*, he cast Anchor with his whole Fleet, out of sight of the Watch-tower of the Island of *Vigilia*, or *Watch-Isle*. The next day very early he set sail from hence, with all his Ships, for the Lake of *Manatibo*, where being arrived, they cast Anchor the second time. Soon after, they landed all their men, with design to attack, in the first place, the Castle or Fortrefs that commanded the Bar, and is therefore called *de la Barra*. This Fort consisteth onely of several great Baskets of Earth placed upon a rising ground, upon which are planted sixteen great Guns, with several other heaps of Earth round about, for covering the men within. The Pirates having landed at a distance of a league from this Fort, began to advance by degrees towards it. But the Governour thereof having espied their landing, had placed an Ambuscade of some of his men, with design to cut them off behind, while he meant to attack them in the front. This Ambuscade was found out by the

they making returns in Orenge, Lemons, and several other Fruits. For the Inhabitants of *Gibraltar* have great scarcity of Provisions of Flesh, their Fields being not capable of feeding Cows nor Sheep.

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Inundation of
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Gibraltar is situated at the side of the Lake, forty leagues or thereabouts within it, and receiveth its necessary Provisions of Flesh, as hath been said, from *Maracaibo*. The Town is inhabited by fifteen hundred persons, more or less; whereof four hundred may be capable of bearing Arms. The greatest part of the Inhabitants keep open Shops, wherein they exercise one mechanic Trade or other. All the adjacent Fields about this Town are cultivated with numerous Plantations of *Sugar* and *Cacao*; in which are many tall and beautiful Trees, of whose

Timber

Timber Houses may be built, and also Ships. Among these Trees are found great store of Handsome and proportionable Cedars, ^{Cedars} being seven or eight foot in circumference, which serve there very commonly to build Boats and Ships. These they build after such manner as to bear one only great Sail; and such Vessels are called *Piragua's*. The whole Country round about is sufficiently furnished with Rivers and Brooks, which are very useful to the Inhabitants in time of Drought, they opening in that occasion many little Channels, through which they lead the Rivolets to water their Fields and Plantations. They plant in like manner great quantity of Tobacco, which is much esteemed in Europe; and for its goodness, is called there, *Tobaco de Sacerdotes*, or *Priests Tobacco*. ^{Priests Tobacco, so called:} They enjoy nigh twenty Leagues of Jurisdiction; which is bounded and defended by very high Mountains that are perpetually covered with Snow. On the other side of these Mountains is situated a great City called *Akvida*, unto which the Town of *Gibraltar* is subject. All sort of Merchandize ^{Merida.} is carried from this Town unto the aforesaid City, upon Mules; and that but at one season of the year, by reason of the excessive Cold endured in those high Mountains. Upon the said Mules great returns are made in Flour of Meal, which cometh from towards *Peru*, by the way of *Estafé*.

Thus far I thought it convenient to make a short description of the aforesaid Lake of *Atlanacabo*, and its Situation; to the intent my Reader might the better be enabled to comprehend what I shall say concerning what was acted by the Pirats in this place. The History whereof, I shall presently begin.

As soon as *Lolmois* arrived at the Gulf of *Venezuela*, he cast ^{Arrival of Lolmois to the Gulf.} Anchor with his whole Fleet, out of sight of the Watch-tower of the Island of *Vigilia*, or *Watch-Ist.* The next day very early he set sail from hence, with all his Ships, for the Lake of *Atlanacabo*, where being arrived, they cast Anchor the second time. Soon after, they landed all their men, with design to attack, in the first place, the Castle or Fortress that commanded the Bar, and is therefore called *de La Barra*. This Fort consisteth onely of several great Baskets of Earth placed upon a rising ground, upon which are planted sixteen great Guns, with several other heaps of Earth round about, for covering the men within. The Pirats having landed at a distance of a league from this Fort, began to advance by degrees towards it. But the Governour thereof having espied their landing, had placed an Ambuscade of some of his men, with design to cut them off behind, while he meant to attack them in the front. This Ambuscade was found out by the Pirats;

They take the Fort.

Pirats; and hereupon getting before, they assaulted and defeated it so entirely, that not one man could retreat into the Castle. This Obstacle being removed, *Lalonois* with all his Companions advanced in great hast towards the Fort. And after a Fight of almost three hours, wherein they behaved themselves with desperate Courage, such as this sort of people use to shew, they became Masters thereof, having made use of no other Arms than their Swords and Pistols. In the mean while they were fighting, those who were routed in the Ambuscade, not being able to get into the Castle, retired towards the City of *Maracaibo* in great confusion and disorder, crying, *The Pirats will presently be here with two thousand men and more.* This City having formerly been taken by such kind of people as these were, and hack'd even to the remotest corners thereof, preserved still in its memory a fresh Idea of that misery. Hereupon, as soon as they heard these dismal News, they endeavour'd to escape as fast as they could towards *Gibraltar* in their Boats and Canows, carrying with them all the Goods and Money they could. Being come unto *Gibraltar*, they dispersed the rumour, that the Fortress was taken, and that nothing had been saved, nor any persons able to escape the fury of the Pirats.

They call the Fleet.

The Castle being taken by the Pirats, as was said before, they presently made sign unto the Ships of the Victory they had obtained; to the end they should come farther in, without apprehension of any danger. The rest of that day was spent in ruining and demolishing the said Castle. They nail'd the Guns, and burnt as much as they could not carry away: burying also the dead, and sending on board the Fleet such as were wounded.

Demolish the Fort.

And march to Maracaibo.

The next day very early in the morning, they weigh'd Anchor, and directed their course all together toward the City of *Maracaibo*, distant onely six leagues, more or less, from the Fort. But the wind being very scarce, that day they could advance but little, as being forced to expect the flowing of the Tyde. The next morning they came within sight of the Town, and began to make preparations for landing under the protection of their own Guns; being perswaded the *Spaniards* might have laid an Ambuscade among the Trees and Woods. Thus they put their men into Canows, which for that purpose they brought with them, and landed where they thought most convenient, shooting in the mean while very furiously with their great Guns. Of the people that were in the Canows, half onely went on shore, the other half remained on board the said Canows. They fired with their Guns from the Ships as fast as was possible towards the wooden

They land.

part

part of the shore; but could see, nor were answered by no body. Thus they marched in good order into the Town, whose Inhabitants, as I told you before, were all retired into the Woods, and towards Gibraltar, with their Wives, Children, and Families. Their houses they left well provided with all sort of Victuals, such as Flour, Bread, Pork, Brandy, Wines, and good store of Poultry. With these things the Pirates fell to banqueting, and making good Cheer: for in four weeks before, they had no opportunity of filling their stomachs with such plenty.

The Inhabitants retire into the Woods.

The Pirates enter the City.

They instantly possessed themselves of the best houses in the Town, and placed Centries every where they thought convenient. The great Church served them for the main *Corps de Gard*. The next day they sent a body of one hundred and sixty men to find out some of the Inhabitants of the Town; whom they understood were hidden in the Woods not far from thence. These returned that very night, bringing with them twenty thousand Pieces of Eight, several Mules laden with Household-goods and Merchandize, and twenty Prisoners, between men, women, and children. Some of their Prisoners were put to the Rack, only to make them confess where they had hidden the rest of their Goods; but they could extort very little from them. *Lolonois*, who never used to make any great account of murdering, though in cold blood, ten or twelve *Spaniards*, drew his Cutlafs and hacked one to pieces in the presence of all the rest, saying, *If you do not confess and declare where you have hidden the rest of your Goods, I will do the like unto all your Companions.* At last, amongst these horrible Cruelties and inhumane Threats, one was found who promised to conduct him, and shew the place where the rest of the *Spaniards* were hidden. But those that were fled, having intelligence that one had discovered their lurking Holes unto the Pirates, changed place, and buried all the remnant of their Riches under ground; insomuch that the Pirates could not find them out, unless some other person of their own Party should reveal them. Besides, that the *Spaniards* flying from one place to another every day, and often changing Woods, were jealous even of each other; insomuch as the Father scarce presumed to trust his own Son.

They form a Corps du Gard.

Make a great prey abroad.

Lolonois cutteth a Spaniard in pieces.

They go out to seek more.

But the Spaniards flee.

Finally, after that the Pirates had been fifteen days in *Maracaibo*, they resolved to go towards *Gibraltar*. But the Inhabitants of the place having received intelligence thereof beforehand, as also that they intended afterwards to go to *Merida*, gave notice of this design unto the Governour thereof, who was a valiant

They call the Governour of Merida.

*He came with
400 men,*

*And arrived in
all 400.*

*They came with-
in sight of Gi-
braltar.*

*The Speech of
Lolonois to his
Comrades.*

Souldiers, and had served his King in Flanders in many Military Offices. His answer was, *He would have them take no care: for he hoped in a little while to exterminate the said Pirates.* Whereupon he transferred himself immediately unto Gibraltar, with 400 men well armed, ordering at the same time, the Inhabitants of the said Town to put themselves in Arms; so that in all he made a body of eight hundred fighting men. With the same speed he commanded a Battery to be raised towards the Sea; whereon he mounted twenty Guns, covering them all with great Baskets of Earth. Another Battery likewise he placed in another place, mounted with eight Guns. After this was done, he barricado'd an High-way or narrow Passage unto the Town, through which the Pirates of necessity ought to pass; opening at the same time another, through much dirt and mud in the Wood, which was totally unknown unto the Pirates.

The Pirates, not knowing any thing of these Preparations, having embarked all their Prisoners and what they had robb'd, took their way towards Gibraltar. Being come within sight of the place, they perceived the Royal Standard hanging forth, and that those of the Town had a mind to fight, and defend their houses. Lolonois seeing this resolution, called a Council of War to deliberate what he ought to do in such case: proponing withal unto his Officers and Mariners, that the difficulty of such an Enterprize was very great, seeing the Spaniards had had so much time to put themselves in a posture of defence, and had gotten a good body of men together, with many Martial Provisions. But notwithstanding (said he) have a good courage. We must either defend our selves like good Souldiers, or lose our lives with all the riches we have gotten. Do as I shall do, who am your Captain. At other times we have fought with fewer men than we have in our company at present, and yet we have overcome greater numbers than there possibly can be in this Town. The more they are, the more glory we shall attribute unto our Fortune, and the greater Riches we shall increase unto it. The Pirates were under this suspicion, that all those Riches which the Inhabitants of Maracaibo had abandoned, were transported unto Gibraltar; or at least the greatest part thereof. After this Speech, they all promised to follow him, and obey very exactly his Commands. Unto whom Lolonois made answer, *'Tis well: but know ye thisal, that the first man who shall shew any fear, or the least apprehension thereof, I will pistol him with my own hands.*

With this resolution they cast Anchors nigh the shore, at the distance of one quarter of a league from the Town. The next day,

day, before Sun-rising, they were all loaded, being to the number of three hundred and fourscore men, well provided, and armed every one with a Cutlass, and one or two Pistols; and withal, sufficient Powder and Bullet for thirty charges. Here, upon the shore, they all shook hands with one another, in testimony of good courage, and began their march, *Lolonois* speaking these words unto them: *Come, my Brethren, follow me, and have a good courage.* They followed their way with a Guide they had provided. But he, believing he led them well, brought them to the way which the Governour had obstructed with *Barricade's*.

They march by land to Gibraltar.

Through this being not able to pass, they went unto the other, which was newly made in the Wood among the Mire; unto which the *Spaniards* could shoot at pleasure. Notwithstanding, the *Pirats* being full of courage, cut down a multitude of branches of Trees, and threw them in the dirt upon the way, to the end they might not stick so fast in it. In the mean while, these of *Gibraltar* fired at them with their great Guns so furiously, that they could scarce hear nor see one another, through the noise and smoke. Being now past the Wood,

They cut branches of Trees to pass over the Mud.

they came upon firm ground, where they met with a Battery of six Guns, which immediately the *Spaniards* discharged against them, all being loaded with small Bullets and pieces of Iron. After this, the *Spaniards* falling forth, serupon them with such fury, as caused the *Pirats* to give way and retire; very few of them daring to advance towards the Fort. They continued still firing against the *Pirats*, of whom they had already killed and wounded many. This made them go back to seek some other way through the middle of the Wood; but the *Spaniards* having cut down many Trees to hinder the passage, they could find none, and thus were forced to return unto that they had left. Here the *Spaniards* continued to fire, as before; neither would they fall out of their Batteries to attack the *Pirats* any more. Hereby *Lolonois* and his Companions, not being able to grimp up the Baskets of Earth, were compelled to make use of an old Stratagem; wherewith at last they deceived and overcame the *Spaniards*.

The Spaniards fire at them.

They continue firing.

Lolonois retired suddenly with all his men, making shew as if he fled. Hereupon the *Spaniards* crying out, *They flee, they flee, let us follow them*, sallied forth with great disorder, to pursue the fugitive *Pirats*. After they had drawn them some distance from their Batteries, which was their only design, they turned upon them unexpectedly with Swords in hand and killed above two hundred men. And thus fighting their way through these

Stratagem of Lolonois.

Wherewith he gaineth into Gibraltar.

who remained alive, they possessed themselves of the Batteries. The Spaniards that remained behind, gave themselves for lost, and consequently took their flight unto the Woods. The other part that was in the Battery of eight Guns, surrendered themselves upon conditions of obtaining quarter for their lives.

They pull down the Spanish Castle.

The Pirats being now become Masters of the whole Town, pulled down the Spanish Castle, and set up their own, taking Prisoners at the same time as many as they could find. These they carried unto the great Church, whither also they transferred many great Guns, wherewith they called a Battery to defend themselves; fearing lest the Spaniards that were fled, should rally more of their own Party, and come upon them again. But the next day, after they were all fortified, all their fears dilappeared.

They gather the dead and wounded.

They gathered all the dead, with intent to allow them burial, finding the number of above five hundred Spaniards kill'd; besides those that were wounded within the Town, and those that died of their Wounds in the Woods, where they sought for refuge. Besides which, the Pirats had in their custody above one hundred and fifty Prisoners, and nigh five hundred Slaves, many Women and Children.

Of their own Companions the Pirats found only forty dead, and almost as many more wounded.

Of their own Companions the Pirats found only forty dead, and almost as many more wounded. Whereof the greatest part died afterwards, through the constitution of the Air, which brought Fevers and other Accidents upon them. They put all the Spaniards that were slain into two great Boats, and carrying them one quarter of a league within the Sea, they sank the Boats. These things being done, they gathered all the Plate, Household-stuff and Merchandize, they could rob, or thought convenient to carry away. But the Spaniards who had any thing as yet left unto them, hid it very carefully. Soon after, the Pirats, as if they were unsatisfied with the great Riches they had gotten, began to seek for more Goods and Merchandize, not sparing those who lived in the Fields, such as Hunters and Planters. They had scarce been eighteen days upon the place, when the greatest part of the Prisoners they had taken, died for hunger. For in the Town very few Provisions, especially of Flesh, were to be found. Howbeit they had some quantity of Flour or Meal, although perhaps something less than what was sufficient. But this the Pirats had taken into their custody to make Bread for themselves. As to the Swine, Cows, Sheep, and Poultry that were found upon the place, they took them likewise for their own Sustainance, without allowing any share thereof unto the poor Prisoners. For these they only provided some small quantity of Mules and Asses

They throw them into the Sea. And rob all they could find.

The Prisoners die for hunger.

Beth,

fish, which they killed for that purpose. And such as could not easily that loschebber Provision, were constrained to die for hunger, as many did, their stomachs not being accustomed to such unusual sustenance. Only some women were found, who were allowed bitter Chear by the Pirats, because they served them in their sensual delights, unto which these Robbers are hugely given. Among those women, some had been Spanish, others were unknown; though almost all had rather taken up the Vice, through Poverty and Hunger, more than any other cause. Of the Prisoners many also died under the torments they sustained, to make them confess where they had hidden their Money or Jewels. And of these, some, because they had none nor knew of none, and others for denying what they knew, endured such horrible deaths.

Finally, after having been in possession of the Town four entire weeks, they sent four of the Prisoners remaining alive, unto the Spaniards that were fled into the Woods, demanding of them a Ransom for not burning the Town. The sum herof they constituted, ten thousand pieces of Eight, which unless it were sent unto them, they threatened to fire and reduce into ashes the whole Village. For bringing in of this Money, they allow'd them only the space of two days. These being past, and the Spaniards not having been able to gather so punctually such a sum, the Pirats began to set fire to many places of the Town. Thus the Inhabitants perceiving the Pirats to be in earnest, begged of them to help to extinguish the fire, and withal promised the Ransom should be readily paid. The Pirats condescended to their Petition, helping as much as they could to stop the progress of the fire. Yet though they used the best endeavours they possibly could, one part of the Town was ruined, especially the Church, belonging to the Monastery, which was burnt even to dust. After they had received the sum above-mentioned, they carried on board their Ships all the Riches they had robb'd, together with a great number of Slaves, which had not as yet, paid their Ransom. For all the Prisoners had sums of Money set up on them, and the Slaves were also commanded to be redeemed; from hence they returned to Maracaibo, where being arrived, they found a general Confectionation in the whole City. Unto which they sent three or four Prisoners to tell the Governor and Inhabitants, They should bring them thirty thousand pieces of Eight on board, their Ships for a Ransom of their Houses, otherwise they should be entirely sack'd down and burnt. In this manner had been wonted in this Expedition, such Recompences as I spoke of in the first Book.

do let 1012
1012 1012
1012 1012
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1012 1012
1012 1012
1012 1012
1012 1012

They turne
red many
Prisoners.
1012 1012
1012 1012

They demand
10000 pieces of Eight
of them that
were fled.

They fire the
Town.
1012 1012
1012 1012

The Church
of a Monastery
is burnt to ashes.

They return to
Maracaibo.

And demand
30000 Pieces
of Eight.

Among

*They rob the
Images and
Bells of the
Cathedral.*

*They give them
20000 Pieces
of Eight, and
500 Cows.*

*They depart
from thence.*

*But return to
get a Pilot.*

*They arrive at
Hispaniola.*

*And make a
Dividend of
what they had
got.*

*20000 Pieces
of Eight found
in ready Ab-
sency.*

Among these Debauch, a certain party of Pirates came on shore to rob, and those carried away the Images, the Pictures, and Bells of the great Church, on board the Fleet. The Spaniards, who were sent to demand of those who were fled the sum aforementioned, returned with orders to make some agreement with the Pirates. This they performed, and concluded with the Pirates they would give for their Ransom and liberty, the sum of twenty thousand Pieces of Eight, and five hundred Cows. The conditions hereof being such, as they should commit no further acts of Hostility against any person, but should depart from thence presently after payment of the money and Cattel. The one and the other being delivered, they set sail with the whole Fleet, causing great joy unto the Inhabitants of *Matanzas* to see themselves quit of this sort of People. Notwithstanding, three days after they resumed their fears and admiration, seeing the Pirates to appear again, and re-enter the Port they had left with all their Ships. But these apprehensions soon vanished, by only hearing one of the Pirates Errand, who came on shore to tell them from *Columis*, They should send him a Pilot to conduct one of his greatest Ships over the dangerous Bank that lies at the entry of the Lake. Which Petition or rather Command, was instantly granted.

The Pirates had now been full two months in those Towns, wherein they committed those cruel and insolent Actions, we have told you of. Departing therefore from thence, they took their course towards the Island *Hispaniola*, and arrived thither in eight days, casting Anchors in a Port called *Isla de la Puna*, or *Cow-Island*. This Isle is inhabited by French Butaniers, who most commonly sell the Flesh they hunt, unto Pirates, and others who now and then put in there, with intent of visiting or trading with them. Here they unladed the whole Carpans of Riches they had robbed; the usual Store-house of the Pirates, being commonly under the shelter of the Butaniers. Here also they made a Dividend amongst them of all their Prizes and Gain, according to that order and degree which belonged unto every one, as hath been mentioned above. Having cast up the account, and made exact Calculation of all they had purchased, they found in ready Money two hundred and threescore thousand Pieces of Eight. Whereupon this being divided, every one received to his share in Money, and also in pieces of Silk, Linen, and other Commodities, the value of above one hundred pieces of Eight. Those who had been wounded in this Expedition, received their hurt before all the rest; I mean, such Recompences as I spoke of the in the first

Book, for the loss of their Limbs, which many sustained. Afterwards they weighed all the Plate that was uncoined, reckoning after the rate of ten Pieces of Eight for every pound. The Jewels were prized with much variety, either at too high, or too low rates; being thus occasioned by their own ignorance. This being done, every one was put to his Oath again, that he had not concealed any thing, nor subtracted from the common stock. Hence they proceeded to the Dividend of what shares belonged to such as were dead amongst them, either in battle or otherwise. These shares were given to their Friends to be kept entire for them, and to be delivered in due time unto their nearest Relations, or whosoever should appear to be their lawful Heirs.

Besides Jewels and Plate,

They set sail for Tortuga.

The whole Dividend being entirely finished, they set sail from thence for the Isle of Tortuga. Here they arrived, one month after, to the great joy of most that were upon the Island. For as to the common Pirates, in three weeks they had scarce any money left them; having spent it all in things of little value, or at play either of Cards or Dice. Here also arrived, not long before them, two French Ships laden with Wine and Brandy, and other things of this kind: Whereby these Liquors, at the arrival of the Pirates, were sold indifferent cheap. But this lasted not long: for soon after they were enhanced extremely, a gallon of Brandy being sold for four Pieces of Eight. The Governour of the Island bought of the Pirates the whole Cargo of the Ship laden with Cacao, giving them for that rich Commodity, scarce the twentieth part of what it was worth. Thus they made shift to lose and spend the Riches they had gotten, in much less time than they were purchased by robbing. The Taverns and Stews, according to the custom of Pirates, got the greatest part thereof: Inasmuch that soon after they were constrained to seek more, by the same unlawful means they had obtained the precedent.

The Governour buys the Ship of Cacao.

CHAP. III.

Lolonois maketh new preparations to take the City of St. James de Leon. As also that of Nicaragua, where he miserably perisbeth.

New Preparations.

They resolve to go to Nicaragua.

Lolonois gathereth men.

They go to Bayana.

And from thence to Cuba.

Lolonois had got himself very great Esteem and Repute at *Turinga*, by this last Voyage, by reason he brought them home such considerable profit. And now he needed take no great care how to gather men to serve under his Colours, seeing more came in voluntarily to proffer their service unto him, than he could employ. Every one reposing such great confidence in his conduct for seeking their Fortunes, that they judged it a matter of the greatest security imaginable, to expose themselves in his company, the hugest dangers that might possibly occur. He resolved therefore, for a second Voyage, to go with his Officers and Soldiers towards the parts of *Nicaragua*, and pillage there as many Towns as he could meet.

Having published his new Preparations, he had all his men together at the time appointed, being about the number of seven hundred, more or less. Of these he put three hundred on board the Ship he took at *Atzacuba*, and the rest in other Vessels of lesser burthen, which were five more: So that the whole number were in all six Ships. The first Port they went unto, was in the Island of *Hispaniola*, to a place called *Bayana*, where they determined to victual the Fleet, and take in Provisions. This being done, they set sail from hence, and steered their course to a Port called *Matamana*, lying on the South side of the Isle of *Cuba*. Their intent was to take here all the Canoes they could meet; these Coasts being frequented by a huge number of Fishermen of *Tortolises*, who carry them from thence unto *Havana*. They took as many of the said Canoes, to the great grief of those miserable people, as they thought necessary for their designs. For they had great necessity of these small bottoms, by reason the Port whither they designed to go, was not of depth sufficient to bear Ships of any burthen. From hence they took their course towards the Cape called *Gracia y Dios*, situate upon the Continent in the altitude of fifteen degrees, Northern latitude; at the distance of one hundred Leagues from the Island de *los Pinos*. But being out at Sea, they were taken with

The Cruelty of Lolonois
LOLONOIS



with a sad and tedious Calm; and by the agitation of the Waves alone, were thrown into the *Gulf of Honduras*. Here they laboured very much to regain what they had lost, but all in vain; both the Waters in their course, and the Winds being contrary to their endeavours. Besides, that the Ship wherein *Lolonois* was embarked, could not follow the rest; and what was worse, they wanted already Provisions. Hereupon they were forced to put into the first Port or Bay they could reach, to revictual their Fleet. Thus they entered with their Canows into a River called *Xagua*, inhabited by *Indians*, whom they totally robbed and destroyed; they finding amongst their Goods great quantity of *Millet*, many Hogs and Hens. Not contented with what they had done, they determined to remain there while the bad weather was over, and to pillage all the Towns and Villages lying along the coast of the *Gulf*. Thus they passed from one place to another, seeking, as yet, more Provisions; by reason they had not what they wanted for the accomplishment of their Designs. Having searched and rifled many Villages, where they found no great matter, they came at last unto *Puerto Cavallo*. In this Port the *Spaniards* have two several Store-houses, which serve to keep the Merchandizes that are brought from the inner parts of the Country, until the arrival of the Ships. There was in the Port at that occasion, a *Spanish Ship* mounted with four and twenty Guns, and sixteen *Pedrero's*, or Morterpieces. This ship was immediately seized by the *Pirats*, and then drawing nigh the shore, they landed, and burnt the two Store-houses, with all the rest of the houses belonging to the place. Many Inhabitants likewise they took Prisoners, and committed upon them the most insolent and inhumane cruelties that ever *Heathens* invented, putting them to the cruellest tortures they could imagine or devise. It was the custom of *Lolonois*, that having tormented any persons, and they not confessing, he would instantly cut them in pieces with his Hanger, and pull out their Tongues; desiring to do the same, if possible, unto every *Spaniard* in the World. Oftentimes it happened that some of these miserable Prisoners, being forced thereunto by the Rack, would promise to discover the places where the fugitive *Spaniards* lay hidden; which being not able afterwards to perform, they were put to more Enormous and cruel Deaths, than they who were dead before.

The Prisoners being dead and annihilated (excepting only two, whom they reserved to shew them what they desired) they marched from hence into the Town of *San Pedro*, or *St. Peter*, distant ten or twelve Leagues from *Puerto Cavallo*, having in their

They enter the River Xagua, and rob the Indians.

They pass along to other places.

And arrive at Puerto Cavallo.

They take a great Spanish Ship.

They burn and raise all they find.

They exercise all manner of cruelty against the Spaniards.

They march to the Town of St. Pedro.

And meet with
An Ambuscade
of Spaniards.

their company three hundred men, whom *Lolonois* led, and leaving behind him *Moses van Vin* for his Lieutenant to govern the rest in his absence. Being come three Leagues upon their way, they met with a Troop of *Spaniards*, who lay in Ambuscade for their coming. These they set upon with all the courage imaginable, and at last totally defeated; howbeit they behaved themselves very manfully at the beginning of the Fight. But not being able to resist the fury of the Pirats, they were forced to give way and save themselves by flight, leaving many Pirats dead upon the place, and wounded; as also some of their own Party maimed by the way. These *Lolonois* put to death without mercy, having asked them what questions he thought fit for his purpose.

There were still remaining some few Prisoners who were not wounded. These were asked by *Lolonois*, if any more *Spaniards* did lie farther on in Ambuscade? Unto whom they answered, there were. Then he commanded them to be brought before him, one by one, and asked, if there was no other way to be found to the Town but that? This he did, out of a design to excuse, if possible, those Ambuscades. But they all constantly answered him, they knew none. Having asked them all, and finding they could shew him no other way, *Lolonois* grew outrageously passionate; insomuch that he drew his Cutlase, and with it cut open the breast of one of those poor *Spaniards*, and pulling out his heart with his sacrilegious hands, began to bite and gnaw it with his teeth, like a ravenous Wolf, saying unto the rest, *I will serve you all alike, if you shew me not another way.*

Hereupon those miserable Wretches promised to shew him another way: But withal, they told him, it was extremely difficult and laborious. Thus, to satisfy the cruel Tyrant, they began to lead him and his Army. But finding it not for his purpose, even as they told him, he was constrained to return unto the former way, swearing with great choler and indignation, *Mort Dieu, les Espagnols me le payeront: By Gods Death, the Spaniards shall pay me for this.*

They meet another
Ambuscade.

The next day he fell into another Ambuscade, the which he assaulted with such horrible fury, that in less than an hours time, he routed the *Spaniards*, and killed the greatest part of them. The *Spaniards* were perswaded that by these Ambuscades they should better be able to destroy the Pirats, assaulting them by degrees; and for this reason had posted themselves in several places. At last he met with a third Ambuscade, where was placed a Party of *Spaniards*, both stronger and to greater advantage than

than the former, Yet notwithstanding, the Pirats, by throwing with their hands little Firebals in great number, and continuing to do so for some time, forced this Party, as well as the precedent, to flie. And this with such great los of men, as that before they could reach the Town, the greatest part of the *Spaniards* were either killed or wounded. There was but one path which led unto the Town. This path was very well barricado'd with good defences : And the rest of the Town round about was planted with certain Shrubs or Trees named *Raqueltes*, very full of thorns, and these very sharp-pointed. This sort of Fortification seemed stronger than the Triangles which are used in *Europe*, when an Army is of necessity to pass by the place of an Enemy; it being almost impossible for the Pirats to traverse those Shrubs. The *Spaniards* that were posted behind the said defences, seeing the Pirats come, began to shoot at them with their great Guns. But these perceiving them ready to fire used to stoop down, and when the shot was made, fall upon the Defendants with Fire-balls in hands, and naked Swords, killing with these Weapons many of the Town. Yet notwithstanding, not being able to advance any farther, they were constrained to retire for the first time. Afterwards they returned to the attack again, with fewer men than before; and observing not to shoot till they were very nigh, they gave the *Spaniards* a charge so dexterously, that with every shot they killed an Enemy.

The Attacke continuing thus eager on both sides till night, the *Spaniards* were compelled to hang forth a white Flag, in token of Truce, and that they desired to come to a Parly. The only Conditions they required for delivering the Town, were, That the Pirats should give the Inhabitants quarter for two hours. This short space of time they demanded, with intent to carry away and abscond as much of their Goods and Riches as they could; as also to flie into some other neighbouring Town. Upon the agreement of this Article they entred the Town, and continued there the two hours abovementioned, without committing the least act of hostility, nor causing any trouble to the Inhabitants. But no sooner that time was past, than *Lalonois* ordered the Inhabitants should be follow'd and robb'd of all they had carried away; and not only Goods, but their Persons likewise to be made all Prisoners. Notwithstanding, the greatest part of their Merchandize and Goods were in such manner absconded, as the Pirats could not find them; they meeting only a few leathern Sacks fill'd with *Anil* or *Indigo*.

They approach
the Town.

Which is taken
upon Conditions.

Having:

*They commit
horrid Insolencies
and Robberies.*

Burn the Town.

*Go to the River
of Guatimala.*

*And from thence
to other Islands.*

*Pitch in great
quantities.*

*Which others
call Bitumen.*

Having staid at this Town some few days, and according to their usual customs committed there most horrid Insolencies, they at last quitted the place, carrying away with them all that they possibly could, and reducing the Town totally into ashes. Being come unto the Sea-side, where they left a party of their own Comrades, they found these had busied themselves in cruising upon the Fishermen that lived thereabouts, or came that way from the River *Guatimala*. in this River also was expected a Ship that was to come from *Spain*. Finally, they resolved to go towards the Islands that lie on the other side of the *Gulf*, there to cleanse and careen their Vessels. But in the mean while they left two Canows before the Coast, or rather the mouth of the River of *Guatimala*, to the intent they should take the Ship which, as I said before, was expected from *Spain*.

But their chief intention of going unto those Islands, was to seek Provisions, as knowing the Tortoises of those places are very excellent and pleasant food. As soon as they arrived there, they divided into Troops, each party chusing a fit post for that Fishery. Every one of them undertook to knit a Net with the Rinds of certain Trees, called in those parts, *Macoa*. Of these Rinds they make also Ropes and Cables for the service of Ships: Insomuch that no Vessel can be in need of such things, whensoever they can but find the said Trees. There be also in those parts many places where they find *Pitch*; which is gathered thereabouts in great abundance. The quantity hereof is so great, that running down the Sea-coasts, being melted by the heat of the Sun, it congealeth in the water into great heaps, and representeth the shape of small Islands. This Pitch is not like unto that we have in the Countries of *Europe*; but is hugely like, both in colour and shape, unto that froth of the Sea which is called by the Naturalists, *Bitumen*. But in my judgment, this matter is nothing else than Wax, which stormy weather hath cast into the Sea; being part of that huge quantity which in the neighbouring Territories is made by the Bees. Thus from places far distant from the Sea, it is also brought unto the Sea-coast by the Winds and rowling Waves of great Rivers; being likewise mingled with sand, and having the smell of *Black-Amber*, such as is sent us from the Orient. In those parts are found great quantities of the said Bees, who make their Honey in Trees; from whence it happeneth that the Honey-combs being fixed unto the bodies of the Trees, when Tempests arise they are torn away, and by the fury of the Winds carried into the Sea, as hath been said before. Some Naturalists are willing to say, that between
the

the Honey and the Wax is made a separation by means of the salt water; from whence proceedeth also the good Ambar. This opinion is rendred the more probable, because the said Ambar bring found and tasted, it affordeth the like taste as Wax doth.

*Some say it is
the matter of
Amber.*

But now, returning unto my discourse, I shall let you know, that the Pirats made in those Islands all the hast to equip their Vessels they could possible, by reason they had news the Spanish Ship was come which they expected. They spent some time in cruizing upon the coasts of *Jucatan*, whereabouts inhabit many *Indians*, who seek for the Ambar abovementioned in those Seas. But seeing we are come to this place, I shall here, by the by, make some short Remarks on the manner of living of these *Indians*, and the divine Worship which they practise.

*Indians of the
Coast of Jucatan.*

The *Indians* of the Coasts of *Jucatan* have now been above one hundred years, under the dominion of the *Spaniards*. Unto this Nation they performed all manner of Service: for whensoever any of them had need of a Slave or Servant, they sent to seek one of these *Indians* to serve them as long as they pleased. By the *Spaniards* they were initiated at first in the Principles of Christian Faith and Religion. Being thus made a part of Christianity, they used to send them every Sunday and Holiday through the whole year, a Priest to perform divine Service among them. Afterwards, for what reasons are not known, but certainly, through evil temptations of the Father of Idolatry the Devil, they suddenly cast off Christian Religion again, and abandoned the true divine Worship; beating withal and abusing the Priest that was sent them. This provoked the *Spaniards* to punish them according to their deserts; which they did by casting many of the chiefest of these *Indians* into Prison. Every one of these *Barbarians* had, and hath still, a God to himself, whom he serveth and worshippeth. It is a thing that deserveth all admiration, to consider how they use in this particular a Child that is newly born into the World. As soon as this is issued from the Womb of the Mother, they carry it unto the Temple. Here they make a circle or hole, which they fill with ashes, without mingling any thing else with them. Upon this heap of ashes they place the Child naked, leaving it there a whole night alone, not without great danger; no body daring to come near it. In the mean while the Temple is open on all sides, to the intent all sorts of Beasts may freely come in and out. The next day the Father and Relations of the Infant return thither, to see if the tract or step of any Animal appeareth to be printed in the ashes. Not finding

*Of their Cu-
stoms and Re-
ligion.*

*They cast off
Christian Re-
ligion.*

*Every one hath
his God.*

*Ceremonies
performed with
new-born In-
fants.*

finding any, they leave the Child there, until that some Beast hath approached the Infant, and left behind him the mark of his feet. Unto this Animal, whatsoever it be, they consecrate the Creature newly born, as unto its God; which he is bound to worship and serve all his life, esteeming the said Beast as his Patron and Protector in all cases of danger or necessity. They offer unto their Gods Sacrifices of Fire, wherein they burn a certain Gum called by them *Copal*, whose smoak affordeth a very delicious smell. When the Infant is grown up, the Parents thereof tell him and shew him whom he ought to worship, serve, and honour, as his own proper God. This being known, he goeth unto the Temple, where he maketh Offerings unto the said Beast. Afterwards, if in the course of his life any one hath injur'd him, or any evil happeneth unto him, he complaineth thereof unto that Beast, and sacrificeth unto it for revenge. From whence many times cometh, that those who have done the injury of which he complaineth are found to be bitten, killed, or otherwise hurt by such Animals.

After this superstitious and idolatrous manner, do live those miserable and ignorant *Indians*, that inhabit all the Islands of the Gulf of *Honduras*: as also many of them that dwell upon the Continent of *Yucatan*. In the Territories of which Country are found most excellent Ports for the safety of Ships, where those *Indians* most commonly love to build their Houses. These People are not very faithful one to another; and likewise use strange Ceremonies at their Marriages. Whensoever any one pretendeth to marry a young Damself, he first applyeth himself unto her Father, or nearest Relation. He then examineth him very exactly concerning the manner of cultivating their Plantations, and other things at his pleasure. Having satisfied the Questions that were put unto him by the Father-in-Law, he giveth the young man a Bow and Arrow. With these things he repaireth unto the young Maid, and presenteth her with a Garland of green Leaves, interweaved with sweet-smelling Flowers. This she is obliged to put upon her head, and lay aside that which she wore before that time; it being the custom of the Country, that all Virgins go perpetually crown'd with Flowers. This Garland being received and put upon the head, every one of the Relations and Friends go to advise with others, among themselves, whether that Marriage will be useful, and of likely happiness, or not. Afterwards the aforesaid Relations and Friends meet together at the house of the Damselfs Father, and they drink of a certain Liguor made of *Maja*, or *Indi-*

Wheat. And here, before the whole company, the Father giveth his Daughter in marriage unto the Bridegroom. The next day the newly-married Bride cometh unto her Mother; and in her presence pulleth off the Garland, and teareth it in pieces, with great cries and bitter lamentations, according to the custom of the Country. Many other things I could relate at large of the manner of living, and customs of those *Indians*; but these I shall omit, thereby to follow my discourse.

Our Pirats therefore had many Canows of the *Indians* in the Isle of *Sambale*, five leagues distant from the coasts of *Jucatan*. In the aforefaid Island is found great quantity of *Ambar*, but more especially when any storm ariseth from towards the East; from whence the Waves bring many things, and very different. Through this Sea no Vessels can pass, unless very small, the waters being too shallow. In the Lands that are surrounded by this Sea, is found huge quantity of *Campeche-moor*, and other things of this kind, that serve for the Art of Dying; which occasioneth them to be much esteemed in *Europe*: And doubtless, would be much more, in case we had the Skill and Science of the *Indians*; who are so industrious, as to make a Dye or Tincture that never changeth its-colour, nor fadeth away.

After that the Pirats had been in that Gulf three entire months, they received Advice that the *Spanish Ship* was come. Hereupon they hastened unto the Port, where the Ship lay at Anchor unloading the Merchandize it brought, with design to assault her as soon as it was possible. But before this attempt they thought it convenient to send away some of their Boats from the mouth of the River, to seek for a small Vessel which was expected; having notice that she was very richly laden. the greatest part of the Cargo being *Plate*, *Indigo*, and *Cochineel*. In the mean while, the People of the Ship that was in the Port had notice given that the Pirats designed upon them. Hereupon they prepared all things very well for the defence of the said Vessel; which was mounted with forty two Guns, had many Arms on board, and other necessities, together with one hundred and thirty fighting men. Unto *Lolonois* all this seemed but little; and thus he assaulted her with great courage, his own Ship carrying only twenty two Guns, and having no more then a small *Saïia* or Flyboat for help. But the *Spaniards* defended themselves after such manner, as they forced the Pirats to retire. Notwithstanding, while the smook of the Powder continued very thick, as

amidst a dark Fog or Mist, they sent four Canows very well man'd, and boarded the Ship with great agility; whereby they compell'd the *Spaniards* to surrender.

They find little wealth in her.

The Ship being taken, they found not in her what they thought, as being already almost wholly unladed. All the Treasure they here got, consisted only in fifty bars of Iron, a small parcel of Paper, some earthen Jarrs full of Wine, and other things of this kind; all of small importance.

A Council call'd about going to Guatimala.

Presently after, *Lolonois* called a Council of the whole Fleet, wherein he told them, he intended to go to *Guatimala*. Upon this point they divided into several sentiments; some of them liking the Proposal very well, and others disliking it as much. Especially a certain Party of them, who were but new in those exercises of Piracy, and who had imagined at their setting forth from *Tortuga*, that Pieces of Eight were gathered as easily as Pears from a Tree. But having found at last most things contrary to their expectation, they quitted the Fleet, and returned from whence they set out. Others on the contrary, affirmed they had rather die for hunger, than return home without a great deal of money.

Many leave Lolonois.

But the major part of the company judging the propounded Voyage little fit for their purpose, separated from *Lolonois* and the rest. Among these was Ringleader one *Moses Vanclein*, who was Captain of the Ship taken at *Puerto Cavallo*. This Fellow took his course towards *Tortuga*, designing to cruze to and fro in those Seas. With him also joyned another Comrade of his own, by name *Pierre le Picard*; who seeing the rest to leave *Lolonois*, thought fit to do the same. These run-a-ways having thus parted company, steered their course homewards, coasting along the Continent, till they came at last unto *Costa Rica*. Here they landed a strong Party of men nigh unto the River of *Veraguas*, and marched in good order unto the Town of the same name. This place they took and totally pillaged, notwithstanding that the *Spaniards* made a strong and warlike resistance. They brought away some of the Inhabitants as Prisoners, with all that they have robb'd, which was of no great importance. The reason hereof, being the poverty of the place, which exerciseth no manner of Trade than only working in the Mines, where some of the Inhabitants do constantly attend: yet no other persons seek for the Gold, than only Slaves. These they compel to dig, whether they live or die, and wash the earth that is taken out, in the neighbouring Rivers; where oftentimes they find pieces of Gold as big as Peas. Finally, the

They go to Costa Rica. And take Veraguas.

Rob the place, but find little.

Mines of Gold.

Pirats.

Pirats found in this Robbery no greater value than seven or eight pounds weight of Gold. Hereupon they returned back, giving over the design they had, to go farther on to the Town of *Nata*, situated upon the the coasts of the South-Sea. Hither-to they designed to march, knowing the Inhabitants to be rich Merchants, who have their Slaves at work in the Mines of *Vera-guas*. But from this Enterprize they were deterr'd by the multitude of *Spaniards*, whom they saw gather on all sides to fall upon them; whereof they had timely advice beforehand.

Lolonois thus abandoned by his Companions remained alone *Lolonois re-* in the *Gulf of Honduras*, by reason his Ship was too great to get maineth, out at the time of the reflux of those Seas, which the smaller Vessels could more easily do. There he sustained great want of all sorts of Provisions: Insomuch as they were constrained to *Wanteth Pro-* go ashore every day, to seek wherewithal to maintain themselves. *visions.* And not finding any thing else, they were forced to kill Mon- kies and other Animals, such as they could find for their suste- nance.

At last having found, in the altitude of the Cape of *Gracias a Dios*, certain little Islands called *de las Perlas*: Here, nigh unto *Isles de las* these Isles, his Ship fell upon a bank of sand, where it stuck so fast, as no Art could be found to get her off into deep water again. Notwithstanding, they unladed all the Guns, Iron, and other weighty things as much as possibly they could: but all they could do, was to little or no effect. Hereupon they were *They lose their* necessitated to break the Ship in pieces, and with some of the Planks and Nails build themselves a Boat, wherewith to get a *Ship.* way from those Islands. Thus they began their work; and *As I intend to* mean while they are employed about it, I shall pass to describe *build a Boat.* succinctly the Isles aforementioned, and their Inhabitants.

The Islands called *de las Perlas*, are inhabited by *Indians*, who *Indians of these* are properly Savages, as not having at any time known or con- *Islands.* versed with any civil People. They are tall in stature, and very nimble in running, which they perform almost as fast as horses. At diving also in the Sea, they are very dextrous and hardy. From the bottom of the Sea I saw them take up an Anchor that weighed six hundred pound, by tying a Cable unto it with great dexterity, and pulling it from a Rock. They use no other Arms than such as are made of Wood, without any Iron, unless that some in- stead thereof do fix a Crocodiles tooth which serveth for a point. They have neither Bows nor Arrows among them, as other *Indians* have; but their common Weapon is a sort of Lances, that are long a fathom and a half. In these Islands there be ma-

Plantations.

Whether they
eat humane
flesh.They seek for
Indians and
find some.They give them
the n. trifles, and
get them go.

ny Plantations surrounded with Woods, from whence they gather great abundance of Fruits. Such are *Potato's*, *Bananas*, *Kacovins*, *Ananas*, and many others, which the constitution of the Soil affordeth. Nigh unto these Plantations they have no houses to dwell in, as in other places of the *Indies*. Some are of opinion that these *Indians* eat humane flesh; which seemeth to be confirmed by what happened when *Lolonois* was there. Two of his Companions, the one being a *Frenchman*, and the other a *Spaniard*, went into the Woods, where having straggled up and down some while, they met with a Troop of *Indians* that began to pursue them. They defended themselves as well as they could with their Swords; but at last were forced to flee. This the *Frenchman* performed with great agility; but the *Spaniard* being not so swift as his Companion, was taken by those Barbarians, and heard of no more. Some days after, they attempted to go into the Woods to see what was become of their Companion. Unto this effect twelve Pirats set forth very well arm'd, amongst whom was the *Frenchman*, who conducted them, and shewed them the place where he left his Companion. Here they found, nigh unto the place, that the *Indians* had kindled fire; and at a small distance from thence, they found the bones of the said *Spaniard* very well roasted. From hence they infer'd that they had roasted the miserable *Spaniard*, of whom they found more, some pieces of flesh ill scraped off from the bones; and one hand, which had only two fingers remaining.

They marched farther on, seeking for *Indians*. Of these they found a great number together, who endeavour'd to escape, seeing the Pirats so strong and well arm'd. But they overtook some of them, and brought on board their Ships five men and four women. With these they used all the means they could invent to make themselves to be understood, and gain their affections; giving them certain small trifles, as *Knives*, *Beads*, and the like things. They gave them also *Victuals* and *Drink*; but nothing of either would they taste. It was also observable, that all the while they were Prisoners on board the Ships, they spoke not one word to each other among themselves. Thus the Pirats seeing these poor *Indians* were much afraid of them, presented them again with some small things, and let them go. When they departed, they made signs giving them to understand, they would come again. But they soon forgot their Benefactors, and were never heard nor seen more. Neither could any notice afterwards be had of these *Indians*, or any others, in the whole Island, after that time. Which occasioned the Pirats to

suspect that both those that were taken, and all the rest of the Island, did all swim away by night unto some other little neighbouring Islands: Especially considering they could never see eyes on any *Indian* more; neither was there ever seen any Boat or other Vessel in the whole circumference of the Island.

All the Indians disappear.

In the mean while, the Pirats were very desirous to see their long-Boat finished, which they were building with the timber of the Ship that stuck upon the Sands. Yet considering their work would be long, they began to cultivate some pieces of ground. Here they sowed *French Beans*, which came to maturity in six weeks time; and many other Fruits. They had good provision of *Spanish Wheat*, *Bananas*, *Racovans*, and other things. With the Wheat they made Bread, and bak'd it in portable Ovens, which they had brought with them to this effect. Thus they feared not hunger in those desert places. After this manner they employed themselves for the space of five or six Months. Which time being past, and the long-Boat finished, they determined to go unto the River of *Nicaragua* to see if they could take some few Canows, and herewith return unto the said Islands and fetch away their Companions that remained behind; by reason the Boat they had built was not capable of transporting so many men together. Hereupon, to evite any disputes that might arise, they cast Lots among themselves, determining thereby who should go, or stay in the Island.

The Pirats were here five or six months.

They cast Lots among themselves.

The Lot fell only upon one half of the people of the lost Vessel; who embarked upon the Long-boat they had built, and also the Skiff which they had before; the other half remaining on shore. *Lolonois* having set sail, arrived in few days at the mouth of the River of *Nicaragua*. Here suddenly his ill fortune assailed him, which of long time had been reserved for him, as a punishment due unto the multitude of horrible Crimes, which in his licentious and wicked life he had committed. Here he met with both *Spaniards* and *Indians*, who jointly together set upon him and his Companions, and used them so roughly, that the greatest part of the Pirats were killed upon the place. *Lolonois* with those that remained alive, had much ado to escape on board their Boats aforementioned. Yet notwithstanding this great loss of men, he resolv'd not to return to seek those he had left at the Isle of *Petras*, without taking some Boats, such as he looked for. Unto this effect he determin'd to go farther on to the Coasts of *Cartagena*, with design to seek for Canows. But God Almighty, the time of his divine Justice being now already come, had appointed the *Indians* of *Darien* to be

Misfortunes of Lolonois.

Which preceded his death.

the

Death of Lolo-
nois.

And of his
Companions.

How they got
away who re-
mained behind.

They arrive at
the Cape of Gra-
cias à Dios.

With intent to
go to Carago-
na.

the Instruments and Executioners thereof. These *Indians* of *Darien* are esteemed as *Braves*, or wild savage *Indians*, by the neighbouring *Spaniards*, who never could reduce them to civility. Hither *Lolonois* came (being rather brought by his evil Conscience that cryed for punishment of his Crimes) thinking to act in that Country his former cruelties. But the *Indians* within a few days after his arrival took him Prisoner, and tore him in pieces alive, throwing his body limb by limb into the fire, and his ashes into the Air; to the intent no trace or memory might remain of such an infamous inhumane Creature. One of his Companions gave me an exact account of the aforesaid Tragedy; affirming withal, that he himself had escaped the same punishment, not without the greatest of difficulties. He believed also, that many of his Comrades who were taken Prisoners in that Rencontre by the *Indians* of *Darien*, were after the same manner as their cruel Captain, torn in pieces and burnt alive. Thus endeth the History of the life and miserable death of that Infernal Wretch *Lolonois*. Who full of horrid, execrable and enormous deeds, and also debtor to so much innocent blood, died by cruel and butcherly hands, such as his own were in the course of his life.

Those that remained in the Island *de las Perlas*, waiting for the return of them who got away only to their great misfortune, hearing no news of their Captain, nor Companions, at last embarked themselves upon the Ship of a certain Pirat, who happened to pass that way. This Fellow was come from *Jamaica* with intent to land at the Cape of *Gracias à Dios*; and from hence to mount the River with his Canows, and take the City of *Caragena*. These two parcels of Pirats being now joynd together, were infinitely gladded at the presence and society of one another. Those, because they found themselves delivered from their miseries, poverty, and necessities, wherein now they had lived the space of ten entire months. These, because they were now considerably strengthened, whereby to effect with greater satisfaction their intended designs. Hereupon, as soon as they were arrived unto the aforesaid Cape of *Gracias à Dios*, they all put themselves into Canows, and with these Vessels mounted the River, being in number five hundred men, leaving only five or six persons in every Ship, to keep them. They took no Provisions with them, as being perswaded they should find every where sufficient. But these their own hopes are found totally vain, as not being grounded in God Almighty. For he ordained it so, that the *Indians* having perceived their coming, were all fled before them, not leav-

ving in their houses nor Plantations, which for the most part do border upon the sides of Rivers, any thing of necessary Provisions or Victuals. Hereby, in few days after they had quitted their Ships, they were reduced to such necessity and hunger, as nothing could be more extreme. *Notwithstanding*, the hopes they had conceived of making their Fortunes very soon, did animate them for the present. Being contented in this affliction with a few green Herbs, such as they could gather as they went upon the banks of the River.

They endure extreme hunger.

Yet all this courage and vigour of mind could not last above a fortnight. After which, their hearts, as well as their bodies, began to fail for hunger : insomuch as they found themselves constrained to quit the River, and betake themselves unto the Woods, seeking out some small Villages where they might find relief for their necessity. But all was in vain : For having ranged up and down the Woods for some days, without finding the least comfort to their hungry desires, they were forced to return again unto the River. Where being come, they thought it convenient to descend unto the Sea-coasts where they had left their Ships, not being able to find in the present Enterprize what they sought for. In this laborious Journey they were reduced to such extremity, that many of them devoured their own Shoes, the Sheaths of their Swords, Knives, and other things of this kind. Being almost ravenous, and fully desirous to meet some *Indians*, intending to sacrifice them unto their teeth. At last they arrived at the Coast of the Sea, where they found some comfort and relief to their former miseries, and also means to seek more. Yet notwithstanding, the greatest part of them perished through faintness, and other Diseases, contracted by hunger ; which occasioned also the remaining part to disperse. Till at last, by degrees, many or most of them fell into the same Pit that *Columbus* did. Of him, and of his Companions, I have hitherto given my Reader a compendious Narrative ; which now I shall continue with the Actions and Exploits of Captain *Henry Morgan*. Who may not undeservedly be called the second *Columbus* ; as not being unlike or inferiour unto him, either in Achievements against the *Spaniards*, or in Robberies of many innocent People.

They go to the Woods to seek relief.

Are reduced to great extremity.

They disperse.

CHAP. II.

Of the Origine and Descent of Capt. Henry Morgan.
 His Exploits, and a Continuation of the most remarkable
 Allient of his Life.

Origine of Capt.
Morgan.

Captain Henry Morgan was born in the Kingdom of England, and there in the Principality of Wales. His Father was a rich Yeoman or Farmer, and of good quality in that Country, even as most who bear that name in Wales, are known to be. Morgan being as yet young, had no inclinations to follow the Calling of his Father; and therefore left his Country, and came towards the Sea-coasts to seek some other Employ more suitable to his humour, that aspired to something else. There he found entertainment in a certain Port where several Ships did lie at Anchor; that were bound for the Isle of Barbadas. With these Ships he resolved to go in the service of one, who, according to what is commonly practised in those parts by the English and other Nations, sold him as soon as he came on shore. He served his time at Barbadas; and when he had obtained his liberty, thence transferred himself unto the Island of Jamaica, there to seek new fortunes. Here he found two Vessels of Pirates that were ready to go to Sea. Being destitute of Employ, he put himself into one of these Ships, with intent to follow the Exercises of that sort of people. He learn'd in a little while their manner of living; and so exactly that having performed three or four Voyages with some profit and good success, he agreed with some of his Comrades, who had gotten by the same Voyages a small parcel of Money, to joyne stocks and buy a Ship. The Vessel being bought, they unanimously chose him to be the Captain and Commander thereof.

He goes to
Barbades.

And thence to
Jamaica.

He serveth the
Pirates.

Mansvelt, an
old Pirat.

With this Ship, soon after, he set forth from Jamaica to cruise upon the Coasts of Campeche, in which Voyage he had the fortune to take several Ships, with which he returned triumphant to the same Island. Here he found at the same time an old Pirat, named Mansvelt, (of whom we have already made mention in the first part of this

this Book) who was then buſied in equipping a conſiderable Fleet of Ships, with deſign to land upon the Continent, and pillage whatever came in his way. *Manſvelt* ſeeing Captain *Morgan* return with ſo many Prizes, judged him, from his actions, to be of undaunted courage; and hereupon was moved to chuſe him for his Vice-Admiral in that Expedition. Thus having fitted out fifteen Ships, between great and ſmall they ſet ſail from *Jamaica* with five hundred men both *Walloons* and *French*. With this Fleet they arrived not long after at the Iſle of *St. Catharine*, ſituated nigh unto the Continent of *Coſta Rica*, in the altitude of twelve degrees and a half, Northern latitude, and diſtance thirty five leagues from the River of *Chagres*, between North and South. Here they made their firſt deſcent, landing moſt of their men preſently after.

*He took ſome
ſhips at ſea
Maketh Mo-
gan Vice-Ad-
miral.*

*They go the ſp
of St. Catha-
rines.*

Being now come to try their Arms and Fortune, they in a ſhort while forced the Garriſon that kept the Iſland to ſurrender and deliver into their hands all the Forts and Caſtles belonging thereunto. All theſe they inſtantly demolished, reſerving onely one; wherein they placed one hundred men of their own Party, and all the Slaves they had taken from the *Spaniards*. With the reſt of their men they marched unto another ſmall Iſland nigh unto that of *St. Catharine*, and adjoining ſo near unto it, that with a Bridge they could get over. In few days they made a Bridge, and paſſed thither, conveying alſo over it all the pieces of Ordnance which they had taken upon the great Iſland. Having ruined and deſtroyed, with Sword and Fire, both the Iſlands, leaving what Orders were neceſſary at the Caſtle above-mentioned, they put forth to Sea again, with the *Spaniards* they had taken Priſoners. Yet theſe they ſet on ſhore, not long after, upon the firm Land, nigh unto a place called *Puerio Velo*. After this, they began to cruize upon the coaſts of *Coſta Rica*, till that finally they came unto the River of *Colla*, deſigning to rob and pillage all the Towns they could find in thoſe parts, and afterwards to paſs unto the Village of *Nana*, to do the ſame.

And take it.

*With another
ſmall neighbour-
ing Iſland.*

*They put out to
Sea again.*

*And come to
the River of
Colla.*

*The Govern-
ment of Panama
cometh to meet
them.*

*They return to
St. Cath.*

The *President* or Governour of *Panama* having had advice of the arrival of theſe *Pirats*, and the Hoſtilities they committed every where, thought it his duty to ſet forth to their encounter with a Body of Men. His coming cauſed the *Pirats* to retire ſuddenly with all ſpeed and care. Eſpecially ſeeing the whole Country alarmed at their arrival; and that their deſigns were known, and conſequently could be of no great effect at that preſent. Hereupon they returned unto the Iſle of *St. Catharine*, to re-
fit

And find all
things in good
possession.

Manvelt is
desirous to keep
St. Cath.

He returneth
to Jamaica for
Recruits.

Which are deny-
ed him.

Goeth to Tor-
tuga for the
same purpose,
and dieth.

The Governour
of Costa Rica.

fit the hundred men they had left in garrison there. The Governour of these men was a certain French-man named *le Sieur Simon*; who behaved himself very well in that charge, mean while *Manvelt* was absent. Insomuch that he had put the great Island in a very good posture of defence; and the little one he had caused to be cultivated with many fertile Plantations, which were sufficient to revictual the whole Fleet with Provisions and Fruits, not onely for present refreshment, but also in case of a new Voyage. *Manvelt's* inclinations were very much bent to keep these two Islands in perpetual possession, as being very commodious, and profitably situated for the use of the Pirats. Chiefly because they were so near unto the Spanish Dominions, and easily to be defended against them; as I shall represent in the third part of this History more at large, in a Copper Plate, delineated for this purpose.

Hereupon *Manvelt* determined to return unto *Jamaica*, with design to send some Recruit unto the Isle of *St. Catharine*, that in case of any invasion of the Spaniards, the Pirats might be provided for a defence. As soon as he arrived, he propounded his mind and intentions unto the Governour of that Island; but he liked not the Propositions of *Manvelt*, fearing lest by granting such things, he should displease his Master the King of England. Besides, that giving him the men he desired, and other necessaries for that purpose, he must of necessity diminish and weaken the Forces of that Island whereof he was Governour. *Manvelt* seeing the unwillingness of the Governour of *Jamaica*, and that of his own accord he could not compass what he desired, with the same intent and designs went unto the Isle of *Tortuga*. But there, before he could accomplish his desires, or put in execution what was intended Death suddenly surprized him, and put a period to his wicked life; all things hereby remaining in suspense, until the occasion which I shall hereafter relate.

Le Sieur Simon, who remained at the Isle of *St. Catharine* in quality of Governour thereof, receiving no news from *Manvelt* his Admiral, was greatly impatient, and desirous to know what might be the cause thereof. In the mean while, *Don John Perez de Guzman*, being newly come to the Government of *Costa Rica*, thought it no ways convenient for the interest of the King of Spain, that that Island should remain in the hands of the Pirats. And hereupon he equipped a considerable Fleet, which he sent unto the said Island to retake it. But before he came to use any great violence, he writ a Letter unto *le Sieur Simon*,

Simon, wherein he gave him to understand, if he would surrender the Island unto his Catholick Majesty, he should be very well rewarded; but in case of refusal, severely punished when he had forced him to do it. *Le Sieur Simon* seeing no appearance or probability of being able to defend it alone, nor any emolument that by so doing could accrue either unto him or his People; after some small resistance, delivered up the Island into the hands of its true Lord and Master, under the same Articles they had obtained it from the Spaniards. Few days after the Surrendry of the Island, there Arrived from *Jamaica* an English Ship which the Governour of the said Island had sent under-hand, wherein was a good supply of People, both Men and Women. The Spaniards, from the Castle having espied this Ship, put forth the English Colours, and perswaded *le Sieur Simon* to go on board, and conduct the said Ship into a Port they assigned him. This he performed immediately with dissimulation, whereby they were all made Prisoners. A certain Spanish Enginier hath published, before me, an exact account and Relation of the retaking of the Isle of *St. Catherine* by the Spaniards; which Printed Paper being fallen into my hands, I have thought it fit to be inserted here.

Written unto
him of *St. Catherine*.

A Spaniard
describeth the
retaking of *St. Catherine*.

A true Relation and particular Account of the Victory obtained by the Arms of his Catholick Majesty against the English Pirates; by the direction and valour of Don John Perez de Guzman, Knight of the Order of St. James, Governour and Captain General of Tierra Firme, and the Province of Veraguas.

THE Kingdom of *Tierra Firme*, which of it self is sufficiently strong to repulse and extirpate great Fleets, but more especially the Pirates of *Jamaica*, had severall ways notice, under several hands, imparted to the Governour thereof, that fourteen English Vessels did cruise upon the Coasts belonging to his Catholick Majesty. The 14th day of July, 1665. news came unto *Panama*, that the English Pirates of the said Fleet were arrived at *Puerto de Naos*, and had forced the Spanish Garrison of the Isle of *St. Catherine*, whose Governour was *Don Estevan del Campo*; and that they had possessed themselves of the said Island, taking Prisoners the Inhabitants, and destroying all that ever they met. Moreover, about the same time *Don John Perez de Guzman* received particular information of these Robberies from the relation of some Spaniards who escaped out of the Island, (and whom he order'd to be conveyed unto *Puerto Viejo*) who more

distinctly told him, That the aforementioned Pirats came into the Island the second day of May, by night, without being perceived by any body: And that the next day, after some disputes by Arms, they had taken the Fortresses, and made Prisoners all the Inhabitants and Souldiers, not one excepted, unless those that by good fortune had escaped their hands. This being heard by Don John, he called a Council of War, wherein he declared the great Progress the said Pirats had made in the Dominions of his Catholick Majesty. Here likewise he propounded, That it was absolutely necessary to send some Forces unto the Isle of St. Catherine, sufficient to retake it from the Pirats; the Honour and Interest of his Majesty of Spain being very narrowly concerned herein. Otherwise the Pirats by such Conquests might easily, in course of time, possess themselves of all the Countries thereabouts. Unto these Reasons some were found, who made answer, That the Pirats, as not being able to subsist in the said Island, would of necessity consume and waste themselves, and be forced to quit it, without any necessity of retaking it. That consequently it was not worth the while to engage in so many expences and troubles, as might be foreseen this would cost. Notwithstanding these Reasons to the contrary, Don John, as one who was an expert and valiant Souldier, gave orders that quantity of Provisions should be conveyed unto *Puerto Velo*, for the use and service of the Militia. And neither to be idle nor negligent in his Masters Affairs, he transported himself thither, with no small danger of his life. Here he arrived the seventh day of July, with most things necessary to the expedition in hand; where he found in the Port a good Ship, called *St. Vincent*, that belonged unto the Company of the Negro's. This Ship being of its self a strong Vessel, and well mounted with Guns, he manned and victualled very well, and sent unto the Isle of *St. Catherine*, constituting Captain *Joseph Sanchez Jimenez*, Major of the City of *Puerto Velo*, Commander thereof. The people he carried with him were two hundred threescore and ten Souldiers, and thirty seven Prisoners of the same Island: Besides four and thirty Spaniards belonging to the Garrison of *Puerto Velo*, nine and twenty Mulattoes of *Panama*, twelve Indians very dexterous at shooting with Bows and Arrows, seven expert and able Gunners, two Lieutenants, two Pilots, one Chirurgion, and one Religious man of the Order of *St. Francis*, for their Chaplain.

Don John soon after gave his Orders unto every one of the Officers, instructing them how they ought to behave themselves; telling them withal, that the Governour of *Cartagena* would

assist

assist and supply them with more Men, Boats, and all things which they should find necessary for that Enterprize; to which effect he had already written unto the said Governour. On the 24th day of the said Month, *Don John* commanded the Ship to weigh Anchor, and sail out of the Port. Then seeing a fair Wind to blow, he called before him all the People designed for that Expedition, and made them a Speech; encouraging them to fight against the Enemies of their Country and Religion; but more especially against those inhumane Pirates, who had heretofore committed so many horrid and cruel actions against the Subjects of his Catholick Majesty. Withal, promising to every one of them most liberal Rewards; but especially unto such as should behave themselves as they ought in the service of their King and Country. Thus *Don John* bid them farewell; and immediately the Ship weighed Anchor, and set sail under a favourable gale of Wind. The 22d of the said Month they arrived at *Cartagena*, and presented a Letter unto the Governour of the said City from the noble and valiant *Don John*; who received it, with testimonies of great affection unto the person of *Don John*, and his Majesties service. And seeing their resolute Courage to be conformable to his desires and expectation, he promised them his assistance, which should be with one Frigate, one Gallon, one Boat, and one hundred and twenty six men, the one half out of his own Garrison, and the other half *Mulatto's*. Thus all of them being well provided with necessities, they set forth from the Port of *Cartagena*, the second day of *August*; and the 10th of the said Month they arrived within sight of the Isle of *St. Catherine*, towards the Western point thereof. And although the Wind was contrary, yet they reached the Port, and came to an Anchor within it; having lost one of their Boats, by foul weather, at the Rock called *Quila*.

The Pirates seeing our Ships come to an Anchor gave them presently three Guns with Bullets; the which were soon answered in the same coin. Hereupon the Major *Joseph Sanchez Jimenez* sent on shore, unto the Pirates, one of his Officers, to require them, in the name of the Catholick King his Master, to surrender the Island, seeing they had taken it in the midst of Peace between the two Crowns of *Spain* and *England*; and that in case they would be obstinate, he would certainly put them all to the Sword. The Pirates made answer, That Island had once before belonged unto the Government and Dominions of the King of *England*; and that instead of surrendering it, they preferred to lose their lives.

On

On Friday the 13th of the said Month, three *Negros* from the Enemy, came swimming aboard our Admiral. These brought intelligence, that all the Pirats that were upon the Island were only threescore and twelve in number; and that they were under a great consternation, seeing such considerable Forces come against them. With this intelligence the *Spaniards* resolved to land, and advance towards the Fortresses; the which ceased not to fire as many great Guns against them, as they possibly could; which were corresponded in the same manner on our side, till dark night. On Sunday the 15th of the said Month, which was the day of the Assumption of our Lady, the weather being very calm and clear, the *Spaniards* began to advance thus. The Ship named *St. Vincent*, which rid Admiral, discharged two whole broad-sides upon the Battery called the *Conception*. The Ship called *St. Peter*, that was Vice-Admiral, discharged likewise her Guns against the other Battery named *St. James*. In the mean while, our people were landed in small Boats, directing their course towards the point of the Battery last mentioned, and from thence they marched towards the Gate called *Cortadura*. The Lieutenant *Franco de Caceres*, being desirous to view the strength of the Enemy, with only fifteen men, was compelled to retreat in all haste, by reason of the great Guns which played so furiously upon the place where he stood. They shooting not only pieces of Iron and small Bullets, but also the Organs of the Church, discharging in every shot, threescore Pipes at a time.

Notwithstanding this heat of the Enemy, Captain *Don Joseph Ramirez de Leyva*, with threescore men, made a strong Attack, wherein they fought on both sides very desperately, till that at last he overcame, and forced the Pirats to surrender the Fort he had taken in hand.

On the Other side, Captain *John Galeno*, with fourscore and ten men, passed over the Hills, to advance that way towards the Castle of *St. Teresa*. In the mean while, the Major *Don Joseph Sanchez Jimenez*, as Commander in chief, with the rest of his men, set forth from the Battery of *St. James*, passing the Port with four Boats, and landing in despite of the Enemy. About this same time, Captain *John Galeno* began to advance with the men he led unto the forementioned Fortress. So that our men made three Attacks upon the Enemy, on three several sides, at one and the same time, with great courage and valour. Thus the Pirats seeing many of their men already kill'd, and that they could in no manner subsist any longer, retreated

towards

towards *Cortadura*, where they surrendered themselves, and likewise the whole Island, into our hands. Our People possessed themselves of all, and set up the Spanish Colours, as soon as they had rendered thanks to God Almighty for the Victory obtained on such a signalized day. The number of dead were six men of the Enemies, with many wounded, and three score and ten Prisoners. On our side was found only one man kill'd, and four wounded.

There was found upon the Island eight hundred pound of Powder, two hundred and fifty pound of small Ballers, with many other Military Provisions. Among the Prisoners were taken also two *Spaniards*, who had born Arms under the *English* against his Catholick Majesty. These were commanded to be shot to death the next day by order of the Major. The 10th day of *September* arrived at the Isle an *English* Vessel, which being seen at a great distance by the Major, he gave order unto *le Sieur Simon*, who was a *French-man*, to go and visit the said Ship, and tell them that were on board, the Island belonged still unto the *English*. He performed the Commands, and found in the said Ship only fourteen men, one woman, and her daughter, who were all instantly made Prisoners.

The *English* Pirats were all transported unto *Puerto Peto*, excepting only three, who by order of the Governour were carried to *Panama*, there to work in the Castle of *St. Jeron*. This Fortification is an excellent piece of Workmanship, and very strong; being raised in the middle of the Port, of quadrangular form, and of very hard stone. Its elevation or height is of eighty eight Geometrical feet; the Walls being of fourteen, and the Cortains of seventy five feet diameter. It was built at the expences of several private persons, the Governour of the City furnishing the greatest part of the Money; so that it did not cost his Majesty any sum at all.

CHAP. V.

Some account of the Island of Cuba. Captain Morgan attempteth to preserve the Isle of St. Catherine, as a Refuge and Nest unto Pirats; but faileth of his designs. He arriveth at and taketh the Village of el Puerto del Principe.

Captain Morgan attempteth to keep St. Catherine.

Captain Morgan seeing his Predecessour and Admiral Mansvelt was dead, endeavour'd as much as he could, and us'd all the means that were possible, to preserve and keep in perpetual possession the Isle of St. Catherine, seated nigh unto that of Cuba. His principal intent was to consecrate it as a Refuge and Sanctuary unto the Pirats of those parts; putting it into a sufficient condition of being a convenient Receptracle or Store-house of their Preys and Robberies. Unto this effect he left no stone unmov'd whereby to compass his designs, writing for the same purpose unto several Merchants that lived in Virginia and New-England, and perswading them to send him Provisions and other necessary things, towards the putting the said Island in such a posture of defence, as it might neither fear any external dangers, nor be moved at any suspicions of invasion from any side, that might attempt to disquiet it. At last all his thoughts and cares proved ineffectual, by the Spaniards retaking the said Island, yet not withstanding, Captain Morgan retained his ancient courage, which instantly put him upon new designs. Thus he equipped at first a Ship, with intention to gather an entire Fleet, both as great and as strong as he could compass. By degrees he put the whole matter in execution, and gave order unto every Member of this Fleet, they should meet at a certain Port of Cuba. Here he determined to call a Council, and deliberate concerning what were best to be done, and what place first they should fall upon. Leaving this new preparation in this condition, I shall here give my Reader some small account of the aforementioned Isle of Cuba, in whole Ports this expedition was hatched, seeing I omitted to do it in its proper place.

Description of the Island of Cuba.

The Island of Cuba lieth from East to West, in the altitude and situation of twenty unto three and twenty degrees, Northern latitude; being in length one hundred and fifty German Leagues, and about forty in breadth. Its Fertility is equal unto that of the

But faileth in the design.

He equipeth another Fleet.

The Towne of Puerto del Principe taken & sackt
Part 2. Chap. 3.



the Island of *Hispaniola*. Besides which, it affordeth many things proper for Trading and Commerce, such as are Hides of several Beasts, particularly those that in Europe are called *Hides of Havana*. On all sides it is surrounded with a great number of small Islands, which go altogether under the name of *Cayos*. Of these little Islands the Pirates make great use, as of their own proper Ports of refuge. Here most commonly they make their Meetings, and hold their Councils, how to assault more easily the Spaniards. It is thoroughly irrigated on all sides with the streams of plentiful and pleasant Rivers, whose entries do form both secure and spacious Ports. Besides many other Harbours for Ships, which along the calm shores and coasts do adorn many parts of this rich and beautiful Island. All which, contribute very much unto its happiness, by facilitating the exercise of Trade; whereunto they invite both Natives and Aliens. The chiefest of these Ports are *San Tiago*, *Bayama*, *Santa Maria*, *Esperanza Santo*, *Trinidad*, *Xayoa*, *Cabo de Corrientes*, and others; all which are seated on the South-side of the Island. On the Northern-side hereof are found these following: *La Havana*, *Puerto Mariano*, *Santa Cruz*, *Mata Ricos*, and *Barracan*.

This Island hath two principal Cities, by which the whole Country is governed, and unto which all the Towns and Villages thereof do give obedience. The first of these is named *San Tiago*, or *St. James*, being seated on the South side, and having under its jurisdiction one half of the Island. The chief Magistrates hereof are a Bishop and a Governor, who command over the Villages and Towns belonging to the half above mentioned. The chiefest of these are, on the Southern-side, *Esperanza Santo*, *Puerto de el Principe* and *Bayama*. On the North-side it hath *Barracan*, and the Town called *de los Cayos*. The greatest part of the Commerce driven at the aforementioned City of *San Tiago*, cometh from the *Canary-Islands*; whither they transport great quantity of *Tobacco*, *Sugar*, and *Hides*; which sorts of Merchandize is drawn from the Head-City from the subordinate Towns and Villages. In former times this City of *San Tiago* was miserably sack'd by the Pirates of *Jamaica* and *Tortuga*; notwithstanding that it is defended by a considerable Castle.

The City and Port of *la Havana* lieth between the North and West-side of the Island. This is one of the renownedst and strongest places of all the *West Indies*. Its jurisdiction extendeth over the other half of the Island; the chiefest places under it being *Santa Cruz* on the Northern-side, and *la Trinidad* on the

Commerce.

Coffee.

Inhabitants.

Convenient Situation.

Capt. Morgan
has got a
good Fleet.
They design
to gainst Havana.

diversity of Opi-
nions.

They intend
to el Puerto del
Principe.

South. From hence is transported huge quantity of Tobacco; which is sent in great plenty unto *New Spain* and *Cafra River*, even as far as the South-Sea. Besides many Ships laden with this Commodity, that are consigned into *Spain*, and other parts of *Europe*, not only in the leaf, but also in stowls. This City is defended by three Castles, very great and strong: two of which lie towards the Port, and the other is seated upon a hill that commandeth the Town. 'Tis esteemed to contain ten thousand Families, more or less; among which number of people, the Merchants of this place trade in *New Spain*, *Campeche*, *Honduras*, and *Florida*. All the Ships that come from the parts above mentioned, as also from *Caracas*, *Carragena*, and *Cafra River* are necessitated to take their Provisions in at *Havana*, wherewith to make their Voyage for *Spain*; this being the necessary and straight course they ought to steer for the South of *Europe*, and other parts. The Plate-Fleet of *Spain*, which the *Spaniards* call *Fleeta*, being homeward bound, toucheth here yearly, to take in the rest of their full Charge, as *Hides*, *Tobacco*, and *Campêche-wood*.

Captain *Morgan* had been no longer than two months in the abovementioned Ports of the South of *Ouba*, when he had got together a Fleet of twelve sail, between Ships and great Boats; wherein he had seven hundred fighting men, part of which were *English*, and part *French*. They called a Council; and some were of opinion 'twere convenient to assault the City of *Havana*, under the obscurity of the night. Which Enterprize, they said, might easily be performed; especially if they could but take any few of the Ecclesiasticks, and make them Prisoners. Yea, that the City might be sack'd before the Castles could put themselves in a posture of defence. Others propounded, according to their several opinions, other attempts. Notwithstanding, the former Proposal was rejected, because many of the Pirates had been Prisoners at other times in the said City; and these affirmed nothing of consequence could be done, unless with fifteen hundred men. Moreover, that with all this number of People, they ought first to go unto the Island *de los Pinos*, and land them in small Boats about *Matamoras*, fourteen leagues distant from the aforesaid City, whereby to accomplish by these means and order their designs.

Finally they saw no possibility of gathering so great a Fleet, and hereupon, with that they had, they concluded to attempt some other place. Among the rest was found, at last, one who propounded, they should go and assault the Town of *el Puerto del*

el Principe. This Proposition he endeavoured to perswade, by saying, he knew that place very well; and that being at a distance from the Sea, it never was sack'd by any Pirates; whereby the Inhabitants were rich, as exercising their Trade for ready money, with those of *Havana*, who kept here an established Commerce, which consisted chiefly in *Hides*. This Proposal was presently admitted by Captain *Morgan*, and the chiefest of his Companions. And hereupon they gave order unto every Captain to weigh Anchor and set sail, steering their course towards that coast that lieth nearest unto *el Puerto de el Principe*. Hereabouts is to be seen a Bay, named by the Spaniards, *el Puerto de Santa Maria*. Part of St. Mar. Being arrived at this Bay, a certain Spaniard, who was Prisoner ry. on board the Fleet, swam ashore by night, and came unto the Town of *Puerto del Principe*, giving an account unto the Inhabitants of the design the Pirates had against them. This he affirmed to have over-heard in their discourse, mean while they thought he did not understand the *English* Tongue. The Spaniards, as soon as they received this fortunate advice, began instantly to hide their Riches, and carry away what Moveables they could. The Governour also immediately raised all the People of the Town; both Freemen and Slaves; and with part of them took a Post by which of necessity the Pirates were to pass. He commanded likewise many Trees to be cut down and laid amidst the ways, to hinder their passage. In like manner he placed several Ambuscades, which were strengthened with some pieces of Cannon, to play upon them on their march. He gathered in all, about eight hundred men, of which he distributed several into the aforementioned Ambuscades, and with the rest he besieged the Town; displaying them upon the plain of a spacious Field, from whence they could see the coming of the Pirates at length.

Captain *Morgan* with his men, being now upon the march, found the avenues and passages unto the Town impenetrable. Hereupon they took the way through the Wood, traversing it with great difficulty, wherely they escaped divers Ambuscades. Thus at last they came into the Plain aforementioned; which, from its figure, is called by the Spaniards, *La Savana*, or the Sheet. The Governour seeing them come, made a detachment of a Troop of Horses, which he sent to charge them in the front, thinking to disperse them, and by putting them to flight, pursue them with his main Body. But this design succeeded not as it was intended. For the Pirates marched in very good rank and file, at the sound of their Drums, and with flying Colours. When they came nigh unto the Horse, they drew into the form

As being a rich Town.

Their design being betrayed.

The Spaniards prepared themselves.

Ambuscades.

They escape the Ambuscades.

Many Spaniards kill'd.

The Town taken.

Wives surrendred to the Pirates.

of Semidire, and thus advanced towards the Spaniards; who charged them like valiant and courageous Soldiers for some while. But seeing that the Pirates were very dexterous at their Arms, they began to retreat towards the Wood. Here they designed to fight themselves with more advantage; but before they could reach it, the greatest part of them were unfortunately killed by the hands of the Pirates. Thus they left the victory unto these new-come Enemies, who had no considerable loss of men in this Battle, and but very few wounded, howbeit the Skirmish continued for the space of four hours. They entered the Town, though not without great resistance of such as were within; who defended themselves as long as was possible, thinking by their defence to hinder the pillage. Hereupon, many seeing the Enemy within the Town, shut themselves up in their own houses, and from thence made several shot against the Pirates. Who perceiving the mischief of this disadvantage, presently began to threaten them, saying, *If you surrender not voluntarily, you shall soon see the Town in a Flame, and your Wives and Children torn in pieces before your Faces.* With these menaces the Spaniards submitted entirely into the discretion of the Pirates; believing they could not continue there long, and would soon be forced to dislodge.

As soon as the Pirates had possessed themselves of the Town, they enclosed all the Spaniards, both men, women, Children and slaves, in several Churches; and gathered all the Goods they could find by way of pillage. Afterwards they searched the whole Country round about the Town bringing day by day many Goods, and Prisoners, with much Provision. With this they had fell to banquetting among themselves, and making great Cheer, after their Customary way; without remembering the poor Prisoners who they permitted to starve in the Churches for hunger. In the mean while they ceased not to torment them daily after an inhumane manner, thereby to make them confess where they hid their Goods, Monies, and other things; though nothing was left them. Unto this effect they punished also the women and little children, given them nothing to eat; whereby the greatest part perished.

When they could find no more to rob, and that Provisions began to grow scarce, they thought it convenient to depart, and seek new fortunes in other places. Hence they inclosed the Prisoners, *They should find money to ransom themselves, or else should be sold to Jamaica. All which being done, if they did not pay a second ransom for the Town, they would burn every one of*

They conclude to go away.
The Town put to ransom.

Street, that they certainly should be burnt. Being taken by this cruel stratagem, and all things being thus, the Pirates began to make a new War against the People, all sorts of Victuals they could find. This was their whole

two after. The Spaniards hearing these things, notwithstanding among themselves four fellow-Townsmen, and seek for the above-mentioned Contributions. But the Pirates to the intent they should ~~not~~ speedily with the Ransom prescribed, tormented several in their presence, before they departed, with all the rigour imaginable. After a few days the Spaniards returned from the fatigue of their unreasonable Commissions, telling Captain Morgan, *We have ran up and down, and searched all the neighbouring Woods and places we most suspected, and yet have not been able to find any of our own Party, nor consequently any fruit of our Embassy. But if you are pleased to have a little longer patience with us, we shall certainly cause all that you demand, to be paid within the space of fifteen days.* Captain Morgan was contented, as it should seem to grant them this Petition. But not long after there came into the Town seven or eight Pirates, who had been ranging in the Woods and Fields, and got thereabouts some considerable Booty. These brought among other Prisoners, a certain Negro, whom they had taken with Letters about him. Captain Morgan having perused them, found they were from the Governor of San Diego, being written unto some of the Prisoners; wherein he told them they should not make too much haste to pay any ransom for their Town or Persons or any other Pretext. *But on the contrary, they should put off the Pirates as well as they could with excuses and delays, expecting to be relieved by him within a short while, when he would certainly come to their aid.* This intelligence being heard by Captain Morgan, he immediately gave orders, that all they had rob'd should be carried on board the Ships. And withal, he intimated to the Spaniards, that the very next day they should pay their Ransoms; forasmuch as he would not wait one moment longer, but reduce the whole Town to ashes, in case they failed to perform the sum demanded.

Prisoners sent to gather in.

Letters intercepted from San Diego.

Which cost the Pirates to retreat.

With this intimation, Captain Morgan made no mention unto the Spaniards of the Letters he had intercepted. Whereupon they made him answer, That it was totally impossible for them to give such a sum of Money in so short a space of time; seeing their fellow-Townsmen are not to be found in all the Country thereabouts. Captain Morgan knew full well their intentions; and withal, thought it not convenient to remain there any longer time. Hence he demanded of them only five hundred Oxen or Cows, together with sufficient Salt wherewith to Salt them. Hereunto he added only this Condition, that they should carry them on board his Ships: which they promised to do.

about 2000 Cows wanted.

he

fell (unwillingly) at
his hands.

he departed with all his men, taking with him only six of the principal Prisoners, as Judges of what he intended. The next day the Spaniards brought the Cattle and Salt unto the Ships, and required the Prisoners. But Captain Morgan threatened to fixer them till such time as they helped his men to kill and support the Boevey. This was likewise performed in great haste, and caring to stay there any longer, lest he should be surpris'd by the Forces that were gathering about him. Having received all on board his Vessels, he set at liberty the Prisoners he had kept as Hostages of his demands. Mean while these things being in agitation, there happened to arise some dissensions between the English-men and the French. The occasion of their discord was, as followeth: A certain French-man being employed in killing and taking one of the Prisoners, an English Pirate came to him and took away the Marrow-bones he had taken out of the Ox; which sort of meat these People esteem very much. Hereupon they challenged one another. Being come unto the place of duell, the English-man drew his Sword treacherously against the French-man, wounding him in the back, before he had put himself into a just posture of defence; whereby he suddenly fell dead upon the place. The other French-men, desirous to revenge this base action, made an Insurrection against the English. But Captain Morgan soon extinguish'd this flame, by commanding the Criminal to be bound in Chains, and then carried to Jamaica; promising to them all he would see justice done upon him. For although it were permitted unto him to challenge his Adversary, yet was it not lawful to kill him treacherously, as he did.

Discord between
the French and
English.

that he was
not much longer
alive.

The next day

50000 Pieces
of Eight robbed
here.

The French
separate from
the English.

As soon as all things were in readiness, and on board the Ships, and likewise the Prisoners set at liberty, they sailed from thence, directing their course to a certain Island, where Captain Morgan intended to make a Dividend of what they had purchased in that Voyage. Being arrived at the place assigned, they found nigh the value of fifty thousand Pieces of Eight, both in money and goods. The sum being known, it caus'd a general resentment and grief, to see such a small purchase; which was not sufficient to pay their Debts at Jamaica. Hereupon Captain Morgan propounded unto them, they should think upon some other Enterprize and Pillage, before they returned home. But the French-men, not being able to agree with the English, separated from their company, leaving Captain Morgan alone with those of his own Nation; notwithstanding all the persuasions he us'd to reduce them to continue in his company. Thus they parted

parted with all external signs of friendship: Captain *Morgan* recommitting his promises unto them, he would see justice done upon that Criminal. This he performed: but being arrived at *Jamaica*, he caused him to be hang'd; which was all the satisfaction the *French* Pirates could expect.

CHAP. VI

Captain Morgan, resolveth to attack and plunder the City of Puerto Velo. To this effect he equippeth a Fleet, and, with little Expence and small Forces, taketh the said Place.

SOME Nations may think, that the *French* having deserted Captain *Morgan*, the *English* alone could not have sufficient courage to attempt such great actions, as before. But Captain *Morgan* who always communicated Vigour with his words, infused such spirits into his men, as were able to put every one of them infinitely upon new designs, They being all perswaded by his Reason, that the true execution of his Orders would be a certain means of obtaining great Riches. This perswasion had such influence upon their minds, that with unimitable Courage they all resolv'd to follow him. The same likewise did a certain *Pirat* of *Campeche*, who on this occasion joyned with Captain *Morgan*, to seek new fortunes under his conduct, and greater advantages than he had found before. Thus Captain *Morgan*, in few days, gathered a Fleet of nine sail, between Ships and great Boats, wherein he had four hundred and threescore military men.

After that all things were in good posture of readines, they put forth to Sea, Captain *Morgan* importing the design he had in his mind unto no body for that present. He only told them on several occasions, that he held as indubitable, he should make a good fortune by that Voyage, if strange occurrences altered not the course of his designs. They directed their course towards the continent, where they arriv'd in few days upon the Coast of *Costa Rica*, with all their Fleet intire. No sooner had they discovered Land, but Captain *Morgan* declar'd his intentions

A new Fleet
equipp'd.

An old *Pirat* of
Campeche.

480 men in all.

They set forth to-
wards *Puerto*
Velo.

disturb'd
so on the
coast

Speech of Cap-
tain Morgan.

treason to the Captain, and presently after unto all the rest of the Company. He told them he intended in that Expedition to plunder *Puerto Velo*, and that he would perform it by night, being resolved to put the whole City to the sack, not the least corner escaping his diligence. Moreover, to encourage them, he added, This Enterprize could not fail to succeed well, seeing he had kept it secret in his mind, without revealing it to any body; whereby they could not have notice of his coming. Unto this proposition some made answer, They had not a sufficient number of men wherewith to assault so strong and great a City. But Captain Morgan replied, *If our number is small, our hearts are great. And the fewer persons we are, the more union and better secrets we shall have in the work.* Hereupon, being stimulated with the ambition of those vast Riches they promised themselves from their good success, they unanimously concluded to venture upon that design. But now, to the intent my Reader may better comprehend the incomparable boldness of this Exploit, it may be necessary to say something before-hand of the City of *Puerto Velo*.

Description of
Puerto Velo.

The City, which beareth this name in America, is seated in the Province of *Costa Rica*, under the altitude of ten degrees Northern latitude, at the distance of fourteen leagues from the *Gulf of Darien*, and eight Westwards from the Port called *Nombre de Dios*. it is judged to be the strongest place that the King of Spain possesseth in all the *West-Indies*, excepting two, that is to say, *Havana* and *Carthagena*. Here are two Castles, almost inexpugnable, that defend the City, being situated at the entry of the Port, so that no ship nor Boat can pass without permission. The Garrison consisteth of three hundred Soldiers, and the Town constantly inhabited by four hundred Families, more or less. The Merchants dwell not here, but only reside for a while, when the *Galleons* come or go from Spain; by reason of the unhealthiness of the Air, occasioned by certain Vapours that exhale from the Mountains. Notwithstanding, their chief Ware-houses are at *Puerto Velo*, howbeit their Habitations be all the year long at *Panama*. From whence they bring the Plate upon Mules, at such times as the Fair beginneth; and when the Ships, belonging to the Company of *Negro's*, arrive here to sell Slaves.

They arrived at
Puerto de
Naso.

Captain Morgan, who knew very well all the Avenues of this City, as also all the Neighbouring Coasts, arrived in the dusk of the Evening at the place called *Puerto de Naso*, distant ten Leagues towards the West of *Puerto Velo*. Being come unto this place,

place, they mounted the River in their Ships, as far as another Harbour called *Puerto Pomín*; where they came to an Anchor. Here they put themselves immediately into Boats and Canoes, leaving in the Ships only a few men to keep them, and conduct them the next day unto the Port. About Midnight they came to a certain place called *Esterá longa Lemos*, where they all went on shore, and marched by land to the first Posts of the City. They had in their company a certain *English-man*, who had been formerly a Prisoner in those parts, and who now served them for a Guide. Unto him and three or four more, they gave Commission to take the Centry, if possible, or kill him upon the place. But they laid hands on him and apprehended him with such cunning, as he had no time to give warning with his Musket, or make any other noise. Thus they brought him, with his hands bound, unto Captain *Morgan*, who asked him, *How things went in the City, and what Forces they had*: with many other circumstances, which he was desirous to know. After every question, they made him a thousand Menaces to kill him, in case he declared not the truth. Thus they began to advance towards the City, carrying always the said Centry bound before them. Having marched about one quarter of a league, they came unto the Castle that is high unto the City; which presently they closely surrounded, so that no person could get either in or out of the said Fortrefs.

Being thus posted under the walls of the Castle, Captain *Morgan* commanded the Centry, whom they had taken Prisoner, to speak unto those that were within, charging them to surrender, and deliver themselves up to his discretion; otherwise they should be all cut in pieces, without giving quarter to any one. But they would hearken to none of these threats, beginning instantly to fire; which gave notice unto the City, and this was suddenly alarm'd. Yet notwithstanding, although the Governor and Souldiers of the said Castle made as great resistance as could be performed, they were constrained to surrender unto the Pirats. These no sooner had taken the Castle, but they resolved to be as good as their words, in putting the *Spaniards* to the Sword, thereby to strike a terrour into the rest of the City. Hereupon, having shut up all the Souldiers and Officers, as Prisoners, into one Room, they instantly set fire unto the Powder (whereof they found great quantity) and blew up the whole Castle into the air, with all the *Spaniards* that were within. This being done, they pursued the course of their Victory, falling upon the City, which as yet was not in order to receive them.

And from
thence at Puer-
to Velo.

The Centry ta-
ken.

First Castle
surrounded.

Is taken and
blown up.

The City entered.

They ran to the Cloisters.

The Governour retreats.

them. Many of the Inhabitants cast their precious Jewels and Money into Wells and Cisterns, or hid them in other places under ground, to excuse, as much as were possible, their being totally robb'd. One party of the Pirates being assigned to this purpose, ran immediately to the Cloisters, and took as many Religious men and women as they could find. The Governour of the City not being able to rally the Citizens, through the huge confusion of the Town, retired unto one of the Castles remaining, and from thence began to fire incessantly at the Pirates. But these were not in the least negligent either to assault him, or defend themselves with all the courage imaginable. Thus it was observable, that amidst the horror of the Assault, they made very few shot in vain. For aiming with great dexterity at the mouths of the Guns, the Spaniards were certain to lose one or two men every time they charged each Gun anew.

The Assault continues till noon.

Strong defence of the Spaniards.

The Assault of this Castle where the Governour was, continued very furious on both sides, from break of day until noon. Yes, about this time of the day, the case was very dubious which party should conquer or be conquered. At last the Pirates perceiving they had lost many men, and as yet advanced but little towards the gaining either this or the other Castles remaining, thought to make use of Fire-balls, which they threw with their hands, designing, if possible, to burn the doors of the Castle. But going about to put this in execution, the Spaniards from the Walls let fall great quantity of stones, and earthen pots full of Powder, and other combustible matter, which forced them to desist from that attempt. Captain Morgan seeing this generous defence made by the Spaniards, began to despair of the whole success of the Enterprize. Hereupon many faint and calm meditations came into his mind; neither could he determine which way to turn himself in that straitsness of affairs. Being involved in these thoughts, he was suddenly animated to continue the Assault, by seeing the

Another Castle taken.

English Colours put forth at one of the lesser Castles, then entered by his men. Of whom he presently after spied a Troop that came to meet him, proclaiming Victory with loud shouts of joy. This instantly put him upon new resolutions of making new efforts to take the rest of the Castles that stood out against him: Especially seeing the chiefest Citizens were fled unto them, and had conveyed thither great part of their Riches, with all the plate belonging to the Churches, and other things dedicated to Divine Service.

With this effect therefore he ordered six or twelve Ladders to be made, in all possible haste, so broad, that three or four men at once might ascend by them. These being finished, he commanded all the religious men and women whom he had taken Prisoners, to fix them against the Walls of the Castle. Thus much he had before-hand threatned the Governour to perform, in case he delivered not the Castle. But his answer was, *He would never surrender himself alive.* Captain *Morgan* was much perswaded that the Governour would not employ his utmost Forces, seeing Religious women, and Ecclesiastical persons, exposed in the Front of the Souldiers to the greatest dangers. Thus the Ladders, as I have said, were put into the hands of Religious persons of both Sexes; and these were forced, at the head of the Companies, to raise and apply them to the Walls. But Captain *Morgan* was fully deceived in his judgment of this design. For the Governour, who acted like a brave and courageous Souldier, refused not, in performance of his duty, to use his utmost endeavours to destroy whosoever came near the Walls. The Religious men and women ceased not to cry unto him and beg of him by all the Saints of Heaven, he would deliver the Castle, and hereby spare both his and their own lives. But nothing could prevail with the obduracy and fierceness that had possessed the Governour's mind. Thus many of the Religious men and Nuns were killed before they could fix the Ladders. which at last being done, though with great loss of the said Religious people, the Pirates mounted them in great numbers, and with no less valour; having Fire-balls in their hands, and Earthen-pots full of Powder. All which things, being now at the top of the Walls, they kindled and cast in among the *Spaniards*.

Twelve Ladders made.

Stratagem of Capt. Morg.

Religious people played in the Assault.

Many kind of them killed.

The Castle taken.

This effort of the Pirates was very great: Inasmuch as the *Spaniards* could no longer resist nor defend the Castle, which was now entred. Hereupon they all threw down their Arms, and craved quarter for their lives. Only the Governour of the City would admit nor crave no mercy; but rather killed many of the Pirates with his own hands, and not a few of his own Souldiers, because they did not stand to their Arms. And although the Pirates asked him if he would have quarter, yet he constantly answer'd, *By no means: I had rather dye as a valiant Souldier, than be hang'd as a Coward.* They endeavour'd, as much as they could, to take him Prisoner. But he defended himself so obstinately, as that they were forced to kill him; notwithstanding all the cries and tears of his own Wife and Daughter, who begged of him upon their knees he would demand

The Governour would not surrender.

captured at place

But is killed.

quarter and save his life. When the Pirates had possessed themselves of the Castle, which was about eight, they enclosed there in all the Prisoners they had taken, placing the women and men by themselves, with some Guards upon them. All the wounded were put into a certain apartment by it self, to the intent their own complaints might be the cure of their diseases; for no other was afforded them.

*They fall to
their usual de-
bauchery.*

This being done, they fell to eating and drinking, after their usual manner; that is to say, committing in both these things all manner of debauchery and excess. These two vices were immediately followed by many insolent actions of Rape and Adultery committed upon many very honest women, as well married as Virgins: Who being threatened with the Sword, were constrained to submit their bodies to the violence of these lewd and wicked men. After such manner they delivered themselves up unto all sort of debauchery of this kind, that if there had been found only fifty courageous men, they might easily have retaken the City, and killed all the Pirates. The next day having plundered all they could find, they began to examine some of the Prisoners (who had been perswaded by their Companions to say, they were the richest of the Town) charging them severely, to discover where they had hidden their Riches and Goods. But not being able to extort anything out of them, as who were not the right persons that possessed any wealth, they at last resolved to torture them. This they performed with such cruelty, that many of them died upon the Rack, or presently after. Soon after, the President of *Panama* had news brought him of the pillage and ruin of *Puerto Velo*. This intelligence caused him to employ all his care and industry to raise Forces, with design to pursue and cast out the Pirates from thence. But these cared little for what extraordinary means the President used, as having their Ships nigh at hand, and being determined to set fire unto the City, and retreat. They had now been at *Puerto Velo* fifteen days, in which space of time they had lost many of their men, both by the unhealthiness of the Country and the extravagant Debaucheries they had committed.

*They prepare
to depart.*

Hereupon they prepared for a departure, carrying on Board their Ships all the Pillage they had gotten. But before all, they provided the Fleet with sufficient Victuals for the Voyage. While these things were getting ready, Captain *Morgan* sent an Injunction unto the Prisoners, that they should pay him a Ransom for the City, or else he would by fire consume it to ashes, and blow up all the Castles into the air. Withal, he command-

ded

manded them to send speedily two persons to seek and procure the sum he demanded, which amounted unto one hundred thousand pieces of Eight. Unto this effect, two men were sent to the President of Panama, who gave him an account of all these Tragedies. The President having now a body of men in a readiness, set forth immediately towards Puerto Velo, to encounter the Pirats before their retreat. But these People hearing of his coming, instead of flying away went out to meet him at a narrow passage, through which of necessity he ought to pass. Here they placed an hundred men very well arm'd; the which, at the first Encounter, put to flight a good Party of those of Panama. This Accident obliged the President to retire for that time, as not being yet in a posture of strength to proceed any farther. Presently after this Rencontre, he sent a Message unto Captain Morgan, to tell him, That in case he departed not suddenly with all his Forces from Puerto Velo, he ought to expect no quarter for himself nor his Companions, when he should take them, as he hoped soon to do. Captain Morgan, who feared not his Threats, as knowing he had a secure retreat in his Ships which were nigh at hand, made him answer, He would not deliver the Castles before he had received the Contribution-money he had demanded, Which in case it were not paid down, he would certainly burn the whole City, and then leave it; demolishing before hand the Castles, and killing the Prisoners.

The Governour of the Panama perceived by this Answer, no means would serve to mollifie the hearts of the Pirats, nor reduce them to reason. Hereupon he determined to leave them; as also those of the City, whom he came to relieve; involved in the difficulties of making the best agreement they could with their Enemies. Thus in few days more, the miserable Citizens gathered the Contribution wherewith they were fined; and brought the entire sum of one hundred thousand Pieces of Eight unto the Pirats, for a Ransom of the cruel Captivity they were fallen into. But the President of Panama, by these transactions, was brought into an extream admiration, considering that four hundred men had been able to take such a great City, with so many strong Castles: especially seeing they had no pieces of Cannon, nor other great Guns, wherewith to raise Batteries against them. And what was more, knowing that the Citizens of Puerto Velo had always great repute of being good Souldiers themselves, and who had never wanted courage in their own defence. This astonishment was so great that it occasion'd him, for to be satisfied herein, to send a Messenger unto Captain Morgan, desiring him to send him

The Governour of
of Panama, con-
sults against
them.

But in vain.

A huge Ran-
som paid for
the City.

A Message to
Cap. Morgan.

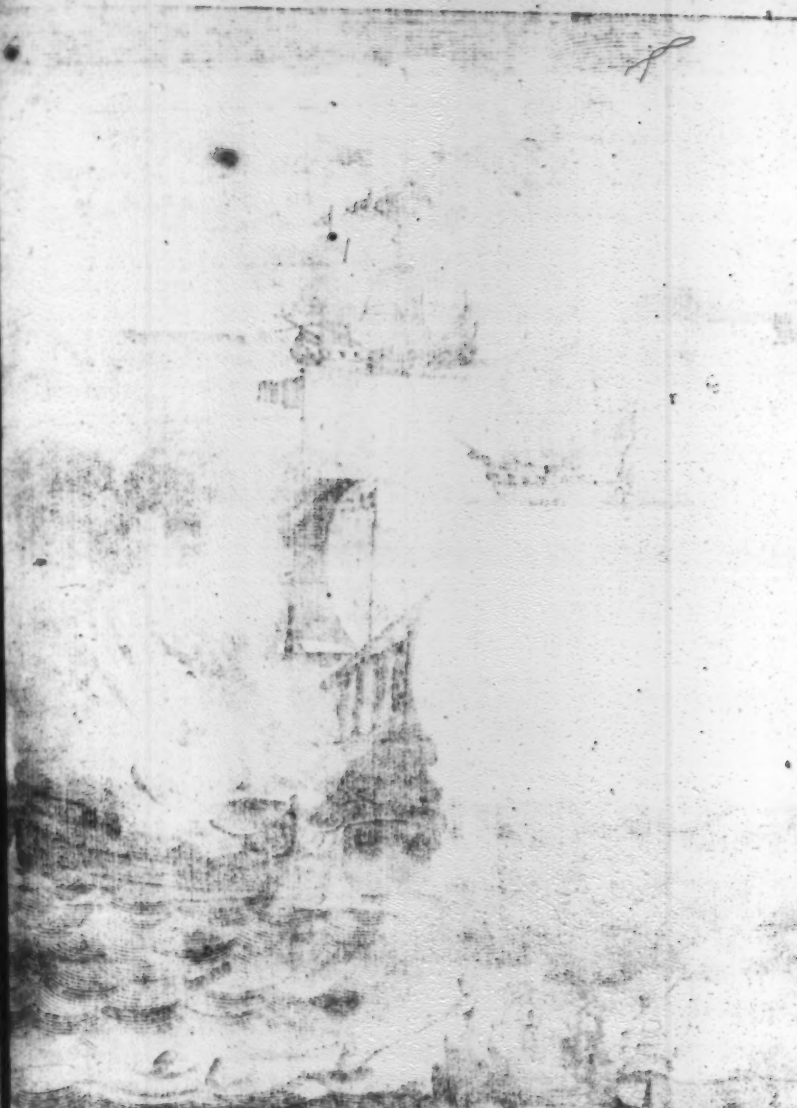
He sendeth back
a Pistol.

He departeth
for Cuba.

The Dividend
made.

him some small pattern of those Arms wherewith he had taken with such violence to great a city. Captain Morgan received this Messenger very kindly, and treated him with great civility, Which being done, he gave him a Pistol and a few small Bullets of lead, to carry back unto the President his Master, telling him withal, He desired him to accept that slender pattern of the Arms wherewith he had taken Puerto Velo, and keep them for a twelve-month, after which time, he promised to come to Panama and fetch them away. The Governor of Panama returned the Present very soon unto Captain Morgan, giving him thanks for the favour of lending him such Weapons as he needed not, and withal sent him a Ring of Gold, with this Message, That he desired him not to give himself the labour of coming to Panama, as he had done to Puerto Velo; for he did certify unto him, he should not speed so well here as he had done there.

After these Transactions, Captain Morgan (having provided his Fleet with all necessaries, and taken with him the best Guns of the Castles, nailing the rest which he could not carry away) set sail from Puerto Velo with all his Ships. With these he arrived in few days unto the Island of Cuba, where he sought out a place wherein with all quiet and repose he might make the Dividend of the Spoil they had gotten. They found in ready money two hundred and fifty thousand Pieces of Eight; Besides all other Merchandizes, as Cloth, Linnen Silks, and other Goods. With this rich Purchase they sailed again from thence unto their common place of Rendezvous, Jamaica. Being arrived, they passed here some time in all sorts of Vices and Debauchery, according to their common manner of doing, spending with huge prodigality what others had gained with no small labour and toil.



Port & Chapel

by Captain M. J. M.



The Spanish Armada destroyed by Captaine Morgan

Part. 2. Chap: 5

CHAP. VII.

*Captain Morgan taketh the City of Maracabo on the Coast
of Nueva Venezuela, Pirates committed in those
Seas: Ruine of three Spanish Ships, that were set forth
to hinder the Robberies of the Pirates.*

NOT long after the arrival of the Pirats at Jamaica, being
precisely that short time they needed to lay away all
the Riches abovesmentioned, they concluded upon an other En-
terprize whereby to seek new fortunes. Unto this effect, Cap-
tain Morgan gave orders to all the Commanders of his Ships to
meet together at the Island called *de la Foca*, or *Cow-Isle*, seated
on the South side of the Isle of *Hispaniola*, as hath been mention-
ed above. As soon as they came to this place, there flockt unto
them great numbers of other Pirats, both *French* and *English*,
by reason the name of Captain Morgan was now rendered famous
in all the neighbouring Countries, for the great Enterprizes he
had performed. There was at that present at Jamaica, an *Eng-
lish* Ship newly come from *New England*, well mounted with
thirty six Guns. This Vessel likewise, by order of the Gover-
nour of Jamaica, came to joyn with Captain Morgan to
strengthen his Fleet, and give him greater courage to attempt
things of huge consequence. With this supply Captain Mor-
gan judged himself sufficiently strong, as having a Ship of such
port, being the greatest of his Fleet, in his Company. Not-
withstanding, there being in the same place another great Ves-
sel that carried twenty four leon Guns, and twelve of brass,
belonging unto the *French*, Captain Morgan endeavoured as
much as he could to joyn this Ship in like manner unto his own.
But the *French* not daring to repose any trust in the *English*, of
whose actions they were not a little jealous, denied absolutely
to consent unto any such thing.

The *French* Pirats belonging to this great Ship, had accident-
ally met at Sea an *English* Vessel, and being then under an ex-
trem necessity of Victuals, they had taken some provisions out
of this *English* Ship, without paying for them, as having per-
ceived them to be ready money, and not hard. Only they had given
them

*A new Expe-
dition taken in
hand.*

English with
them
the 11th of May

them Bills of Exchange, for *Jamaica* and *Tortuga*, to receive money there for what they had taken. Captain *Morgan* having notice of this Accident, and perceiving he could not prevail with the *French* Captain to let him in that Expedition, resolved to lay hold on this occasion, as a pretext to ruine the *French*, and seek his own revenge. Hereupon he invited, with dissimulation, the *French* Commander and several of his men to dine with him on board the great Ship that was come from *Jamaica*, as was said before. Being come thither, he made them all Prisoners, pretending the injury aforementioned done to the *English* Vessel, in taking away some few provisions without pay.

1692. Nov. 1.
On Monday morning

This unjust action of Captain *Morgan* was soon followed by divine punishment, as we may very rationally conceive. The manner I shall instantly relate. Captain *Morgan*, presently after he had taken the *French* prisoners abovesaid, called a Council to deliberate what place they should first pitch upon, in the course of this new Expedition. At this Council it was determined to go to the Isle of *Sapona*, there to wait for the *Fleets* which was then expected from *Spain*, and take any of the *Spanish* Vessels that might chance to straggle from the rest. This resolution being taken, they began on board the great Ship to feast one another for joy of their new Voyage and happy Council, as they hoped it would prove. In testimony hereof, they drank many *Healts*, and discharged many *Guns*, as the common sign of mirth among Seamen used to be. Most of the men being drunk, by what accident is not now known, the Ship suddenly was blown up into the air, with three hundred and fifty *Englishmen*, besides the *French* prisoners abovementioned that were in the Hold. Of all which number, there escaped only thirty men, who were in the great Cabin, at some distance from the main force of the powder. Many more, 'tis thought, might have escaped, had they not been so much overtaken with Wine.

A great Ship
blown up:
320 men lost

matter imputed
to the *French*.
The whole

The loss of such a great Ship brought much consternation and conflict of Mind upon the *English*. They knew not whom to blame; but at last the accusation was laid upon the *French* Prisoners, whom they suspected to have fired the powder of the Ship wherein they were, out of design to revenge themselves, though with the loss of their own lives. Hereupon they sought to be revenged on the *French* anew, and accumulate new accusations unto the former, whereby to seize the Ship and all that was in it. With this design they forged another pretext, against the said Ship by say-

ing the French designed to commit Piracy upon the English. The grounds of this Accusation were given them by a Commission from the Governour of *Barraco*, found on board the French Vessel, wherein were these words: *That the said Governour did permit the French to trade in all Spanish Ports, &c.*

As also to cruise upon the English Pirats in what place soever they could find them, because of the multitude of Hostilities which they had committed against the Subjects of his Catholick Majesty, inciting of Peace betwixt the two Crowns. This Commission for Trade was interpreted by the English as an expresse Order to exercise Piracy and War against them, notwithstanding it was only a bare License for coming into the Spanish Ports; the cleack of which permission, were those words inserted, *That they should warre upon the English.* And although the French did sufficiently expound the true sense of the said Commission, yet they could not clear themselves unto Captain *Morgan*, nor his Council. But in lieu hereof, the Ship and men were seized and sent unto *Jamaica*. Here they also, endeavoured to obtain Justice, and the restitution of their Ship, by all the means possible. But all was in vain; for instead of Justice they were long time detained in Prison, and threatened with hanging.

Eight days after the loss of the said Ship, Captain *Morgan* commanded the bodies of the miserable wretches who were blown up, to be searched for, as they floated upon the waters of the Sea. This he did, not out of any design of restoring them Christian burial; but only to obtain the Spoil of their Cloaths and other Attire. And if any had golden Rings on their fingers, these were cut off for purchase, leaving them in that condition exposed to the voracity of the Monsters of the Sea.

At last they set sail for the Isle of *Savona*, being the place of their assignation. They were in all fifteen Vessels, Captain *Morgan* commanding the biggest, which carried only seven small Guns. The number of Men belonging to this Fleet, were nine hundred and threescore. In few days after, they arrived at the Cape called *Cabo de Lédiz*, on the South side of the Isle of *Hispagnola*, between Cape *Tibure* and Cape *Punta de Espada*. From hence they could not pass by reason of contrary winds that continued the space of three weeks, notwithstanding all the endeavours Captain *Morgan* used to get forth, leaving no means unattempted thereunto. At the end of this time they doubled the Cape, and presently after spied an English Vessel at a distance. Having spoken with her, they found she came from *Spain*, and was bound to the *Isle of Savona*.

They go to the
Isle of Savona.

from England, and brought others, for ready money, some Provisions they stood in need of.

They arrive at
Ocoa.

Captain Morgan proceeded in the course of his Voyage, till he came unto the Port of Ocoa. Here he landed some of his Men, sending them into the Woods to seek Water, and what Provisions they could find; the better to spare such as he had already on board his Fleet. They killed many Beasts; and among other Animals some Horses. But the Spaniards being not well satisfied at their hunting, attempted to lay a Stratagem for the Pirates.

Stratagem of
the Spaniards.

Unto this purpose, they order'd three or four hundred men to come from the City of Santo Domingo, not far distant from this Port, and desired them to hunt in all the parts therabouts adjoining to the Sea, to the intent that if any Vines should return, they might find no subsistence. Within a few days the same Pirates returned, with design to hunt. But finding nothing to kill, a party of them, being about fifty in number, straggled farther on into the Woods. The Spaniards, who watched all their motions, gathered a great Herd of Cows, and set two or three men to keep them. The Pirates having spied this Herd, killed a sufficient number thereof; and although the Spaniards could see them at a distance, yet they would not hinder their work for the present. But as soon as they attempted to carry them away, they set upon them with all fury imaginable, crying, *Mata, mata*; that is, Kill, kill. Thus the Pirates were soon compell'd to quit the prey, and retreat towards their Ships as well as they could. This they performed notwithstanding, in good order retiring from time to time by degrees; and when they had any good opportunity, discharging full Volleys of shot upon the Spaniards. By this means the Pirates killed many of the Enemies, though with some loss on their own side.

As they were
fighting.

The rest of the Spaniards seeing what damage they had sustained, endeavoured to save themselves by flight, and carry off the dead Bodies and wounded of their Companions. The Pirates perceiving them to fly, could not contain themselves with what hurt they had already done, but pursued them speedily into the Woods, and killed the greatest part of those that were remaining. The next day Captain Morgan being extremely offended at what had passed, went himself with two hundred men, into the Woods, to seek for the rest of the Spaniards. But finding no body there, he revenged his wrath upon the houses of the poor and miserable Rusticks that inhabit scatteringly those Fields and Woods; of which he burnt a great number.

With

With this he returned unto his Ships, something more satisfied in his mind, for having done some considerable damage unto the Enemy; which was always his most ardent desire.

The huge impatience wherewith Captain *Morgan* had waited now this long while for some of his Ships, which were not yet arrived, made him resolve to set sail without them, and steer his course for the Isle of *Savona*, the place he had always designed. Being arrived there, and not finding any of his Ships as yet come, he was more impatient and concerned than before, as fearing their loss, or that he must proceed without them. Notwithstanding, he waited for their arrival some few days longer. In the mean while, having no great plenty of Provisions, he sent a crew of one hundred and fifty men unto the Isle of *Hispaniola*, to pillage some Towns that were nigh unto the City of *Santo Domingo*. But the *Spaniards* having had intelligence of their coming, were now so vigilant; and in such good posture of defence, as the Pirats thought it not convenient to assault them; chusing rather to return empty-handed unto Captain *Morgan's* presence, than to perish in that desperate Enterprize.

They go on to
Savona.

At last, Captain *Morgan* seeing the other Ships did not come, made a review of his People, and found only five hundred men, more or less. The Ships that were wanting were seven, he having only eight in his company, of which, the greatest part were very small. Thus having hitherto resolved to cruise upon the coasts of *Caracas*, and plunder all the Towns and Villages he could meet, finding himself at present with such small Forces, he changed his resolution, by the advice of a *French* Captain that belonged to his Fleet. This *Frenchman* had served *Lolonois* in like Enterprizes, and was at the taking of *Moracoto*; whereby he knew all the entries, passages, forces, and means how to put in execution the same again in the company of Captain *Morgan*. Unto whom having made a full relation of all, he concluded to seek it again the second time, as being himself perswaded, with all his men, of the facility the *Frenchman* propounded. Hereupon they weighed Anchor, and steered their course towards *Caracas*. Being come within sight of that Island, they landed at another, which is nigh unto it, and is called *Ruba*, seated about twelve leagues from *Caracas*, towards the West. This Island is defended but by a slender Garrison, and is inhabited by *Indians*, who are subject to the Crown of Spain, and speak Spanish, by reason of the Roman

Advice of a
Frenchman.

They arrive at
Ruba.

Catholic Religion, which is here cultivated by some few Priests that are sent from time to time from the neighbouring Continent.

Commerce of
this Island.

The Inhabitants of this Isle exercise a certain Commerce or Trade with the Pirats that go and come this way. These buy of the Islanders Sheep, Lambs and Kids; which they exchange unto them for Linnen, Thread, and other things of this kind. The Country is very dry and barren, the whole substance thereof consisting in those three things abovementioned; and in a small quantity of Wheat, which is of no bad quality. This Isle produceth a great number of venomous Insects, as Vipers, Spiders, and others. These last are so pernicious here, that if any man is bitten by them, he dieth mad. And the manner of recovering such persons, is to tie them very fast both hands and feet, and in this condition to leave them for the space of four and twenty hours, without eating or drinking the least thing imaginable. Captain Morgan, as was said, having cast Anchor before this Island, bought of the Inhabitants many Sheep, Lambs, and also Wood, which he needed for all his Fleet. Having been there two days, he set sail again, in the time of the night, to the intent they might not see what course he steered.

Arrival at the
Sea of Maracaibo.

The next day they arrived at the Sea of *Maracaibo*, having always great care of not being seen from *Vigilia*: for which reason they anchor'd out of sight of the *Watch-tower*. Night being come, they set sail again towards the Land, and the next morning by break of day found themselves directly over against the Bar of the *Lake* abovementioned. The *Spaniards* had built another Fort, since the action of *Zolomia*; from whence they did now fire continually against the Pirats, while they were putting their men into Boats for to land. The Dispute continued very hot on both sides, being managed with huge courage and valour from Morning till dark night. This being come, Captain Morgan, in the obscurity thereof, drew nigh unto the Fort. Which having examined, he found no body in it; the *Spaniards* having deserted it not long before. They left behind them a Match kindled nigh unto a train of powder, where-with they designed to blow up the Pirats, and the whole Fortress, soon as they were in it. This design had taken effect, had the Pirats failed to discover it the space of one quarter of an hour. But Captain Morgan prevented the mischief, by snatching away the Match with all speed, whereby he saved both his own and his Companions lives. They join'd here

They land.

And take the
Castle.

great quantity of Powder, whereof he provided his Fleet; and afterwards demolished part of the Walls, raising sixteen pieces of Ordnance, which carried from twelve to four and twenty pound of Bullet. Here they found also great number of Muskets; and Military provisions.

The next day they commanded the Ships to enter the Bar. Among which, they divided the Powder, Muskets, and other things they found in the Fort. These things being done, they embarked again, to continue their course towards Maracaibo. But the Waters were very low, whereby they could not pass a certain Bank that lieth at the entry of the Lake. Hereupon they were compelled to put themselves into Canows and small Boats, with which they arrived the next day before Maracaibo, having no other defense but some small pieces which they could carry in the said Boats. Being landed, they ran immediately to the Fort called *de la Barra*; which they found in like manner as the precedent, without any person in it; For all were fled before them into the Woods, leaving also the Town without any People, unless a few miserable Poor folk, who had nothing to lose.

As soon as they had entred the Town, the Pirats searched every corner thereof, to see if they could find any people that were hidden, who might offend them at unawares. Not finding any body, every Party, according as they came out of their several Ships, chose what houses they pleased to themselves, the best they could find. The Church was deputed for the common *Corps de Garde*, where they lived after their Military manner; committing many insolent actions. The next day after their arrival, they sent a Troop of one hundred men to seek for the Inhabitants and their Goods. These returned the next day following, bringing with them to the number of thirty Persons, between men, women, and children; and fifty Mules laden with several good Merchandize. All these miserable Prisoners were put to the Rack to make them confess where the rest of the Inhabitants were, and their Goods. Amongst other tortures then used, one was to stretch their limbs with Cords, and at the same time beat them with Sticks and other Instruments. Others had burning Matches placed betwixt their fingers, which were thus burnt alive. Others had slender Cords or Matches twisted about their heads, till their eyes burst out of the skull. Thus all sort of inhumane Cruelties were executed upon those innocent people. Those who would not confess, or who had nothing to declare, under the hands of those tyrannical

nical men. These Tortures and Racks continued for the space of three whole Weeks. In which time they ceased not to send out, daily, parties of men to seek for more people to torment and rob; they never returning home without Booty and new Riches.

They intend for
Gibraltar.

They write
there.

Captain Morgan having now gotten by degrees into his hands about one hundred of the chiefest Families, withall their Goods, at last resolved to go to Gibraltar, even as Lolonois had done before. With this design he equipped his Fleet, providing it very sufficiently with all necessary things. He put likewise on board all the Prisoners; and thus weighing Anchor, set sail for the said place, with resolution to hazard the Battle. They had sent before them some Prisoners unto Gibraltar, to denounce unto the Inhabitants, they should surrender: otherwise Captain Morgan would certainly put them all to the sword, without giving quarter to any Person he should find alive. Not long after, he arrived with his Fleet before Gibraltar, whose inhabitants received him with continual shooting off great Cannon-Bullets. But the Pirates instead of fainting hereat, ceased not to encourage one another, saying, *We must make our meal upon bitter things, before we come to taste the sweetness of the Sugar this place affordeth.*

They land.

The People all
fled.

They Wrack a
poor Soul.

The next day, very early in the morning, they landed all their men. And being guided by the French man abovementioned, they marched towards the Town, not by the common way, but crossing through the Woods, which way the Spaniards scarce thought they would have come. For at the beginning of their march, they made appearance as if they intended to come the next and open way that led unto the Town, hereby the better to deceive the Spaniards. But these remembering, as yet, full well what Hostilities Lolonois had committed upon them but two years before, thought it not safe to expect the second Brunt; and hereupon were all fled out of the Town as fast as they could, carrying with them all their Goods and Riches, as also all the Powder, and having nailed all the great Guns. In so much as the Pirates found not one Person in the whole City, excepting one only poor and innocent man, who was born a Fool. This man they asked whither the Inhabitants were fled, and where they had absconded their Goods. Unto all which Questions and the like, he constantly made answer, *I know nothing, I know nothing.* But they presently put him to the Wrack, and tortured him with Cords, which torments forced him to

cry

ery out, *Do not torture me any more, but come with me and I will show you my Goods and my Riches.* They were persuaded, as it should seem, he was some rich Person who had disguised himself under those Cloaths so poor, as also that innocent tongue. Hereupon they went along with him: and he conducted them to a poor and miserable Cottage, wherein he had a few Earthen dishes, and other things of little or no value; and amongst these, three Pieces of Eight, which he had concealed with other Trumpery under ground. After this they asked him his name; and he readily made answer, *My name is Don Sebastian Sanchez, and I am Brother unto the Governor of Maracaibo.* This foolish Answer, it must be conceived, these men, though never so inhuman, took for a certain truth. For no sooner had they heard it, but they put him again upon the Rack, lifting him up on high with Cords, and tying huge weights unto his feet and neck. Besides which cruel and stretching torments, they burnt him alive, applying Palm-leaves burning unto his face. Under which miseries he died in half an hour. After his death they cut the Cords wherewith they had stretcht him, and drag'd his forth into the adjoining Woods, where they left him without burial.

He dies under the torments.

Don Sebastian Sanchez.

A Peasant brought in Prisoner.

Who is hanged.

The same day they sent out a Party of Pirates to seek for the Inhabitants, upon whom they might employ their Inherent Cruelties. These brought back with them an honest Peasant with two Daughters of his, whom they had taken Prisoners, and whom they intended to torture as they used to do with others, in case they shewed not the places where the Inhabitants had absconded themselves. The Peasant knew some of the said places, and hereupon seeing himself threatned with the Rack, went with the Pirates to shew them. But the Spaniards perceiving their Enemies so range every where up and down the Woods, were already fled from thence much farther off into the highest parts of the said Woods, where they built themselves Huts, to preserve from the violence of the weather those few Goods they had carried with them. The Pirates judged themselves to be deceived by the said Peasant; and hereupon, to revenge their wrath upon him, notwithstanding all the excuses he could make, and his humble supplications for his life, they hanged him upon a Tree.

After this, they divided into several Parties, and went to search the Plantations. For they knew the Spaniards that were absconded could not live upon what they found in the Woods, without coming how and then to seek provisions at their own Country-houses.

*A slave bribed
with promise.*

Horrid fact.

*where this is
a cruel usage
of Portuguese.*

*They put him
no more tor-
ments.*

Angry to call

try house. Here they found a certain slave, unto whom they promised mountains of Gold, and that they would give him his liberty by transporting him unto *Jamaica*. The case now would shew them the places where the inhabitants of *Gibraltar* lay hidden. This fellow conducted them unto a party of *Spaniards*, whom they instantly made all Prisoners, commanding the said slave to kill some of them before the eyes of the rest, to the intent that by this perpetrated crime, he might never be able to leave their wicked company. The *Negro*, according to their orders, committed many murders and insolent actions upon the *Spaniards*, and followed the unfortunate traces of the *Pharis*. Who after the space of eight days, returned bare, and bare many prisoners, and some stakes laden with *Indians*. They examined every prisoner by himself (who were in all about two hundred and fifty persons) where they had absconded the rest of their Goods, and if they knew of their fellow-Townsmen. Such as would not confess, were tormented after a most cruel and inhumane manner. Among the rest of these happened to be a certain *Portuguese*, who by the information of a *Negro* also reported, though false, to be very rich. This man was commanded to produce his Riches. But his answer was, he had no more than one hundred pieces of Eight in the whole world, and that these had been stoln from him two days before, by a Servant of his. Which words, although he sealed with many Oaths and Protestations, yet they would not believe him. But dragging him unto the Rack, without any regard unto his age, as being three score years old, they stretch him with Cords, breaking both his arms behind his shoulders. This cruelty went not alone. For he not being able or willing to make any other declaration than the above said, they put him to another sort of torment that was worse, and more barbarous than the precedent. They tyed him with small Cords by his two thumbs and great toes unto four stakes that were fixt in the ground at a convenient distance, the whole weight of his body being pendent in the air upon those Cords. Then they thrast upon the Cords with great sticks, and with their strength, so that the body of this miserable man was ready to perish at every stroke, under the severity of those horrible pains. Not satisfied, as yet, with this cruel torture, they took a stone which weight above two hundred pound, and laid it upon his belly, as if they intended to press him to death. At the which time they also kindled *Palm* leaves,

leaves, and applied the flame unto the face of this unfortunate Portuguese, burning with them the whole skin, beard, and hair. At last these cruel Tyrants seeing that neither with these tortures nor others they could get any thing out of him, they untied the Cords, and carried him, being almost half dead, unto the Church, where was their *Corps du Garde*. Here they tied him anew unto one of the pillars thereof, leaving him in that condition, without giving him either to eat or drink, unless very sparingly and so little as would scarce sustain life, for some days. Four or five being past, he desired that one of the prisoners might have the liberty to come unto him, and by whose means he promised he would endeavour to raise some money to satisfy their demands. The prisoner whom he required was brought unto him; and he ordered him to promise the Pirats five hundred Pieces of Eight for his ransom. But they were both deaf and obstinate at such a small sum, and instead of accepting it, did beat him cruelly with Cudgels, saying unto him, *Old fellow, instead of five hundred, you must say, five hundred thousand Pieces of Eight; otherwise you shall here end your life.* Finally, after a thousand Protestations that he was but a miserable man, and kept a poor Tavern for his living, he agreed with them for the sum of one thousand Pieces of Eight. These he raised in few days, and having paid them unto the Pirats, got his liberty; although so horribly maimed in his body, that 'tis scarce to be believed he could survive many weeks after.

Several other tortures besides these, were exercised upon others, which this Portuguese endured not. Some were hang'd up by the Testicles, or by their privy Members, and left in that condition till they fell unto the ground, those private parts being torn from their bodies. If with this they were minded to shew themselves merciful to those wretches, thus lacerated in the most tender parts of their bodies, their mercy was to run them through and through with their Swords; and by this means rid them soon of their pains and lives. Otherwise, if this were not done, they used to lie four or five days under the Agonies of death, before dying. Others were crucified by these Tyrants, and with kindled Matches were burnt between the joints of their fingers and toes. Others had their feet put into the fire, and thus were left to be roasted alive. At last, having used both these and other Cruelties with the *White men*, they began to practise the same or

*Many others
tortur'd very
cruelly.*

*Whereof most
die.*

ver again with the Negro's their Slaves : who were treated with no less inhumanity than their Masters.

*Discovery made
by a Slave.*

Among these Slaves was found one who promised Captain Morgan to conduct him unto a certain River belonging to the Lake, where he should find a Ship and four Boats richly laden with Goods that belonged unto the Inhabitants of *Mauritania*.

The same Slave discovered likewise the place where the Governor of *Gibraltar* lay hidden, together with the greatest part of the Women of the Town. But all this he revealed through great menaces wherewith they threatened to hang him, in case he told not what he knew. Captain Morgan sent away presently two hundred men in two *Salties*, or great Boats towards the River abovementioned, to seek for what the Slave had discovered. But he himself with two hundred and fifty more, undertook to go and take the Governor.

*They go to take
the Governor.*

This Gentleman was retired unto a small Island seated in the middle of the River, where he had built a little Fort, after the best manner he could, for his defence. But hearing that Captain Morgan came in person with great Forces to seek him, he retired farther off unto the top of a Mountain not much distant from that place; unto which there was no ascent, but by a very narrow passage. Yea, this was so streight, that whosoever

But he retireth.

did pretend to gain the ascent, must of necessity cause his men to pass one by one. Captain Morgan spent two days before he could arrive at the little Island abovementioned. From thence he designed to proceed unto the Mountain where the Governor was posted, had he not been told of the impossibility he should find in the ascent; not only for the narrowness of the path that led to the top, but also because the Governor was very well provided with all sorts of Ammunition above.

Besides that, there was fallen an huge Rain, whereby all the Baggage belonging to the Pirates and their Powder was wet. By this Rain also they had lost many of their men in the passage over a River that was overflowed. Here perished likewise some women and Children, and many Males laden with Plate and other Goods; all which they had taken in the fields from the fugitive Inhabitants. So that all things were in a very bad condition with Captain Morgan, and the bodies of his men as much harassed, as ought to be infer'd from this relation. Whereby, if the Spaniards in that juncture of time had had but a Troop of fifty men well arm'd with Pikes or Spears, they might have entirely destroyed the Pirates, without any possible resistance on their

their

their sides. But the fears which the Spaniards had conceived from the beginning, were so great, that onely hearing the leaves on the Trees to stir, they often fancied them to be Pirates. Finally, Captain Morgan and his People having upon this march sometimes waded up to their middles in water for the space of half or whole miles together, they at last escaped for the greatest part. But of the Women and Children that they brought home Prisoners the major part died.

They give over the Enterprize through bad weather.

Thus 12 days after they set forth to seek the Governour, they returned unto Gibraltar with a great number of prisoners. Two days after, arrived also the two Salties that went unto the River, bringing with them four Boats and some Prisoners. But as to the greatest part of the Merchandize that were in the said Boats, they found them not, the Spaniards having unladed and secured them, as having intelligence beforehand of the coming of the Pirates. Whereupon they designed also, when the Merchandize were all taken out, to burn the Boats. Yet the Spaniards made not so much hast as was requisite to unlade the said Vessels, but that they left both in the Ship and Boats great parcels of Goods, which they being fled from thence, the Pirates seized, and brought thereof a considerable Booty unto Gibraltar. Thus after they had been in possession of the place five entire weeks, and committed there infinite number of Murders, Robberies, Rapes, and such-like Insolencies, they concluded upon their departure. But before this could be performed, for the last proof of their tyranny, they gave orders unto some prisoners to go forth into the Woods and Fields, and collect a Ransom for the Town; otherwise they would certainly burn every house down to the ground. Those poor afflicted men went forth as they were sent. And after they had searched every corner of the adjoining Fields and Woods, they returned unto Captain Morgan, telling him, they had scarce been able to find any body. But that unto such as they had found, they had proposed his demands; to which they had made answer, that the Governour had prohibited them to give any Ransom for not burning the Town. But notwithstanding any prohibition to the contrary, they besetled him to have a little patience and among themselves they would collect to the sum of five thousand Pieces of Eight. And for the rest, they would give him some of their own Townsmen as Hostages, whom he might carry with him to

They return to Gibraltar

A Ship and four Boats taken.

Ransom for the Town demanded.

5000 Pieces of Eight.

Maracaibo, till such time as he had received full satisfaction. Captain *Morgan* having now been long time absent from *Maracaibo*, and knowing the *Spaniards* had had sufficient time wherein to fortifie themselves, and hinder his departure out of the Lake, granted them their Proposition abovementioned; and withal, made as much hast as he could to set things in order for his departure. He gave liberty to all the Prisoners, having before-hand put them every one to the Ransom; yet he detained all the Slaves with him. They delivered unto him four Persons that were agreed upon for Hostages of what sums of money more he was to receive from them: and they desired to have the Slave of whom we made mention above, intending to punish him according to his deserts. But Captain *Morgan* would not deliwer him, being perswaded they would burn him alive. At last they weighed Anchor, and set sail with all the hast they could, directing their course towards *Maracaibo*. Here they arrived in four days, and found all things in the same posture they had left them when they departed. Yet here they received news, from the information of a poor distressed old man, who was sick, and whom alone they found in the Town, That three Spanish Men of War were arrived at the entry of the Lake, and there waited for the return of the Pirats out of those parts. Moreover, that the Castle at the entry thereof, was again put into a good posture of defence, being well provided with Guns and men, and all sorts of Ammunition.

They return to
Maracaibo.

News of three
Spanish Men of
War.

They send to
view them.

This relation of the old man could not chuse but cause some disturbance in the mind of Captain *Morgan*, who now was careful how to get away through those narrow passages of the entry of the Lake. Hereupon he sent one of his Boats, the swiftest he had, to view the entry, and see if things were as they had been related. The next day the Boat came back, confirming what was said, and assuring, they had viewed the Ships so high, that they had been in great danger of the shot they made at them. Hereunto they added, that the biggest Ship was mounted with forty Guns, the second with thirty, and the smallest with four and twenty. These Forces were much beyond those of Captain *Morgan*; and hence they caused a general consternation in all the Pirats, whose biggest Vessel had not above fourteen small Guns. Every one judged Captain *Morgan* to despond in his mind, and be destitute in all manner of hopes, considering the difficulty either of passing safely with his little

Fleet

Fleet amidst those great Ships and the Fort, or that he must perish. How to escape any other way by Sea or Land, they saw no opportunity nor convenience. Only they could have wished that those three Ships had rather come over the Lake to seek them at Maracaibo, than to remain at the mouth of the Streight where they were. For at that passage they must of necessity fear the ruin of their Fleet, which consisted only for the greatest part of Boats.

Hereupon, being necessitated to act as well as he could, Captain Morgan resumed new courage, and resolved to shew himself, as yet, undaunted with these terrours. To this intent he boldly sent a Spaniard unto the Admiral of those three Ships, demanding of him a considerable Tribute or Ransom for not putting the City of Maracaibo to the flame. This man (who doubtless was received by the Spaniards with great admiration of the confidence and boldness of those Pirats) returned two days after, bringing unto Captain Morgan a Letter from the said Admiral, whose Contents were as followeth.

Capt. Morgan
much observed
of 25

A Message to
the Spanish
Admiral.

Letter of Don Alonso del Campo and Espinosa, Admiral of the Spanish Fleet, unto Captain Morgan Commander of the Pirats.

HAVING understood by all our Friends and Neighbours, the unexpected news, that you have dared to attempt and commit Hostilities in the Countreys, Cities, Towns, and Villages belonging unto the Dominions of his Catholick Majesty, my Sovereign Lord and Master; I let you understand by these lines, that I am come unto this place, according to my obligation, nigh unto that Castle which you took out of the hands of a parcel of Cowards; where I have put things into a very good posture of defence, and mounted again the Artillery which you had nailed and dismounted. My intent is to dispute with you your passage out of the Lake and follow and pursue you every where, so the end you may see the performance of my duty. Notwithstanding, if you be contented to surrender with humility all that you have taken, together with the Slaves and all other Prisoners, I will let you freely pass, without trouble or molestation; upon condition that you retire home presently unto your own Country. But in case that you make any resistance or opposition unto these things that I proffer unto you, I do assure you I will command Boats to come from Caracas, wherein I will put my Troops, and coming to Maracaibo,

His Answer.

will

origon. 1740
down

Will cause your country to perish by putting you every man to the sword. This is my last and absolute resolution. Be prudent therefore, and do not waste my bounty with ingratitude. I have with me very good Soldiers, who desire nothing more ardently, than to revenge on you and your People, all the cruelties and base infamous actions you have committed upon the Spanish Nation in America. Dated on board the Royal Ship named the *Magdalen*, lying at Anchor at the entry of the Lake of Maracaibo; this 24th day of April, 1669.

Don Alonso del Campo y Espinosa.

They read it in
publick,

As soon as Captain *Alvarez* had received this Letter, he called all his men together in the Market-place of *Maracaibo*; and after reading the Contents thereof, both in French and English, he asked their advice and resolutions upon the whole matter, and whether they had rather surrender all they had purchased, to obtain their liberty, than fight for it?

Advice given by
one of the Pi-
rats.

They answered all unanimously, they had rather fight, and spill the very last drop of blood they had in their veins than surrender so easily the Booty they had gotten with so much danger of their lives. Among the rest, one was found who said unto Captain *Alvarez*, Take you care for the rest, and I will undertake so destroy the *Messel* of those Ships with only twelve men. The manner shall be, by burning a Brulot or Fire-Ship of this *Kessel* we cook in the River of Gibraltar. Which, to the intent she may not be known for a Fire-Ship, we will fill her Decks with logs of Wood, standing with Halls and Monters, and so deceive her sight with the representation of men. The same we will do at the Port-holes that serve for Guns, which shall be filled with combustive Gunpowder. At the Stern we will hang out the English Colours, and persuade the Enemy he is one of our best men of War that goes to fight them. This Proposition being heard by the *Junco*, was admitted and approved of by every one; but how their fears were not quite dispersed.

Which is ap-
proved by all.

Propositions of
accommodation.

For notwithstanding what had been concluded there, they endeavoured the next day to see if they could come to an accommodation with Don *Alonso*. Unto this effect Captain *Alvarez* sent him two Persons, with these following Propositions. First, That he would give *Maracaibo* without doing any damage to the Town, nor exacting any Ransom for the firing thereof. Secondly,

That
asked

That he would set at liberty one half of the Slaves, and likewise all other Prisoners without Ransom. Thirdly, That he would send home freely the 4 chief Inhabitants of Gibraltar, which he had in his custody as Hostages for the Contributions those People had promised to pay.

These Propositions from the Pirates being understood by Don Alonso, were instantly rejected by every one, as being dishonourable for him to grant. Neither would he hear any word more of any other accommodation; but sent back this Message: That in case they surrendered not themselves voluntarily into his hands, within the space of two days, under the Conditions which he had offered them by his Letter, he would immediately come and force them to do it.

But all rejected.

No sooner had Captain Morgan received this Message from Don Alonso, than he put all things in order to fight, resolving to get out of the Lake by main force, and without surrendering any thing. In the first place, he commanded all the Slaves and Prisoners to be tyed and guarded very well. After this, they gathered all the Pitch, Tar, and Brimstone they could find in the whole Town, wherewith to prepare the Fire-ship above-mentioned. Likewise they made several inventions of Powder and Brimstone, with great quantity of Palm-leaves, very well ointed with Tar. They covered very well their counterfeit Cannon, laying under every piece thereof, many pounds of Powder. Besides which, they cut down many out-works belonging to the Ship, to the end the Powder might exert its strength the better. Thus they broke open also new Port-holes; where, instead of Guns, they placed little Drums, of which the Negro's make use. Finally the Deck were handsomely beset with many pieces of Wood dressed up in the shape of men with Hats, as Montera's, and likewise armed with Swords, Muskets, and Bandoleers.

They resolve to fight.

Stratagem against the Spanish Fleet.

The *Burles* or Fire-ship being thus fitted to their purpose, they prepared themselves to go to the entry of the Port. All the Prisoners were put into one great Boat, and in another of the biggest they placed all the Women, Plate, Jewels, and other rich things which they had. Into others they put all the bales of Goods and Merchandize, and other things of greatest bulk. Each of these Boats had twelve men on board, very well armed. The *Burles* had orders to go before the rest of the Vessels, and presently to fall foul with the great Ships. All things being in a readiness, Captain Morgan cracked an Oath of all his Comrades, wherewith they proceeded to defend themselves against the Spaniards, even to the last drop of blood,

They go to the Port.

All are sworn to fight.

without

without demanding quarter at any rate; promising them withal, that whosoever thus behaved himself, should be very well rewarded.

With this disposition of mind, and courageous resolution, they set sail to seek the *Spaniards*, on the 30th day of April 1669. They found the *Spanish Fleet* lying at Anchor in the middle of the entry of the Lake. Captain *Morgan*, it being now late, and almost dark, commanded all his Vessels to come to an Anchor; with design to fight from thence even all night, if they should provoke him thereunto. He gave orders that a careful and vigilant Watch should be kept on board every Vessel till the morning, they being almost within shot, as well as within sight of the Enemy. The dawning of the day being come, they weighed Anchors and set sail again, steering their course directly towards the *Spaniards*; who observing them to move, did instantly the same. The Fire-ship sailing before the rest, fell presently upon the great Ship, and grappled to her sides in a short while. Which by the *Spaniards* being perceived to be a Fire-ship, they attempted to escape the danger by putting her off; but in vain, and too late. For the flame suddenly siezed her Timber and Tackling, and in a short space consumed all the Stern, the forepart sinking into the Sea, whereby she perished. The second *Spanish Ship* perceiving the Admiral to burn, not by accident, but by industry of the Enemy, escaped towards the Castle, where the *Spaniards* themselves caused her to sink; choosing this way of losing their Ship, rather than to fall into the hands of those Pirates, which they held for inevitable. The third, as having no opportunity or time to escape, was taken by the Pirates. The Sea-men that sank the second Ship nigh unto the Castle, perceiving the Pirates to come towards them to take what remains they could find of their Shipwreck, (for some part of the Bulk was extant above water) set fire in like manner unto this Vessel, to the end the Pirates might enjoy nothing of that spoil. The first Ship being set on fire, some of the Persons that were in her swam towards the shore. These the Pirates would have taken up in their Boats; but they would neither ask nor admit of any, but rather to lose their lives, than receive them from the hands of their Persecutors, for such reasons as I shall relate hereafter.

The Pirates were extremely gladdened at this signal victory obtained in so short a time; and with so great inequality of Forces, whereby they conceived greater pride in their minds than

They arrive a-
bout night at
the Spanish
Fleet.

They destroy the
Spanish Vessels.

They were
gladly

quodam

they had before. Hereupon they all presently ran a shore, intending to take the Castle. This they found very well provided both with men, great Cannon and Ammunition; they having no other Arms than Muskets, and a few Fire-balls in their hands. Their own Artillery they thought incapable, for its smallness, of making any considerable breach in the Walls. Thus they spent the rest of that day, firing at the Garrison with their Muskets till the dusk of the evening; at which time they attempted to advance nigher unto the Walls, with intent to throw in the Fire-balls. But the Spaniards resolving to sell their lives as dear as they could, continued firing so furiously at them, as they thought it not convenient to approach any nearer, nor persist any longer in that dispute. Thus having experimented the obstinacy of the Enemy, and seeing thirty of their own men already dead, and as many more wounded, they retired unto their Ships.

They attempt to take the Castle.

But in vain.

The Spaniards believing the Pirates would return the next day to renew the attack, as also make use of their own Cannon against the Castle, laboured very hard all night to put all things in order for their coming. But more particularly they employed themselves that night in digging down and making plain some little hills and eminent places, from whence possibly the Castle might be offended.

The Spaniards prepare against a new assault.

But Captain Morgan intended not to come ashore again, busying himself the next day in taking prisoners some of the men who still swam alive upon the Waters, and hoping to get part of the Riches that were lost in the two Ships that perished. Among the rest, he took a certain Pilot, who was a stranger, and who belonged unto the lesser Ship of the two, with whom he held much discourse, enquiring of him several things. Such questions were, What number of people those three Ships had had in them? Whether they expected any more Ships to come? From what Port they set forth the last time, when they came to seek them out? His answer unto all these questions was as followeth; which he delivered in the Spanish

Many Spaniards taken up swimming.

language. He pleased me, and spare me, I will inform you of all.

Speech of a Pilot to Cap. Morg.

We were sent by our King to Spain, being in these Seas, with instructions to find the Pirates, and root them out

out from these parts by the Bridges many of them as we could.

These Orders were given his Majesty of the news brought unto the Court of Spain of the ruin of *Puerto Rico*, and other places. Of all which Damages and Hostilities committed here, by the *English* should by dismal lamentations have often-times penetrated thence both of the Catholic King and Council, unto whose Behemoth the care and preservation of this new World he and although the Spanish Court hath many times by their Embassadors in Complaints hereof unto the King of *England* shew'd, but hath been the constant answer of his Majesty of *England* that he never gave any Letters-patents nor Commissions for the acting any Hostility whatsoever, against the Subjects of the King of Spain. Hereupon the Catholic King being resolved to revenge his Subjects, and punish their proceedings, commanded six Men of War to be sent into these parts under the command of *Don Sebastian de Ballea*, who was constituted Admiral of the said Fleet. He commanded the biggest Ship thereof, named *San de la Soledad*, mounted with eight and forty great Guns, and eight small ones. The Vice-Admiral was *Don Alonzo de Ampudia Espinosa*, who commanded the second Ship called *La Concepcion*, which carried forty four great Guns, and eight small ones. Besides which Vessels, there were also four more, whereof the first was named the *Marquesa*, and was mounted with thirty six great Guns, and twelve small ones, having on board two hundred and fifty men. The second was called *St. Lewis*, with twenty six great Guns, twelve small ones, and two hundred men. The third was called *La Marquesa*, which carried sixteen great Guns, eight small ones, and one hundred, and fifty men. The fourth and last, *La San del Carmen*, with eighteen great Guns, eight small ones, and likewise one hundred and fifty men.

We were now arrived at *Carrage*, when the two greatest Ships received orders to return into Spain, as being judged too big for Anchoring upon these Coasts. With the four Ships remaining, *Don Sebastian de Ballea* and *Don Alonzo de Ampudia* went on to the Port of the said City, where being forewarn'd by the Spaniards that blew from the North, as fast as the wind came, being that which I named in the last voyage

the rest, From hence we set sail for the Isle of *Hispaniola*, in sight of which we came within few days, and directed our course unto the Port of *Santo Domingo*. Here we received intelligence there had passed that way a Fleet from *Jamaica*, and that some men thereof having landed at a place called *Alta Gracia*, the Inhabitants had taken one of them prisoner, who confessed their whole design was to go and pillage the City of *Caracas*. With these news *Don Alonso* instantly weighed Anchor, and set *Caracas*, crossing over unto the Continent, till we met with a Boat which carried us to the Lake of *Maracaibo*, and that the Fleet consisted of small Ships and one Boat.

Upon this intelligence we arrived here; and coming night unto the Entry of the Lake, we shot off a Gun to demand a Pilot from the shore. Those on land perceiving that we were *Spaniards*, came willingly unto us with a Pilot, and told us that the *English* had taken the City of *Maracaibo*, and that they were at present at the pillage of *Gibraltar*. *Don Alonso* having understood this news, made a handsom Speech unto all his Souldiers and Mariners, encouraging them to perform their duty, and withal promising to divide among them all they should take from the *English*. After this, he gave order that the Guns, which we had taken out of the Ship that was lost, should be put into the Castle, and there mounted for its defence, with two pieces more out of his own Ship, of eighteen pounds port each. The Pilots conducted us into the Port, and *Don Alonso* commanded the people that were on shore to come unto his presence, unto whom he gave orders to repossess the Castle, and re-enforce it with one hundred men more than it had before its being taken by the *English*. Not long after, we received news that you were returned from *Gibraltar* unto *Maracaibo*; unto which place *Don Alonso* wrote you a Letter, giving you account of his arrival and design, and withal exhorting you to restore all that you had taken. This you refused to do; whereupon he renewed his promises and intentions unto his Souldiers and Seamen, having given a very good Supper unto all his men, and perswaded them neither to take nor give any quarter to the *English* that should fall into their hands, on the occasion of so many being drowned, who had craved any quarter for

for there lives, as knowing their own intentions of giving none. Two days before your came against us, a certain *Negro* came on board *Don Alonso's* Ship, telling him, Sir, be pleased to have great care of your self; for the English have prepared a Fire-ship with designs to burn your Fleet. But *Don Alonso* would not believe this intelligence, his answer being, How can that be? Have they, peradventure, wit enough to build a Fire-ship? & what Instruments have they do it withall?

The Pilot is received into service.

He maketh a discovery.

They return to Maracaibo.

Ransom for fire demanded again.

The Pilot above-mentioned having related so distinctly all the aforesaid things unto Capt. *Morgan*, was very well used by him, and after some kind proffers made unto him, remained in his service. He discovered moreover unto Capt. *Morgan*, that in the Ship which was sunk, there was a great quantity of Plate, even to the value of forty thousand Pieces of Eight. And that this was certainly the occasion they had oftentimes seen the *Spaniards* in Boats about the said Ship. Hereupon Capt. *Morgan* ordered that one of his Ships should remain there to watch all occasions of getting out of the said Vessel what Place they could. In the mean while he himself, with all his Fleet, returned unto *Maracaibo*, where he refitted the great Ship he had taken of the three aforesaid. And now being well accommodated, he chose it for himself; giving his own bottom to one of his Captains.

After this he sent again a Messenger unto the Admiral, who was escaped on shore and got into the Castle, demanding of him a Tribute or Ransom of fire for the Town of *Maracaibo*; which being denied, he threatned he would entirely consume and destroy it. The *Spaniards* considering how unfortunate they had been alalong with those Pirates, and not knowing after what manner to get rid of them, concluded among themselves to pay the said Ransom although *Don Alonso* would not consent unto it.

Hereupon they sent unto Captain *Morgan* to ask what sum he demanded. He answered them, he would have thirty thousand Pieces of Eight, and five hundred Beeves, to the intent his Fleet might be well victualled with flesh. This Ransom being paid, he promised in such case he would give no farther trouble unto the prisoners, nor cause any ruine or damage unto the Town. Finally, they agreed with him upon the sum of twenty thousand Pieces of Eight, besides the five hundred Beeves. The Cattel the *Spaniards* brought in the next day together with one part of the Money. And while the Pirates were busi-

20000 Pieces of Eight granted, and 500 Beeves.

ed

At the meeting of the 22nd Feb^y, they returned with the rest of the whole of twenty thousand Pieces of Eight, for which they had agreed.

But Captain Morgan, would not deliver, for that present, the prisoners, as he had promised to do, by reason he feared the shot of the Artillery of the Castle at his going forth of the Lake. Hereupon he told them he intended not to deliver them, till such time as he was out of that danger; hoping by this means to obtain a free passage. Thus he set sail with all his Fleet in quest of that Ship which he had left behind, to seek for the Plate of the Vessels that was burnt. He found her upon the place, with the sum of fifteen thousand Pieces of Eight, which they had purchased out of the wreck; besides many other Pieces of Plate, Bills of Swords and other things of this kind. Also great quantity of Pieces of Eight that were melted and run together by the force of the fire of the said Ship.

Captain *Morgan* scarce thought himself secure, neither could he contrive how to evite the damages the said Castle might cause unto his Fleet. Hereupon he told the Prisoners it was necessary they should agree with the Governor to open the passage with security for his Fleet. Unto which point if he should not consent, he would certainly hang them all up in his Ships. After this warning, the Prisoners met together to confer upon the Persons they should depute unto the said Governor, *Don Alonso*; and they assign'd some few among them for that Embassy. These went unto him, beseeching and supplicating the Admiral he would have compassion and pity on those afflicted Prisoners who were as yet, together with their Wives and Children in the hands of Captain *Morgan*. And that unto this effect he would be pleased to give his word to let the whole Fleet of Pirates freely pass, without any molestation. Forasmuch as this would be the only remedy of saving both the lives of them that came with this Petition, as also of those who remained behind in captivity; all being equally menaced with the Sword and gallows, in case he granted not this humble Request. But *Don Alonso* gave them for answer a sharp reprehension of their cowardize, telling them; If you had been as Loyal unto your King in hindring the entry of these Pirates, as I shall do their going out, you had never caused these troubles neither unto your selves, nor unto our whole Nation; which hath suffered so much through your pusillanimity. In a word, I shall never grant your Request; but shall endeavour to maintain that respect which is due unto my King, according to my duty.

Thus

*Reply of Capt.
Morgan.*

The Spoil amounteth to above 240000 Pieces of Eight.

Curious Stratagem to get away.

They weigh Anchors.

And go to the Castle.

Thus the *Spaniards* returned unto their Fellow-Prisoners, with much consternation of mind, and no hopes of obtaining their Request; telling unto Captain *Morgan* what answer they had received. His reply was, *If Don Alonso will not let me pass, I will find means how to do it without him.* Hereupon he began presently to make a Dividend of all the Booty they had taken in that Voyage, fearing lest he might not have an opportunity of doing it in another place; if any Tempest should arise and separate the Ships. As also being jealous that any of the Commanders might run away with the best part of the Spoil; which then did lie much more in one Vessel than another. Thus they all brought in according to their Laws, and declared what they had; having before-hand made an Oath not to conceal the least thing from the publick. The accounts being cast up, they found to the value of two hundred and fifty thousand Pieces of Eight in Money and Jewels, besides the huge quantity of Merchandize and Slaves. All which Purchase was divided unto every Ship or Boat, according to their share.

The Dividend being made, the Question still remained on foot how they should pass the Castle, and get out of the Lake. Unto this effect they made use of a Stratagem, of no ill invention, which was as followeth. On the day that preceded the night wherein they determin'd to get forth, they embarked many of their men in Canows, and rowed towards the shore, as if they designed to land them. Here they concealed themselves under the branches of Trees, that hang over the coast, for a while, till they had laid themselves down along in the Boats. Then the Canows returned unto the Ships, with the only appearance of two or three men rowing them back, all the rest being concealed at the bottom of the Canows. Thus much only could be perceived from the Castle; and this action of false-landing of men, for so we may call it, was repeated that day several times. Hereby the *Spaniards* were brought into persuasion the Pirats intended to force the Castle by scaling it, as soon as night should come. This fear caused them to place most of their great Guns on that side which looketh towards the Land, together with the main force of their Arms, leaving the contrary side belonging to the Sea, almost destitute of strength and defence.

Night being come, they weigh'd Anchor, and by the light of the Moon, without setting sail, committed themselves to the ebbing Tyde, which gently brought them down the River, till they were nigh unto the Castle. Being now almost over

against

against it, they spread their Sails with all the hast they could possibly make. The *Spaniards* perceiving them to escape, transported with all speed their Guns from the other side of the Castle, and began to fire very furiously at the *Pirats*. But these having a favourable wind, were almost past the danger, before those of the Castle could put things into convenient order of offence. So that the *Pirats* lost not many of their men, nor received any considerable damage in their Ships. Being now out of the reach of the Guns, Captain *Morgan* sent a Canow unto the Castle with some of the Prisoners, and the Governour thereof gave them a Boat that every one might return to his own home. Notwithstanding, he detained the Hostages he had from *Gibraltar*, by reason those of that Town were not as yet come to pay the rest of the Ransom for not firing the place. Just as he departed, Captain *Morgan* ordered seven great Guns with Bullets to be fired against the Castle, as it were to take his leave of them. But they answered not so much as with a Musket-shot.

The next day after their departur, they were surprized with a great Tempest, which forced them to cast Anchor in the depth of five or six fathom water. But the Storm Increased so much, that they were compelled to weigh again, and put out to Sea, where they were in great danger of being lost. For if on either side they should have been crist on shore, either to fall into the hands of the *Spaniards*, or the *Indians*, they would certainly have obtained no mercy. At last the Tempest being spent, the Wind ceased; which caused much content and joy in the whole Fleet.

Mean while Captain *Morgan* made his fortune by pillaging the Towns abovementioned, the rest of his Companions, who separated from his Fleet at the Cape de *Lobos* for to take the Ship of which was spoken before; endured much misery, and were very unfortunate in all their attempts. For being arrived at the Isle of *Savona*, they found not Captain *Morgan* there, nor any of their Companions. Neither had they good fortune to find a Letter which Captain *Morgan* at his departure left behind him in a certain place, where in all probability they would meet with it. Thus, not knowing what course to steer, they at last concluded to pillage some Town or other, whereby to seek their fortune. They were in all four hundred men, more or less; who were divided into Ships and one Boat. Being ready to set forth, they constituted an Admiral among themselves, by whom they might be directed in the whole affair.

The prisoners sent home.

Excepting those of Gibraltar.

A great Storm takes them.

Their Companions who were left at Cape de Lobos.

near by the
Spaniards.

affair. Unto this effect they chose a certain Person who had behaved himself very courageously at the taking of *Puerto Velo*, and whose name was Captain *Hansel*. This Commander resolved to attempt the taking of the Town of *Communa*, seated upon the Continent of *Cayacas*, nigh three score Leagues from the West-side of the Isle of *La Trinidad*. Being arrived there, they landed their men, and killed some few *Indians* that were near unto the coast. But approaching unto the Town, the Spaniards, having in their company many *Indians*, disputed them the entry so briskly, that with great loss, and in great confusion, they were forced to retire towards their Ships. At last they arrived at *Jamaica*, where the rest of their Companions who came with Captain *Morgan*, ceased not to mock and jeer them for their ill success at *Communa*, often telling them, *Let us see what money you brought from Communa; and if it be as good Silver as that which we bring from Maracaibo.*

BUCA.

BUCANIERS OF AMERICA.

PART. III.

CHAP. I.

Captain Morgan goeth to the Isle of Hispaniola, to equip a new Fleet, with intent to pillage again upon the Coasts of the West-Indies.

Captain Morgan perceived now that Fortune did favour his Arms, by giving good Success unto all his Enterprizes, which occasion'd him, as it is usual in humane Affairs, to aspire unto greater things, trusting she would always be constant unto him. Such was the burning of *Panama*; wherein Fortune failed not to assist him, in like manner as she had done before, crowning the Event of his Actions with Victory, howbeit she had led him thereunto through thousands of Difficulties. The History hereof I shall now begin to relate, as being so much remarkable in all its Circumstances, as peradventure nothing more deserving Memory, may occur to be read by future Ages.

Not long after Captain Morgan arrived at *Jamaica*, he found many of his chief Officers and Souldiers reduced to their former state of Indigency, through their immoderate Vices and Debauchery. Hence they ceased not to importune him for new Invasions and Exploits, thereby to get something to expend anew in Wine and Strumpets, as they had already wasted what was purchased so little before. Captain Morgan being willing to follow Fortune while she call'd him, hereupon stopp'd the mouths of many of the Inhabitants of *Jamaica*; who were

*Captain Morgan disposes
new Exploits.*
ons.

Creditors unto his Majesty large sums of Money, with the hopes and promises he gave them, of greater Achievements than ever, by a new Expedition he was going about. This being done, he needed not give himself much trouble, to levy Men for this or any other Enterprize, his Name being now so famous through all those Islands, as that alone would recruit him in more Men than he could well employ. He understood therefore to equip a new Fleet of Ships; for which purpose he visited the South-side of the Isle of *Torika*, as a Place of Rendezvous: With this resolution, he writ divers Letters unto all the chiefest and expert Pirates there inhabiting, as also to the Governour of the said Isle, and to the Planters and Hunters of *Hispaniola*, giving them to understand his Intentions, and desiring their Appearance at the said place, in case they intended to go with him. All these People had no sooner understood his Designs, but they flocked unto the place in huge numbers, with Ships, Canows, and Boats, being desirous to obey his Commands. Many who had not the convenience of coming unto him by Sea, traversed the Woods of *Hispaniola*, and with not insensible difficulties arrived there by Land. Thus all were present at the place assigned, and in a readiness, against the 24th day of October, 1695.

He writeth to
several Persons.

Multitudes
flock unto him.

Captain Mor-
gan arriveth
to meet them.

And calleth a
Council.

They send to
seek Provisions.

Captain Morgan was not wanting to be there according to his punctual Custom, who came in his Ship unto the same side of the Island, to a Port called by the French, *Port Conillon*, over against the Island de *la Vaca*, this being the Place which he had assigned unto others. Having now gathered the greatest part of his Fleet, he called a Council, to deliberate about the means of finding Provisions sufficient for so many People. Here they concluded to send four Ships, and one Boat, manned with 400 Men, over to the *Continent*, to the intent they should rise some Country Towns and Villages, and in these get all the Corn or *Maize* they could gather. They set sail for the *Continent*, towards the River de *la Hacha*, with design to assault a small Village, called *la Rancheria*, where is usually to be found the greatest quantity of *Maize*, of all those Parts thereabouts. In the mean while Captain Morgan sent another Party of his Men to hunt in the Woods, who killed there an huge number of Beasts, and salted them: The rest of his Companions remained in the Ships, to clean, fit, and rig them out to Sea, so at the return of those who were sent abroad, all things might be in a readiness to weigh Anchors, and follow the course of their Designs.

CHAP. II.

What happened in the River de la Hacha.

THE four Ships above-mentioned, after they had let Sail from *Hispaniola*, steered their course till they came within sight of the River de la Hacha, where they were suddenly overtaken with a tedious Calm. Being thus within sight of Land becalmed for some days, the *Spaniards* inhabiting along the Coasts, who had perceived them to be Enemies, had sufficient time to prepare themselves for the Assault, at least to hide the best part of their Goods, to the end, that without any care of preserving them, they might be in a readiness to retire, when they found themselves unable to resist the Force of the Pirats, of whose frequent Attempts upon those Coasts, they had already learnt what they had to do in such Cases. There was in the River at that present a good Ship, which was come from *Cartagena* to laid Maize, and was now when the Pirats came, almost ready to depart. The Men belonging to this Ship, endeavoured to escape, but not being able to do it, both they and the Vessel fell into their hands. This was a fit purchase for their Mind, as being good part of what they came to seek for, with so much care and toil. The next Morning about break of day, they came with their Ships towards the Shoar, and landed their Men, although the *Spaniards* made huge resistance, from a Battery which they had raised on that side, where of necessity they were to land: but notwithstanding what defence they could make, they were forced to retire towards a Village, unto which the Pirats followed them. Here the *Spaniards* rallying again, fell upon them with great fury, and maintained a strong Combat, which lasted till night was come; but then perceiving they had lost great number of Men, which was no smaller on the Pirats side, they retired unto Places more occult in the Woods.

The next day, when the Pirats saw they were all fled, and the Town left totally empty of People, they pursued them as far as they could possible. In this pursuit they overtook a Party of *Spaniards*, whom they made all Prisoners, and exercised with most cruel Torments, to discover where they had hid their Goods: some were found, who by the force of intolerable Tortures, confessed; but others, who would not do the same, were used more barbarously than the former. Thus in the space of fifteen days that they remained there, they took many Prisoners, much Plate and moveable Goods, with all other things they could rob, with which Booty they resolved to return unto *Hispaniola*. Yet not contented with what they had already got, they dispatch some Prisoners into the Woods, to seek for the rest of the Inhabitants,

They arrive at the River de la Hacha,

And take a Ship laden with Corn.

They land.

The Spaniards oppose them,

But in vain.

They pursue the Spaniards.

Many taken and tortured.

They arrive at Hispaniola.

4000 Haneys
of Maiz gives
for a Ransom.

They return to
Hispaniola.

and to demand of them a Ransom for not burning the Town: Unto this they answered, They had no Mony nor Plate, but in case they could be furnished with a certain quantity of Maiz, they would give as much as they could afford. The Pirats accepted this proffer, as being more useful to them at that occasion than ready Mony, and agreed they should pay 4000 Haneys, or Bushels of Maiz. These were brought in three days after, the Spaniards being desirous to rid themselves as soon as possible, of that inhumane sort of People. Having laded them on board their Ships, together with all the rest of their Purchase, they returned unto the Island of Hispaniola, to give account unto their Leader Captain Morgan, of all they had performed.

Great joy for
their arrival.

They had now been absent five entire Weeks, about the Commission aforementioned, which long delay occasioned Captain Morgan, almost to despair of their Return, as fearing least they were fallen into the hands of the Spaniards, especially, considering that the place whereunto they went, could easily be relieved from Cartagena, and Santa Maria: if the Inhabitants were any thing careful to alarm the Country: on the other side, he feared lest they should have made some great Fortune in that Voyage, and with it escaped unto some other place. But at last, seeing his Ships return, and in greater number than they had departed, he resumed new Courage, this sight causing both in him and his Companions infinite joy. This was much increased, when being arrived, they found them full laden with Maiz, whereof they stood in great need for the maintenance of so many people, by whose help they expected great Matters, through the Conduct of their Commander.

They depart to
Cape Tiburon.

37 Ships in all.

After that Captain Morgan had divided the said Maiz, as also the Flesh which the Hunters brought in among all the Ships, according to the number of Men that were in every Vessel, he concluded upon the departure, having viewed before-hand every Ship, and observed their being well equipped and clean. Thus he set sail, and directed his course towards Cape Tiburon, where he determined to take his Measures and Resolution, of what Enterprize he should take in hand. No sooner were they arrived there, but they met with some other Ships that came newly to joyn them from Jamaica. So that now the whole Fleet consisted of 37 Ships, wherein were 2000 fighting Men, besides Mariners and Boys: The Admiral hereof was mounted with 22 great Guns, and 6 small ones of Brass; the rest carried some 20, some 16, some 18, and the smallest Vessel at least 45 besides which, they had great quantity of Ammunition and Fire-balls, with other Inventions of Powder.

The Fleet di-
vided into two
Squadrons.

Captain Morgan finding himself with such a great number of Ships, divided the whole Fleet into two Squadrons, constituting a Vice-Admiral, and other Officers and Commanders of the second Squadron, distinctly from the former. Unto every one of these he gave Letters Patents,

Patents, or Commissions, to act all manner of Hostility against the *Spanish* Nation; and take of them what Ships they could, either abroad at Sea, or in the Harbors, in like manner as if they were open and declared Enemies (as he term'd it) of the King of England his pretended Master. This being done, he called all his Captains and other Officers together, and caused them to sign some Articles of common Agreement betwixt them, and in the name of all. Herein it was stipulated, that he should have the Hundreth part of all that was gotten, to himself alone: That every Captain should draw the shares of eight Men, for the Expences of his Ship, besides his own: That the Surgeon, beside his ordinary pay, should have 200 Pieces of Eight for his Chest of Medicaments: And every Carpenter, above his common Salary, should draw 100 pieces of Eight. As to Recompences and Rewards, they were regulated in this Voyage much higher than was expressed in the first part of this Book. Thus, for the loss of both Legs, they assigned 1500 pieces of Eight, or 15 Slaves, the choice being left to the Election of the Party. For the loss of both Hands, 1800 pieces of Eight, or 18 Slaves. For one Leg, whether the right or the left, 600 pieces of Eight, or 6 Slaves. For a Hand, as much as for a Leg. And for the loss of an Eye, 100 pieces of Eight, or one Slave. Lastly, Unto him that in any Battel should signalize himself, either by entering the first any Castle, or taking down the *Spanish* Colours and setting up the *English*, they constituted 50 pieces of Eight for a Reward. In the head of these Articles it was stipulated, that all these extraordinary Salaries, Recompences and Rewards, should be paid out of the first Spoil or Purchase they should take, according as every one should then occur to be either rewarded or paid.

This Contract being signed, Captain *Morgan* commanded his Vice-Admirals and Captains to put all things in order, every one in their Ships, for to go and attempt one of three Places, either *Cartagena*, *Panama*, or *Vera Cruz*; but the Lot fell upon *Panama*, as being believed to be the richest of all three; notwithstanding this City being situated at such distance from the Northern Sea, as they knew not well the Avenues and Entries necessary to approach unto it, they judg'd it necessary to go before-hand to the Isle of St. *Catharin*, there to find and provide themselves with some Persons, who might serve them for Guides in this Enterprize; for in the Garrison of that Island, are commonly employed many *Banditi*, and Outlaws, belonging to *Panama*, and the neighboring Places, who are very expert in the knowledge of all that Country. But before they proceeded any farther, they caused an Act to be published through the whole Fleet, containing, That in case they met with any *Spanish* Vessel, the first Captain, who with his Men should enter and take the said Ship, should have for his Reward the tenth part of whatsoever should be found within her.

Articles of
this Voyage.

Three Places
in Deliberati-
on.
Panama
pitched upon.

They go to take
St. *Catharin*.

CHAP. III.

Captain Morgan leaveth the Island of Hispaniola, and goeth to that of St. Catharin, which he taketh.

*They depart
from Cape Ti-
buron,*

Captain Morgan and his Companions weighed Anchors from the Cape of Tiburon, the 16th day of December, in the Year, 1670. Four days after they arrived within sight of the Isle of St. Catharin, which was now in possession of the Spaniards again, as was said in the Second Part of this History, and unto which they commonly banish all the Malefactors of the Spanish Dominions Ith' West-Indies. In this Island are found huge quantities of Pidgeons at certain Seasons of the Year: It is watered continually by four Rivulets, or Brooks, whereof two are always dry in Summer-Season. Here is no manner of Trade nor Commerce exercised by the Inhabitants, neither do they give themselves the trouble to Plant more Fruits, than what are necessary for the sustentation of Humane Lives; howbeit, the Country would be sufficient to make very good Plantations of Tobacco, which might render considerable Profit, were it cultivated for that use.

*And arriveth at
St. Catharin.*

As soon as Captain Morgan came nigh unto the Island with his Fleet, he sent before one of his best sailing Vessels to view the entry of the River, and see if any other Ships were there, who might hinder him from Landing; as also fearing lest they should give Intelligence of his Arrival to the Inhabitants of the Island, and they by this means prevent his Designs.

*They come to an
Anchor,*

The next day before Sun-rising, all the Fleet came to an Anchor nigh unto the Island, in a certain Bay called *Aguada grande*: upon this Bay the Spaniards had lately built a Battery, mounted with four pieces of Cannon. Captain Morgan landed with 1000 Men, more or less, and disposed them into Squadrons, beginning his March through the Woods, although they had no other Guides than some few of his own Men who had been there before, when Mansvelt took and ransack'd the Island. The same day they came unto a certain Place, where the Governor at other times did keep his ordinary Residence; here they found a Battery called, *The Platform*, but no body in it, the Spaniards having retired unto the Lesser Island, which, as was said before, is so nigh unto the great one, that a short Bridge only may conjoin them.

*And land
1000 Men.*

*This lesser Island
well fortified,*

This lesser Island aforesaid, was so well fortified with Forts and Batteries round about it, as might seem Impregnable. Hereupon soon as the Spaniards perceived the Pirates to approach, they set fire upon them so furiously, as they could advance nothing that day.

but were contented to retreat a little, and take up their rest upon the Grass in the open Fields, which afforded no strange Beds to these People, as being sufficiently used to such-kind of Repose: what most afflicted them was Hunger, having not eat the least thing that whole day. About Midnight it began to rain so hard, as those miserable People had much ado to resist so much hardship, the greatest part of them having no other Cloaths than a pair of Seaman's Trowzers, or Breeches and a Shirt, without either Shoos or Stockings. Thus finding themselves in great Extremity, they began to pull down a few thatched Houses, to make Fires withal: In a word, they were in such condition, that 100 Men, indifferently well-armed, might easily that night have torn them all in pieces. The next Morning, about break of day, the Rain ceased, at which time they began to dry their Arms, which were entirely wet, and proceed on their March. But not long after the Rain recommenc'd anew rather harder than before, as if the Skies were melted into Waters, which caused them to cease from advancing towards the Forts, from whence the Spaniards did continually fire at the Pirates, seeing them to approach.

Hard Weathers.

Yet worse.

The Pirates were now reduced unto great Affliction and danger of their Lives, through the hardness of the Weather, their own Nakedness, and the great Hunger they sustained. For a small relief hereof, they hapned to find in the Fields an old Horse, which was both lean and full of Scabs and Blotches, with gall'd back and sides. This horrid Animal they instantly kill'd and slay'd, and divided into small pieces among themselves, as far as it would reach, for many could not obtain one morsel, which they roasted and devoured without either Salt or Bread, more like unto ravenous Wolves than Men. The Rain as yet ceased not to fall, and Captain Morgan perceived their minds to relent, hearing many of them say, they would return on Board the Ships. Amongst these Fatigues both of Mind and Body, he thought it convenient to use some sudden, and almost unexpected Remedy: unto this effect, he commanded a Canow to be rigg'd in all haste, and Colours of Truce to be hang'd out of it. This Canow he sent to the Spanish Governor of the Island, with this Message: *That if within a few hours he deliver'd not himself and all his Men into his hands, he did by that Messenger swear unto him, and all those that were in his company, he would most certainly put them all to the Sword, without granting Quarter to any.*

Much hardly endured.

They eat an old scabby Horse.

The Spaniards summon'd to surrender.

Their answer.

The Canow returned with this Answer: That the Go-

in a full
his poli-
the said
Persons to
demanded of
the

The Governor
betrayeth the
Island.

the Pirats two Persons, as Hostages of the
readily granted By Captain Morgan, who den
his Captain, for an unspiced of the Security
the Spanish, and pronounced upon Morgan, that their Governor
in a full Assembly, that the extremity of the Island, as not being
providing of the same, and fearing against such an Armada or
Fleet. But withal, he condition, caused all would be pleased
to use a certain, that were in greater Credit, and at home,
which should be a followe. Such as could come with
his Troops, might, and those, to a 1. The Island
unto the great, and there, and there, That at
the same time all the Ships, of 2. Into the
Castle of Santa Teresia, and an an while
some more Troops near the, That these
Troops which were new, and except the
Governor by his, and he and, from's Fort,
and then taking his Prisoners, and forced him
to deliver the said Castle, and into it,
under the fraud of being his own, and other,
there should be, and being at, Bullets, or
at least into the Air, so that no harm by this
device: That thus, having obtain'd, the Forts, the
chiefest of the Island, he needed, which of ne-
cessity must fall by, course into

Captain Mor-
gan accepteth
the Proposals.

These Propositions, every
on condition they should see
should be used with all rig
and hereupon took the
Negotiations to the C
manded the whole
diness for to a
Alarm of P
the Castles
Then the
they took away
murder, in
Captain M
his Men, to
Spanish, in
The
in due
C

They take pos-
session of the
Island.

roast and eat, and make fire to hear, as much as they could get at ain unto. If Wood was wanting, they presently fell upon the trees, and pulling them down, made Fires with the Timber, as had been done before with the Island. The next day they numbered all the Prisoners they had taken upon the whole Island, which were found to be in all 450 Persons, between Men, Women and Children, viz. 190 Souldiers, belonging to the Garrison; 40 Inhabitants, who were married; 43 Children; 34 Slaves, belonging to the King, with 8 Children; 8 Banditi; 39 Negro's, belonging unto private persons, with 27 Female Blacks, and 34 Children. The Pirates disarmed all the Spaniards, and sent them out immediately unto the Plantations to seek for Provisions, leaving the Women in the Church, there to exercise their Devotions.

Number of Persons found on the Island.

Soon after they took a Review of the whole Island, and all the Fortresses belonging thereunto, which they found to be nine in all; as followeth: The Fort of St. Jerom, nighest unto the Bridge, had 8 great Guns, of 12, 6, and 8 pound Carriage, together with 6 pipes of Muskets, every pipe containing 10 Muskets. Here they found still 60 Muskets, with sufficient quantity of Powder, and all other sorts of Ammunition. The second Fortress, called St. Matthew, had 3 Guns, of 8 pound Carriage each. The third, and chieftest among all the rest, named Santa Teresa, had 20 great Guns, of 18, 12, 8, and 6 pound carriage, with 10 pipes of Muskets, like unto those we said before, and 90 Muskets remaining, besides all other Warlike Ammunition. This Castle was built with Stone and Mortar, with very thick Walls on all sides, and a large Ditch round about it of 20 Foot depth, the which, although it was dry, yet was very hard to get over. Here was no Entry but through one Door, which corresponded to the middle of the Castle. Within it was a Mount or Hill, almost unaccessable, with four pieces of Cannon at the top, from whence they could shoot directly into the Port. On the Sea side this Castle was impregnable, by reason of the Rocks which surrounded it, and the Sea beating furiously upon them. In like manner on the side of the Land, it was so commodiously seated on a Mountain, as there was no access unto it, but by a path of three or four foot broad. The fourth Fortress was named St. Augustin, having 3 Guns, of 8 and 6 pound carriage. The fifth, named La plataforma de la Concepcion, had 10 Guns, of 8 pound carriage. The sixth, by name San-Salvador, likewise no more than 2 Guns. The seventh, being called Plaza de los Artilleros, had also two Guns. The eighth, call'd Santa Cruz, had three Guns. The ninth, which was call'd St. Joseph's Fort, had six Guns of twelve and eight pound carriage, besides two pipes of Muskets; and sufficient Ammunition.

Fortresses and Arms of the whole Island.

Three Banditi
found here, or
Guides for Pa-
nama.

In the Store-house which they had taken upon the Mountains, Powder, with all other things, and caused them to commit the same to the Pirates on board, as also to two Gentlemen, who were with them, a mill, and the Fortresses, where the Pirates kept their Town. Enquiring, if any Banditi were there, and hereupon three were brought before him, who pretended to be very expert in all the Avenues of those parts. He asked them, if they would be his Guides, and shew him the securest Ways and Passages unto Panama; which if they performed, he promised them equal shares in all they should pillage and rob in that Expedition, and that afterwards he would set them at liberty, by transporting them onto Jamaica. These Propositions pleased the Banditi very well, and they readily accepted his offers, promising to serve him very faithfully in all he should desire. Of these three, who was the greatest Rogue, Thief, and Villain among them, and who had deserved for his Crimes, to be broken alive upon the Wheel, than punished with flogging, and sent there, that he might have a great Ascendant over the other two, and so might command and command over them as he pleased, they beganning to refuse Obedience to his Orders, lest the Enemies should take an Advantage.

Four Ships
sent to take the
Castle of Chagre.

Her Majesty's Captain, who had commanded four Ships and one Boat, to be adapted and provided with all things necessary, for to go and take the Castle of Chagre, which lay upon the River of that Name. Neither would he go himself, with his whole Fleet, fearing the Spaniards should be aware of his further Designs upon Panama. In these Vessels he had sent back four hundred Men, who went to put in execution the Orders of their chief Commander, Captain Morgan, men of the most valiant and stoutest, and behind in the Island of St. Catharin, with the rest of the Fleet, expecting to hear the Success of their Arms.

CHAPTER IV.

Captain Morgan, taking the Castle of Chagre, with four hundred Men sent unto this purpose from the Isle of St. Catharin.

Captain
Brodeley made
Vice-Admiral.

Captain Morgan sending the Vice-Admiral and a Boat unto the River of Chagre, chose for Vice-Admiral thereof, a certain Person, Captain Brodeley. This Man had been long time in those Quarters, and committed many Robberies upon the Spaniards, when Man Gule

took the life of *St. Catharin*, as was related in the second Part of this History. He being therefore well acquainted with those Coasts, was thought a fit Person for this Exploit, his Actions likewise having rendered him famous among the Pirats, and their Enemies the *Spaniards*. Captain *Bradely* being chosen chief Commander of these Forces, in three days after he departed from the presence of *C* arrived within sight of the said Castle of *Chagre*, which is called *St. Lawrence*. This Castle is built at the entry of the River, and surrounded on a *lizada's*, or wooden Walls, being very well furnished with Earth, which rendereth them as secure, as if they were made of Stone or Brick. The top of this Mountain is in a narrow passage between which lyeth a Ditch, of the depth of 30 Foot.

He arrived at Chagre.

Morgan, arrived the Spaniards Mountain, Situation of Strong Pass the Castle.

The Castle itself hath but one Entry, and that by a Draw-bridge, which passeth over the Ditch afore-mentioned. On the land-side it hath four bastions, that of the Sea containing only two more. That part thereof which looketh towards the South, is totally unaccessible, and is only to be ascended, through the infinite asperity of the Mountain.

It is surrounded by the River, which hereabouts runs in a straight line.

At the foot of the said Castle, or rather Mountain, is a small Port, with eight great Guns, which commandeth the mouth of the River. Not much lower are to be seen six pieces of Cannon, which are pointed towards the said River.

At one side of the Castle are several Houses, in which are deposited all sorts of Ammunition, which are brought thither from the inner parts of the Country.

Nigh unto these Houses is a high pair of Stairs hewed out of the Rock, which serveth to mount unto the top of the Castle.

On the West-side of the said Fortress lyeth a small Port, which is not above seven or eight Fathom deep, being very fit for small Vessels, and of very good Anchorage.

Besides this, there lyeth before the Castle, at the entry of the River, a great Rock, scarce to be perceived above Water, unless at low Tides.

A dangerous Rock at the head of the River.

No sooner had the *Spaniards* perceived the Pirats to come, but they began to fire incessantly at them with the biggest of their Guns. They came to anchor in a small Port, at the distance of a League more or less from the Castle.

The next Morning very early, they went on shore, and marched through the Woods, to attack the Castle on that side.

Toryland.

This March continued until two of the Clock after noon, before they could reach the Castle. By reason of the difficulties of the way, although their Guides forced them to go so high the Castle at last they were obliged to retire from the Guns, they being in no manner able to cover nor defend them. This march

perplexed the Pirats in their Minds, they not knowing what to do, nor what course to take, for on that side of necessity they must make the Assault, and being uncovered from Head to Foot, they could not advance one step without great danger. Besides, that the Castle, both for its Situation and Strength, did cause them much to fear the Success of that Enterprize. But to give it over, they dared not, lest they should be reproach'd, and scorn'd by their Companions.

Danger of this Enterprize.

They resolve to hazard the Assault,

And are forced to retire.

Strange Accident.

They make use of the opportunity.

At last, after many Doubts and Disputes among themselves, they resolved to hazard the Assault and their Lives after a most desperate manner. Thus they advanced towards the Castle, with their Swords in one hand, and Fire-balls in the other. The *Spaniards* defended themselves very briskly, ceasing not to fire at them with their great Guns and Muskets continually, crying withal, *Come on, ye English Dogs, Enemies to God and our King, let your other Companions that are behind come on too; ye shall not go to Panama this bout.* After the Pirats had made some trial to climb up the Walls, they were forced to retreat, which they accordingly did, resting themselves until Night. This being come, they returned to the Assault, to try, it by the help of their Fire-balls they could overcome, and pull down the Pales before the Wall. This they attempted to do, and mean while they were about it, there hapned a very remarkable Accident, which gave them the opportunity of the Victory. One of the Pirats was wounded with an Arrow in his Back, which pierced his Body to the other side. This instantly he pulled out with great valour at the side of his Breast; then taking a little Cotton that he had about him, he wound it about the said Arrow, and putting it into his Musket, he shot it back unto the Castle. But the Cotton being kindled by the Powder, occasion'd two or three Houses that were within the Castle, as being thatch'd with Palm-leaves, to take Fire, which the *Spaniards* perceived not so soon as was necessary. For this Fire meeting with a parcel of Powder, blew it up, and thereby caused great ruine, and no less consternation to the *Spaniards*, who were not able to occur unto this Accident, as not having seen the beginning thereof.

Thus the Pirats perceiving the good effect of the Arrow, and the beginning of the Misfortune of the *Spaniards*, were infinitely gladdened thereat. And mean while they were busied in extinguishing the Fire, which caused great confusion in the whole Castle, having not sufficient Water wherewithal to do it, the Pirats made use of this opportunity, setting Fire likewise unto the *Palizada's*. Thus the Fire was seen at the same time, in several parts about the Castle, which gave them huge advantage against the *Spaniards*. For many Breaches were made at once by the Fire among the Pales, great heaps of Earth falling down into the Ditch. Upon these the Pirats climbed up, and got over into the Castle, notwithstanding that some *Spaniards*, who were not busied

busied about the Fire, cast down upon them many flaming Pots, full of combustible Matter, and odious Smells, which occasion'd the loss of many of the *English*.

The *Spaniards*, notwithstanding the great resistance they made, *Tot Empalements burnt.* could not hinder the *Palizada's* from being entirely burnt before midnight. Mean while the *Pirats* ceased not to persist in their Intention of taking the Castle. Unto which effect, although the Fire was great, they would creep upon the Ground as nigh unto it as they could, and shoot amidst the Flames against the *Spaniards* they could perceive on the other side, and thus cause many to fall dead from the Walls. When day was come, they observed all the moveable Earth that lay betwixt the Pales, to be fallen into the Ditch in huge quantity. So that now those within the Castle, did in a manner lye equally exposed to them without, -as had been on the contrary before. Whereupon the *Pirats* continued shooting very furiously against them, and killed great number of *Spaniards*. For the Governor had given them Orders not to retire from those Posts which corresponded to the heaps of Earth fallen into the Ditch, and caused the Artillery to be transported unto the Breaches. *They lie open to one another.*

Notwithstanding the Fire within the Castle still continued, and now the *Pirats* from abroad used what means they could to hinder its progress, by shooting incessantly against it. One party of the *Pirats* was employed only to this purpose, and another commanded to watch all the Motions of the *Spaniards*, and take all opportunities against them. About Noon the *English* hapned to gain a Breach, which the Governor himself defended with 25 Souldiers. Here was performed a very courageous and warlike Resistance by the *Spaniards*, both with Muskets, Pikes, Stones and Swords. Yet notwithstanding, through all these Arms the *Pirats* forced and fought their way, till at last they gained the Castle. The *Spaniards* who remained alive, cast themselves down from the Castle into the Sea, choosing rather to die precipitated by their own selves, (few or none surviving the Fall) than to ask any Quarter for their Lives. The Governor himself retreated unto the *Corps du Garde*, before which were placed two pieces of Cannon. Here he intended still to defend himself, neither would he demand any Quarter. But at last he was killed with a Musket-shot, which pierced his Skull into the Brain. *The Pirats help to extinguish the Fire.* *They gain a Breach,* *And at last the Castle.* *The Governor killed.*

The Governor being dead, and the *Corps du Garde* surrendered, they found still remaining in it alive, to the number of 30 Men, whereof scarce 10 were not wounded. These informed the *Pirats*, that 8 or 9 of their Soldiers had deserted their Colours, and were gone to *Panama*, to carry news of their Arrival and Invasion. These 30 Men alone were remaining of 314, wherewith the Castle was garisoned; among which number, not one Officer was found alive. These were all made

The Governor
of Panama
knew their
coming.

made Prisoners, and compelled to tell whatsoever they knew of their Designs and Enterprizes. Among other things they declared, that the Governor of *Panama* had notice sent him three Weeks ago from *Cartagena*, how that the *English* were equipping a Fleet at *Hispaniola*, with design to come and take the said City of *Panama*. Moreover, That this their Intention had been known by a person who was run away from the Pirats, at the River *de la Hacha*, where they provided their Fleet with Corn. That, upon this News, the said Governor had sent 164 Men to strengthen the Garison of that Castle, together with much Provision and warlike Ammunition; the ordinary Garison whereof did only consist of 150 Men. So that in all, they made the number aforementioned of 314 Men, being all very well armed. Besides this, they declared, That the Governor of *Panama* had placed several Ambuscades all along the River of *Chagre*; and that he waited for their coming, in the open Fields of *Panama*, with 3600 Men.

Ambuscades on
the River side.

The dead
thrown down
from the Castle.

The taking of this Castle of *Chagre* cost the Pirats excessively dear, in comparison to the small numbers they used to lose at other times and places. Yea their toil and labour here, did far exceed what they sustained at the Conquest of the Isle of *St. Catharin*, and its adjacent. For coming to number their Men, they found they had lost above 100, besides those that were wounded, whose number exceeded 70. They commanded the *Spaniards* that were Prisoners, to cast all the dead Bodies of their own Men, down from the top of the Mountain to the Sea-side, and afterwards to bury them. Such as were wounded, were carried unto the Church belonging to the Castle, of which they made an Hospital, and where also they shut up the Women. Thus it was likewise turned into a place of Prostitution, the Pirats ceasing not to defile the Bodies of those afflicted Widows, with all manner of insolent Actions and Threats.

Captain Mor-
gan prepares
for Chagre.

Captain *Morgan* remained not long time behind, at the Isle of *St. Catharin*, after taking the Castle of *Chagre*; of which he had notice presently sent him. Yet notwithstanding, before he departed from thence, he caused to be imbarked all the Provisions could be found, together with great quantities of *Maize*, or *Indian Wheat* and *Cassave*; whereof, in like manner, is made Bread in those parts. He commanded likewise, great store of Provisions should be transported unto the Garison of the aforesaid Castle of *Chagre*, from what Parts soever they could be gotten. At a certain place of the Island, they cast into Sea all the Guns belonging thereunto, with a design to return, and leave that Island well garrison'd, unto the perpetual possession of Pirats. Notwithstanding, he order'd all the Houses and Forts to be set on fire, excepting only the Castle of *St. Teresa*, which he judged to be the strongest and securest wherein to fortifie himself, at his return from *Panama*. He carried with him all the Prisoners of the Island,

and



and thus set Sail for the River *Chagre*, where he arrived in the space of eight days. Here the Joy of the whole Fleet was so great, when they spied the *English* Colours upon the Castle, that they minded not their way into the River, which occasioned them to loose four of their Ships at the Entry thereof, that wherein Captain *Morgan* went, being one of the four. Yet their Fortune was so good, as to be able to save all the Men and Goods that were in the said Vessels. Yea, the Ships likewise had been preserved, if a strong Northerly Wind had not risen in that occasion, which cast the Ships upon the Rock above-mentioned, that lyeth at the Entry of the said River.

He arrives at
there.

Looseth four
Ships at the
entry of the
River,

Captain *Morgan* was brought into the Castle with great Acclamations of Triumph and Joy, of all the Pirates, both of those who were within, and also them that were but newly come. Having understood the whole Transactions of the Conquest, he commanded all the Prisoners to begin to work, and repair what was necessary: Especially, in setting up new *Palisades*, or Pales, round about the Forts depending on the Castle. There were still in the River some *Spanish* Vessels, called by them *Chatten*, which serve for the Transportation of Merchandise up and down the said River, as also for to go to *Puerto Velo*, and *Nicaragua*. These are commonly mounted with two great Guns of Iron, and four other small ones of Brass. All these Vessels they seized on, together with four little Ships they found there, and all the Canows. In the Castle they left a Garrison of Five hundred Men, and in the Ships within the River, One hundred and fifty more. These things being done, Captain *Morgan* departed towards *Panama*, at the Head of Twelve hundred Men. He carried very small Provisions with him, being in good hopes he should provide himself sufficiently among the *Spaniards*, whom he knew to lye in Ambuscade at several Places by the way.

And is received
with great joy.

Boats seized
in the River.

Garrison left at
Chagre.

CHAP. V.

Captain Morgan departeth from the Castle of Chagre, at the Head of Twelve hundred Men, with design to take the City of Panama.

Captain *Morgan* set forth from the Castle of *Chagre*, towards *Panama*, the 18th day of *August*, in the Year 1670. He had under his Conduct Twelve hundred Men, five Boats with Artillery, and thirty two Canows, all which were filled with the said People. Thus he steered his course up the River towards *Panama*. That day they sailed only

Panama to Panama.

*First day there-
of.*

only six Leagues, and came to a Place called *de los Bracos*. Here a party of his Men went on shore only to sleep some few hours, and stretch their Limbs, they being almost crippled with lying too much crowded in the Boats. After they had rested a while, they went abroad, to see if any Victuals could be found in the Neighboring Plantations. But they could find none, the *Spaniards* being fled, and carrying with them all the Provisions they had. This day, being the first of their Journey, there was amongst them such scarcity of Victuals, as the greatest part were forced to pass with only a Pipe of Tobacco, without any other Refreshment.

Second day.

The next day, very early ith Morning, they continued their Journey, and came about Evening to a Place called, *Cruz de Juan Gallego*. Here they were compelled to leave their Boats and Canows, by reason the River was very dry for want of Rain, and the many obstacles of Trees that were fallen into it.

The Guides told them, that about two Leagues farther on, the Country would be very good to continue the Journey by Land. Hereupon they left some Companies, being in all 160 Men, on board the Boats to defend them, with intent they might serve for a place of Refuge in case of necessity.

Third day.

The next Morning, being the third day of their Journey, they all went ashore, excepting those above-mentioned, who were to keep the Boats. Unto these Captain *Morgan* gave very strict Orders, under great penalties, that no Man, upon any pretext whatsoever, should dare to leave the Boats and go ashore. This he did, fearing lest they should be surprized and cut off by any Ambuscade of *Spaniards* that might chance to lye thereabouts in the neighboring Woods, which appeared so thick, as to seem almost impenetrable. Having this Morning begun their March, they found the ways so dirty and irksome, that Captain *Morgan* thought it more convenient to transport some of the Men in Canows, (though it could not be done without great labour) to a Place farther up the River, called *Cedro bueno*. Thus they Reimbarked, and the Canows returned for the rest that were left behind. So that about night, they found themselves all together at the said Place. The Pirats were extremely desirous to meet any *Spaniards* or *Indians*, hoping to fill their Bellies with what Provisions they should take from them. For now they were reduced almost to the very extremity of Hunger.

Fourth day.

On the fourth day, the greatest part of the Pirats marched by Land, being led by one of the Guides. The rest went by Water farther up with the Canows, being conducted by another Guide, who always went before them with two of the said Canows, to discover on both sides the River the Ambuscades of the *Spaniards*. These had also *Spies* who were very dexters, and could at any time give notice of

dents, or of the Arrival of the Pirats, six hours at least before they came to any Place. This day about Noon they found themselves nigh unto a Post, called *Torna Cavallos*. Here the Guide of the Canows began to cry aloud, he perceived an Ambuscade. His voice caused infinite Joy unto all the Pirats, as perswading themselves they should find some Provisions wherewith to satiate their Hunger, which was very great. Being come unto the Place, they found no Body in it, the *Spaniards* who were there not long before, being every one fled, and leaving nothing behind, unless it were a small number of leather Bags, all empty, and a few crumbs of Bread scatter'd upon the Ground where they had eaten. Being angry at this Misfortune, they pull'd down a few little Huts which the *Spaniards* had made, and afterwards fell to eating the leathern Bags, as being desirous to afford something to the ferment of their Stomachs, which now was grown so sharp, as it did gnaw their very Bowels, having nothing else to prey upon. Thus they made a huge Banquet upon those Bags of Leather, which doubtless had been more grateful unto them, if divers Quarrels had not risen concerning who should have the greatest share. By the circumference of the Place, they conjectur'd 500 *Spaniards*, more or less, had been there. And these, finding no Victuals, they were now infinitely desirous to meet, intending to devour some of them, rather than perish. Whom they would certainly in that occasion have roasted or boyled to satisfy their Famine, had they been able to take them.

After they had feasted themselves with those pieces of Leather, they quitted the Place and marched farther on, till they came about night to another Post, called *Torna Munni*. Here they found another Ambuscade, but as barren and desert as the former. They searched the neighboring Woods, but could not find the least thing to eat. The *Spaniards* having been so provident, as not to leave behind them any where the least crum of Sustenance, whereby the Pirats were now brought to the Extremity aforementioned. Here again he was happy, that had reserved since Noon any small piece of Leather, whereof to make his Supper, drinking after it a good draught of Water for his greatest comfort. Some Persons, who never were out of their Mothers Kitchens, may ask, how these Pirats could eat, swallow and digest, those pieces of Leather so hard and dry? Unto whom I only answer, That could they once experiment what Hunger, or rather Famine is, they would certainly find the manner by their own necessity, as the Pirats did. For these, first took the Leather and slic'd it in pieces: Then did they beat it between two Stones, and rub it, often dipping it in the Water of the River, to render it by these means sup-
 tender. Lastly, they scraped off the Hair, and roasted or st upon the Fire. And being thus cook'd, they cut it into morsels, and eat it; helping it down with

Fifth day.

of Water, which by good
They continued the
unto a Place called *Barba*
other Ambulcade,
cedent were. At a
which they scarce
meal, or other
ravenous Hunger,
ed long time
ly hewn
Wheat,
Fruits,
Men w
the ext
be brought
distributed am
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Sixth day.

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journey till late at night,
can where they took up
at all; for the *Spaniards*, as
rovilions, leaving not behind

er March, part of them by Land
in the Canows. Howbeit,
es very frequently by the way,
the extream Weakness they were
to occur, by eating some Leaves
such as they could pick, for such
ere in. This day, at Noon, they ar
ound a Barn full of *Maize*. Imme
and fell to eating of it dry, as much
ards, they distributed great quantity,
allowance thereof. Being thus provi
army, which having continued for the
bouts, they met with an Ambulcade of
foer had discover'd, but they threw away
in hopes they conceived of finding all things
all this haste, they found themselves
seeing neither *Indians* nor Victuals, nor any
imagined. They saw notwithstanding, on
Troop of 100 *Indians*, more or less, who
agility of their Feet. Some few *Pirats* there

there were who leapt into the River, the sooner to reach the shore, to see if they could take any of the said *Indians* Prisoners. But all was in vain; for being much more nimble at their Feet than the *Pirats*, they easily baffled their Endeavors. Neither did they only baffle them, but led also two or three of the *Pirats* with their Arrows, howting at them at a distance, and crying, *Ha! perras, à la savana, à la savana. Ha! ye Dogs, go to the Plain, go to the Plain.*

This day they could advance no farther, by reason they were necessitated to pass the River hereabouts, to continue their March on the other side. Hereupon they took up their Repose for that Night: However, their sleep was not heavy nor profound, for great Murmurs were heard that Night in the Camp, many complaining of Captain *Morgan*, and his Conduct in that Enterprize, and being desirous to return home. On the contrary, others would rather die there, than go back one step from what they had undertaken. But others, who had greater Courage than any of these two Parties, did laugh and joke at all their Discourses. I'th' mean while they had a Guide who much comforted them, saying, *It would not now be long before they met with People, from whom they should reap some considerable Advantage.*

The Seventh day i'th' Morning, they all made clean their Arms, and every one discharged his Pistol or Musket without Buller, to examine the Security of their Fire-locks. This being done, they passed to the other side of the River in the Canows, leaving the Post where they had rested the Night before, called *Santa Cruz*. Thus they proceeded on their Journey till Noon, at which time they arrived at a Village called *Cruz*. Being at a great distance as yet from the Place, they perceived much Smoak to arise out of the Chimneys. The sight hereof afforded them great Joy, and hopes of finding people i'th' Town, and afterwards what they most desired, which was plenty of good Cheer. Thus they went on with as much haste as they could, making several Arguments to one another upon those external Signs, though all like Castles built i'th' Air. For, said they, *there is Smoak cometh out of every House, therefore they are making good Fires for to roast and boyl what we are to eat, with other things to this purpose.*

At length they arrived there in great haste, all sweating and panting, but found no person i'th' Town, nor any thing that was eatable wherewith to refresh themselves, unless it were good Fires to warm themselves, which they wanted not. For the *Spaniards*, before their departure, had every one set Fire to his own House, excepting only the Store-houses and Stables belonging to the King.

They had not left behind them any Beast whatsoever, either alive or dead. This occasion'd much Confusion in their Minds, they not finding the least thing to lay hold on, unless it were some few Cats and Dogs, which they immediately kill'd, and devoured with great Appetite.

last, in the
of Fe
they beg
Man. The
fouled, whi
ing them
their huge want
fold sorts of Trash
Sickness was so gre
t day, as caused them to remain there till the
next Morning, with
being able to prosecute their Journey, as they
used to do, in the Afternoon. This Village is seated in the Altitude of
nine Degrees and two Minutes, Northern Latitude, being distant from
the River of *Chagre* 26 Spanish Leagues, and eight from *Panama*.
Moreover, this is the last Place into which Boats or Canows can come;
for which reason they have store-houses, wherein to keep all sorts
of Merchandize, which come to and from *Panama*, are trans-
ported upon the Backs

Here therefore Capt
and land all his Men, t
the Canows shoul
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and *Indians*.
Prisoner,
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was constrained to leave his Canows,
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to the Place where the Boats
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affairs.
were
in *Morgan* gave
of the Village, except
occasion hereof was his
antage upon his Men by any
arty of *English* Souldiers,
being thereunto tempted
these were soon glad to fly
reat Fury by some *Spaniards*
ts, and carried him away
Captain *Morgan* was not
happen.

Eight day.

On the Eig
fore the Body c
they had laid any A
Places by which r
paths being so n
File, and often
ten hours, they
on a sudden, they immediately
to perosive fro

sent 200 Men
the most genuine Torture
He
found in the House of
amidst that confusion
his Master with
the being bereft
the Village was the Cabin

from whence it was presumed they were shot, was a high rocky Mountain, excavated from one side to the other, wherein was a Grot that went thorow it, only capable of admitting one Horse, or other Beast laden. This multitude of Arrows caused a huge Alarm among the Pirats, especially because they could not discover the place from whence they were discharged. At last, seeing no more Arrows to appear, they marched a little farther, and entred into a Wood. Here they perceived some *Indians* to fly as fast as they could possible before them, to take the advantage of another Post, and thence observe the March of the Pirats. There remained notwithstanding one Troop of *Indians* upon the place, with full design to fight and defend themselves. This Combat they performed with huge Courage, till such time as their Captain fell to the Ground wounded. Who although he was now in despair of Life, yet his Valour being greater than his strength, would demand no Quarter; but endeavoring to raise himself, with a dauntless mind laid hold of his *Azagaya*, or Javelin, and struck one of the Pirats; but before he could second the blow, he was shot through with a Pistol. This was also the Fate of many of his Companions, who like good and courageous Souldiers lost their Lives with their Captain, for the defence of their Country.

The Pirats endeavor'd, as much as was possible, to lay hold on some of the *Indians*, and take them Prisoners. But they were infinitely swifter than the Pirats, every one escap'd, leaving eight dead upon the place, and ten wounded. Yea, had the *Indians* been more dextrous in Military Affairs, they might have defended the passage, and not let one sole Man to pass. Within a little while, they came to a large Campaign Field, open, and full of variegated flowers. From hence they could perceive at a distance before them a small of *Indians* who stood on the top of a Mountain, very high, and by which the Pirats were to pass. They sent a Troop of the nimblest they could pick out, to see if they could catch and afterwards force them to declare whereabouts the *Indians* had their Muster. But all their Industry was in vain, for the *Indians* were so nimble, and presently after they were seen, they were out of sight. The Pirats, however, did not lose heart, but went on, and were wounded as usual. They were dressed and plaid

on the side thereof a Mountain, the one, and the Pirats went unto it. Captain Morispaniards had placed an Ambuscade that purpose. Hereupon he sent before

of Panama, had absented her self from her Friends and Relations thereby to be able to pursue the Buccaneers of the Cruelty.

before 200 Men to search it. The *Spaniards* and *Indians* perceiving the *Pirats* to descend the Mountain, did so too, as if they designed to attack them. But being got into the Wood, out of sight of the *Pirats*, they disappear'd and were seen no more, leaving the passage open unto them.

About Night there fell a great Rain, which caused the *Pirats* to march the faster, and seek every where for Houses wherein to preserve their Arms from being wet. But the *Indians* had set Fire to every one thereabouts, and transported all their Cattel unto remote places, to the end that the *Pirats* finding neither Houses nor Victuals, might be constrained to return homewards. Notwithstanding, after diligent search, they found a few little huts belonging to *Shepherds*, but in them nothing to eat. These not being capable of holding many Men, they placed in them out of every Company a small number, who kept the Arms of all the rest of the Army. Those who remained ith open Field, endured much hardship that Night, the Rain not ceasing to fall until the Morning.

Ninth day.

The next Morning about break of day, being the Ninth of this tedious Journey, Captain *Morgan* continued his March, while the fresh Air of the Morning lasted: For the Clouds then hanging as yet over their heads, were much more favorable unto them, than the scorching Rays of the Sun, by reason the Way was now more difficult and laborious than all the precedent. After two hours March, they discover'd a Troop of about 20 *Spaniards*, who observed the Motions of the *Pirats*. They endeavor'd to catch some of them, but could lay hold on none, they suddenly disappearing, and absconding themselves in Caves among the Rocks, totally unknown to the *Pirats*. At last they came to a high Mountain, which when they had ascended, they discover'd from the top thereof the *South-Sea*. This happy Sight, as if it were the end of their Labors, caused infinite Joy among all the *Pirats*. From hence they could descry also one Ship and six Boats, which were set forth from *Panama*, and sail'd towards the Islands of *Tovago* and *Tovagilla*. Having descended this Mountain, they came unto a Vale, in which they found great quantity of Cattel, whereof they killed good store. Here, mean-while some were employed in killing and slaying of Cows, Horses, Bulls, and chiefly Ases, of which there was greatest number, others busied themselves in kindling of Fires, and getting Wood wherewith to roast them. Thus cutting the Flesh of these Animals into convenient pieces or goblets, they threw them into the Fire, and half car-banado'd or roasted, they devour'd them with incredible haste and appetite. For such was their Hunger, as they more resembled *Canibals* than *Europeans*; at this Banquet, the Blood many times running down from their Beards unto the middle of their Bodies.

Having

Having satisfied their Hunger with these delicious Meats, Captain Morgan order'd them to continue the March. Here again he sent before the main Body, 50 Men, with intent to take some Prisoners, if possibly they could. For he seem'd now to be much concerned, that in 9 days time he could not meet one person, who might inform him of the Condition and Forces of the Spaniards. About evening they discover'd a Troop of 200 Spaniards, more or less, who halloo'd unto the Pirates, but these could not understand what they said. A little while after they came the first time, within sight of the highest Steeple of Panama. This Steeple they no sooner had discover'd, but they began to shew Signs of extream Joy, casting up their Hats into the Air, leaping for Mirth, and shouting even just as if they had already obtained the Victory, and entire accomplishment of their Designs. All their Trumpets were sounded, and every Drum beaten, in tokens of this universal Acclamation, and huge Alacrity of their Minds. Thus they pitcht their Camp for that night, with general Content of the whole Army, waiting with Impatience for the morning, at which time they intended to attack the City. This evening there appeared 50 Horse, who came out of the City, hearing the noise of the Drums and Trumpets of the Pirates, to observe, as it was thought, their Motions. They came almost within Musket-shot of the Army, being preceded by a Trumpet, that sounded marvellously well. Those on Horseback halloo'd aloud unto the Pirates, and threaten'd them, saying, *Perrros! nos veremos: that is, Ye dogs! we shall meet ye.* Having made this Menace, they returned into the City, excepting only 7 or 8 Horse-men, who remained hovering thereabouts to watch what motions the Pirates made. Immediately after the City began to fire, and ceased not to play with their biggest Guns, all night long against the Camp, but with little or no harm unto the Pirates, whom they could not conveniently reach. About this time also the 200 Spaniards, whom the Pirates had seen i'th' afternoon, appeared again within sight, making resemblance as if they would block up the passages, to the intent no Pirates might escape the hands of their Forces. But the Pirates, who were now in a manner besieged, instead of conceiving any fear of their Blockado's, as soon as they had placed Centries about their Camp, began every one to open their Satchels, and without any preparation of Napkins, or Plates, fell to eating very heartily the remaining pieces of Bulls and Horses Flesh, which they had reserved since noon. This being done, they laid themselves down to sleep upon the Grass, with great repose and huge satisfaction, expecting only with Impatience for the dawns of the next day.

They discover
the Steeple of
Panama.

They encamp
nigh the City.

On the 10th day, betimes i'th' morning, they put all their Men in to convenient Order, and with Drums and Trumpets sounding, continued their March directly towards the City. But one of the Guides

Tenth day.
They attack the
Spanish Forces.

de-

desired Captain *Morgan*, not to take the common High-way that led thither, fearing least they should find in it much Resistance, and many Ambuscades. He presently took his Advice, and chose another way that went through the Wood, although very irksome and difficult. Thus the *Spaniards* perceiving the *Pirats* had taken another way, which they scarce had thought on, or believed, were compelled to leave their Stops and Batteries, and come out to meet them. The Governour of *Panama* put his Forces in Order, consisting of 2 Squadrons, 4 Regiments of Foot, and a huge number of wild Bulls, which were driven by a great number of *Indians*, with some *Negro's* and others, to help them.

They fear the number of the Spaniards.
 The *Pirats*, being now upon their March, came unto the top of a little Hill, from whence they had a little Prospect of the City and Campaign Country underneath. Here they discovered the Forces of the people of *Panama*, extended in Battel Array, which when they perceived to be so numerous, they were suddenly surprized with great Fear, much doubting the Fortune of the day. Yea few or none there were but wished themselves at home, or at least free from the obligation of that Engagement, wherein they perceived their Lives must be so narrowly concerned. Having been some time at a stand, in a wavering condision of Mind, they at last reflected upon the Straits they had brought themselves into, and that now they ought, of necessity, either to fight resolutely, or die, for no Quarter could be expected from an Enemy, against whom they had committed so many Cruelties on all occasions. Hereupon they encouraged one another, and resolved either to conquer, or spend the very last drop of Blood in their Bodies. Afterwards they divided themselves into three Battallions, or Troops, sending before them one of 200 *Bucaniers*, which sort of People are infinitely dextrous at shooting with Guns. Thus the *Pirats* left the Hill, and descended marching directly towards the *Spaniards*, who were posted in a spacious Field, waiting for their coming. As soon as they drew nigh unto them, the *Spaniards* began to shout and cry, *Viva el Rey! God save the King!* and immediately their Horse began to move against the *Pirats*. But the Field being full of Quaggs, and very soft under foot, they could not ply to and fro, and wheel about, as they desired. The 200 *Bucaniers*, who went before, every one putting one Knece to the ground, gave them a full Volley of Shot, where-with the Battel was instantly kindled very hot. The *Spaniards* defended themselves very courageously, acting all they could possibly perform, to disorder the *Pirats*. Their Foot, in like manner, endeavoured to second the Horse, but were constrained by the *Pirats* to separte from them. Thus finding themselves frustrated of their Designs, they attempted to drive the Bulls against them at their Backs, and by this means put them into Disorder. But the greatest part of that wild Cat-

Yet resolve to hazard the Battel.

They march on.

THE SCENE.

tel

He ran away, being frighted with the noise of the Battel. And some few that broke through the *English* Companies, did no other harm than to tear the Colours in pieces; whereas the *Bucaniers* shooting them dead, left not one to trouble them thereabouts.

The Battel having now continued for the space of two hours, at the end thereof the greatest part of the *Spanish* Horse was ruin'd, and almost all kill'd. The rest fled away. Which being perceived by the Foot, and that they could not possibly prevail, they discharged the Shot they had in their Muskets, and throwing them on the ground, betook themselves to Flight, every one which way he could run. The *Pirats* could not possibly follow them, as being too much harass'd and wearied with the long Journey they had lately made. Many of them, not being able to fly whither they desired, hid themselves for that present among the Shrubs of the Sea-side. But very unfortunately; for most of them being found out by the *Pirats*, were instantly kill'd, without giving Quarter to any. Some Religious Men were brought prisoners before Captain *Morgan*; but he being deaf to their Cryes and Lamentations, commanded them all to be immediately pistoll'd, which was accordingly done. Soon after they brought a Captain to his presence, whom he examined very strictly about several things; particularly, wherein consisted the Forces of those of *Panama*? unto which he answered, Their whole Strength did consist in 400 Horse, 34 Companies of Foot, each being of 100 Men compleat, 60 *Indians*; and some *Negro's*, who were to drive 2000 wild Bulls, and cause them to run over the *English* Camp, and thus by breaking their Files, put them into a total Disorder and Confusion. He discovered more, that in the City they had made Trenches, and rais'd Batteries in several places; in all which they had placed many Guns. And that at the entry of the High-way which led to the City, they had built a Fort, which was mounted with 8 great Guns of Brass, and defended by 50 Men.

Captain *Morgan* having heard this Information, gave Orders instantly they should march another way. But before setting forth, he made a Review of all his Men, whereof he found both killed and wounded a considerable number, and much greater than had been believed. Of the *Spaniards* were found 600 dead upon the place, besides the wounded, and Prisoners. The *Pirats* were nothing discouraged, seeing their number so much diminished, but rather filled with greater Pride than before, perceiving what huge Advantage they had obtained against their Enemies. Thus having rested themselves some while, they prepared to march courageously towards the City, plighting their Oaths to one another in general, they would fight till never a Man were left alive. With this Courage they recommenc'd their March, either to conquer or be conquered, carrying with them all the Prisoners.

They found much difficulty in their Approach unto the City. For

D d d

within

*The Spanish
Horse ruin'd.*

*The Foot put to
Flight.*

*Many hide
themselves.*

*But are found,
and kill'd.
As also many
religious Men.*

*They take a
Spanish Cap-
tain.*

*Who declareth
the whole For-
ces of the En-
emy.*

*Many Pirats
kill'd & his
Battel.
600 Spaniards
kill'd.*

*They march to-
wards the Ci-
ty.*

They lost many Men in the Assault, yet continued to advance.

And took the City in three hours.

Orders not to drink Wine.

within the Town the *Spaniards* had placed many great Guns at several Quarters thereof, some of which were charged with small pieces of Iron, and others with Musket-bullets: With all these they saluted the Pirats at their drawing nigh unto the place, and gave them full and frequent Broad-sides, firing at them incessantly. From whence it came to pass, that unavoidably they lost at every step they advanced great numbers of Men. But neither these manifest dangers of their Lives, nor the sight of so many of their own as dropped down continually at their sides, could deter them from advancing farther, and gaining Ground every moment upon the Enemy. Thus although the *Spaniards* never ceased to fire, and act the best they could for their Defence, yet notwithstanding they were forced to deliver the City after the space of three hours Combat. And the Pirats having now possessed themselves thereof, both killed and destroyed as many as attempted to make the least opposition against them. The Inhabitants had caused the best of their Goods to be transported unto more remote and occult places: Howbeit, they found within the City as yet, several Ware-houses very well stocked with all sorts of Merchandize, as well Silks and Cloths, as Linnen, and other things of considerable value. As soon as the first Fury of their entrance into the City was over, Captain *Morgan* assembled all his Men at a certain place which he assigned, and there commanded them under very great penalties, that none of them should dare to drink or taste any Wine. The reason he gave for this Injunction, was, because he had received private Intelligence, that it had been all poisoned by the *Spaniards*. Howbeit, it was the Opinion of many, he gave these prudent Orders to prevent the Debauchery of his People, which he foresaw would be very great at the beginning, after so much Hunger sustained by the way: Fearing withal, lest the *Spaniards* seeing them in Wine, should rally their Forces and fall upon the City, and use them as inhumanely as they had used the Inhabitants before.

CHAP. VI.

Captain *Morgan* sendeth several Cannon and Boats unto the South-Sea. He setteth Fire to the City of Panama. Robberies and Cruelties committed there by the Pirats, till their return unto the Castle of Chagres.

Captain *Morgan*, as soon as he had placed Guards at several Quarters, where he thought necessary, both within and without the City

*The Battel Between the
Spaniards and the pyratts or
Buccaniers before the city of
PANAMA Part. 2. Chap. 6.*



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15



City of *Panama*, immediately commanded 25 Men to seize a great Boat, which had stuck in the Mud of the Port for want of Water at a low Tide, so that she could not put out to Sea. The same day about Noon, he caused certain Men privately to set Fire unto several great Edifices of the City, no body knowing from whence the Fire proceeded, nor who were the Authors thereof, much less what Motives persuaded *Captain Morgan* thereunto, which are as yet unknown to this day. The Fire increased so fast, that before Night the greatest part of the City was in a Flame. *Captain Morgan* endeavor'd to make the Publick believe the *Spaniards* had been the cause thereof, which Suspicions he furnished among his own People, perceiving they reflected upon him for that Action. Many of the *Spaniards*, as also some of the Pirates, used all means possible, either to extinguish the Flame, or by blowing up of Houses with Gun-powder, and pulling down others to stop its progress. But all was in vain; for in less than half an hour it consumed a whole Street. All the Houses of this City were built with Cedar, being of very curious and magnificent Structure, and richly adorned within: Especially with Hangings and Paintings, whereof part were already transported out of the Pirates way, and another great part were consumed by the Voracity of the Fire.

There belonged unto this City (which is also the Head of a Bishoprick) eight Monasteries, whereof seven were for Men, and one for Women; two stately Churches, and one Hospital. The Churches and Monasteries were all richly adorned with Altar-pieces and Paintings, huge quantity of Gold and Silver, with other precious things; all which the Ecclesiasticks had hidden and concealed. Besides which Ornaments, here were to be seen 2000 Houses of magnificent and prodigious Building, as being all, or the greatest part, inhabited by Merchants of that Country, who are vastly rich. For the rest of the Inhabitants of lesser quality, and Tradesmen, this City contained 5000 Houses more. Here were also great number of Stables, which served for the Horses and Mules that carry all the Plate, belonging as well unto the King of *Spain* as private Men, towards the Coast of the North-Sea. The neighboring Fields belonging to this City, are all cultivated with fertile Plantations and pleasant Gardens, which afford delicious Prospects unto the Inhabitants the whole year long.

The *Genoeses* had in this City of *Panama* a stately and magnificent House, belonging to their Trade and Commerce of Negro's. This Building likewise was commanded by *Captain Morgan* to be set on Fire, whereby it was burnt to the very Ground. Besides which pile of Building, there were consumed to the number of 200 Ware-houses, and a great number of Slaves who had hid themselves together with an infinite multitude of Sacks of Meal. The Houses and Buildings, was seen to continue four Weeks and

A Boat stuck
in the Port.

The City set on
Fire.

Almost burnt
in a day.

Houses of Cedar.

7000 Houses
in the City.

House of the
Genoeses.

Great destruction
of the
Fire.

The *Pirats* i'th' mean-while, at least the greatest part of them, incamped some time without the City, fearing and expecting that the *Spaniards* would come and fight them anew. For it was known, they had an incomparable number of Men more than the *Pirats* were. This occasion'd them to keep the Field, thereby to preserve their Forces united, which now were very much diminished, by the losses of the precedent Battels. As also because they had a great many wounded, all which they had put into one of the Churches which alone remained standing, the rest being consumed by the Fire. Moreover, beside these decreases of their Men, Captain *Morgan* had sent a Convoy of 150 Men unto the Castle of *Chagre*, to carry the News of his Victory obtained against *Panama*.

A Convoy sent
to *Chagre*.

They saw many times whole Troops of *Spaniards* cruize to and fro in the Campaign Fields, which gave them occasion to suspect their rallying anew. Yet they never had the Courage to attempt any thing against the *Pirats*. In the Afternoon of this fatal Day, Captain *Morgan* re-entred again with his Troops, to the intent every one might take notice of the Defoliation of the Fire. Soon after they fell to seeking among the Ruines and Ashes, for Utensils of Plate or Jewels, which were not quite wasted by the Flames.

Much Riches
found i'th' Ru-
ines.

places. They found no small number in several Wells and Cisterns, where the *Spaniards* had hid much of the *Pirats*.

They sent to
seek the *Tuba*.
Mentry.

The *Pirats*, with order from the Excuse, returned after two days time, bringing with them Men, Women and Slaves. The Boat above-mentioned, which Captain *Morgan* had sent to the South-Sea, bringing with her three other Prizes taken in a little while. But all these Prizes they gave, yea although they had imployed greater

And had 200.

for one certain *Galeon* which miraculously escaping being very richly laden with all the Kings Plate, Riches of Gold, Pearl, Jewels, and other most valuable things, all the best and richest Merchants of *Panama*. On the 10th of May were also the Religious Women belonging to the Convent of the City, who had embarked with them all the Ornaments of their Church, consisting in great quantity of Gold, Plate, Jewels, and of great value.

A *Web Galeon*
escaped.

The

The strength of this *Galeon* was nothing considerable, as having only 7 Guns, and 10 or 12 Muskets, for its whole Defence. Being on the other side very ill provided of Victuals, and other Necessaries, with great want of fresh Water, and having no more Sails than the uppermost Sails of the main Mast. This description of the said Ship the Pirates received from certain persons, who had spoken with seven Mariners belonging to the *Galeon*, at such time as they came ashore in the Cock-boat to take in fresh Water. Hence they concluded for certain they might easily have taken the said Vessel, had they given her chase and pursued her as they ought to do, especially considering the said *Galeon* could not long subsist abroad at Sea. But they were impeded from following this vastly rich Prize, by the lascivious Exercises wherein they were totally at that present involved with Women, which unto this effect they had carried with them, and forced on board their Boat. Unto this Vice was also joyned that of Gluttony and Drunkenness, having plentifully debauched themselves with several sorts of rich Wines they found there ready to their hands. So that they chose rather to satiate their Lust and Appetite with the things above-mentioned, than to lay hold on the occasion of such an huge Advantage. Although this only Prize would certainly have been of far greater Value and Consequence unto them, than all they purchased at *Panama*, and other places thereabouts. The next day, repenting of their Negligence, and being totally wearied of the Vices and Debaucheries aforesaid, they sent forth to Sea another Boat well armed, to pursue with all speed imaginable the said *Galeon*. But their present Care and Diligence was in vain, the *Spaniards* who were on board the said Ship, having received Intelligence of the Danger they were in one or two days before, while the Pirates were cruizing so nigh unto them, whereupon they fled unto Places more remote and unknown to their Enemies.

Notwithstanding, the Pirates found in the Ports of the Islands of *Tavog* and *Tavogilla*, several Boats that were laden with many sorts of very good Merchandize. All which they took and brought unto *Panama*. Where being arrived, they made an exact Relation of all that had passed while they were abroad unto Captain *Morgan*. The Prisoners confirmed what the Pirates had said, adding thereunto, they undoubtedly knew whereabouts the said *Galeon* might be at that present, but that it was very probable they had been relieved before now from other places. These Relations stirred up Captain *Morgan* anew, to send forth all the Boats that were in the Port of *Panama*, with design to seek and pursue the said *Galeon* till they could find her. The Boats aforesaid, being in all four, set Sail from *Panama*, and having spent eight days in cruizing to and fro, and searching several Ports, Creeks, they lost all their hopes of finding what they so earnestly sought for. Hereupon they resolved to return unto the Isles of *Tavog*, and

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after
her.

Of Boats
taken.

For Boats
sent after
it.

But in vain.

Tavogilla.

A Ship and a
Boat taken.

Torogilla. Here they found a reasonable good Ship, that was newly come from *Paya*, be- laden with Cloth, Soap, Sugar and Bisket, with 20000 pieces of Eight in ready Money. This Vessel they instantly seized, not finding the least Resistance from any person within her. Nigh unto the laid Ship was also a Boat, whereof in like manner they possessed themselves. Upon the Boat they laded great part of the Merchandizes they had found in the Ship, together with some Slaves they had taken in the said Islands. With this Purchase they returned unto *Panama*, something better satisfied of their Voyage, yet withal much discontented they could not meet with the *Galeon*.

The Convoy re-
turneth from
Chagre.

The Convoy which Captain *Morgan* had sent unto the Castle of *Chagre*, returned much about the same time, bringing with them very good News. For mean while Captain *Morgan* was upon his Journey to *Panama*, those he had left in the Castle of *Chagre*, had sent forth to

A Spanish Ship
taken at Cha-
gre.

Sea two Boats to exercise Piracy. These happened to meet with a Spanish Ship, which they began to chase within sight of the Castle. This being perceived by the Pirats that were in the Castle, they put forth *Spy* Boats, thereby to allure and deceive the Ship that fled before them. Thus the poor *Spaniards*, thinking to refuge themselves un- der the Castle, and the Guns thereof, by flying into the Port, were caught in a Snare, and made Prisoners, where they thought to find Deliverance. The Cargo which was found on board the said Vessel, consisted of Cloth and Provisions, that were all eatable things. Nothing more opportune than this Prize for the Castle, where they were already to experiment great scarcity of things of this

New Exercise
one of the Pi-
rats.

kind. The Fortune of the Garrison of *Chagre*, gave occasion unto Captain *Morgan*, to remain longer time than he had determined at *Chagre*. Hereupon he ordered several new excursions to be made into the whole Country, round about the City. So that mean while the Pirats of *Panama* were employed in these Expeditions, those at *Chagre* were busied in exercising Piracy upon the North-Sea. Captain *Morgan* used to send forth dayly parties of 200 Men, to make Inroads into all the Fields and Countrey thereabouts, and when one party came back, another consisting of 200 more was ready to go forth. By this means they gathered in a short time huge quantity of Riches, and no lesser number of Prisoners. These being brought into the City, were presently put unto the most exquisite Tortures imaginable, to make them confess both other peoples Goods and their own. Here it happened,

Many Riches
and Prisoners
brought in.

Cruelties used
at Panama.

that one poor Wretch, was found in the House of a Gentleman of *Panama*, who had put on, amidst that confusion of things, a Coat of Mail, belonging to his Master, with a little Silver Knave therof. This being perceived by the Pirats, it was

the said Key? His Answer was, He knew not what was become of it, but only that finding those Breeches in his Master's House, he had made bold to wear them. Not being able to extort any other Confession out of him, they first put him upon the Rack, wherewith they inhumanely dis-joynted his Arms. After this, they twisted a Cord about his Forehead, which they wrung so hard, that his Eyes appeared as big as Eggs, and were ready to fall out of his Skull. But neither with these Torments, could they obtain any positive Answer to their Demands. Whereupon they soon after hung him up by the Testicles, giving him infinite Blows and Stripes, mean while he was under that intolerable pain and posture of Body. Afterwards they cut off his Nose and Ears, and singed his Face with burning Scraw, till he could speak nor lament his misery no longer. Then losing all Hopes of hearing any Confession from his Mouth, they commanded a Negro to run him through with a Lance, which put an end to his Life, and a period to their cruel and inhumane Tortures. After this execrable manner, did many others of those miserable Prisoners finish their days, the common Sport and Recreation of these Pirates, being these, and other Tragedies not inferior to these.

They spared, in these their Cruelties, no Sex, nor Condition whatsoever. For as to religious Persons and Priests, they granted them less Quarter than unto others, unless they could produce a considerable Sum of Money, capable of being a sufficient Ransom. Women themselves were no better used, except they would condescend unto the libidinous Demands and Concupiscency of the Pirates. For such as would not consent unto their Lust, were treated with all the Rigour and Cruelty imaginable. Captain *Morgan*, their Leader and Commander, gave them no good Example in this point. For as soon as any beautiful Woman was brought as a Prisoner to his presence, he used all the means he could possible, both of Rigor and Mildness, to bend them to his lascivious will and pleasure. For a Confirmation of which Assertion, I shall here give my Reader a short History of a Lady, whose Vertue and Constancy ought to be transmitted unto Posterity, as a memorable Example of her Sex.

Among the Prisoners that were brought by the Pirates, from the Islands of *Tavoga* and *Tavogilla*, there was found a Gentlewoman of good Quality, as also of no less Vertue and Chastity, who was Wife unto one of the richest Merchants of all those Countreys. Her Years were but few, and her Beauty so great, as peradventure I may doubt, whether in all *Europe* any could be found, to surpass her Perfections either of Comeliness or Honesty. Her Husband, at that present, was absent from home, being gone as far as the Kingdom of *Fern*, about great Concerns of Commerce and Trade, wherein his Employments did lye. This vertuous Lady likewise hearing, that Pirates were com-

No Condition
spared.

Useless Women,
who served
their Lust.

History of a
Spaniard.

ther.

ing to assault the *Lady* in the company of *one* her Life, amidst the Dangers hard-hearted Enemies did see. But no sooner had she appeared in the presence of Captain *Morgan*, when instantly she was designed for his voluptuous Pleasures and Concupiscence. Hereupon he commanded, they should lodge her in a certain Apartment by her self, giving her a *Negra*, or black Woman, to wait upon her, and that she should be treated with all the Respect and Regale due unto her Quality. The poor afflicted Lady did beg with multitude of Sobs and Tears, she might be suffered to lodge among the other Prisoners, her Relations, fearing lest that unexpected Kindness of the Commander, might prove to be a Design upon her Chastity. But Captain *Morgan* would by no means hearken to her Petition, and all he commanded, in answer thereunto, was, she should be treated with more particular care than before, and have her Victuals carried from his own Table.

This Lady had formerly heard very strange Reports concerning the Pirats, before their arrival at *Panama*, intimating unto her, as if they were not Men, but, as they said, Hereticks, who did neither invoke the Blessed Trinity, nor believe in Jesus Christ. But now she began to have better Thoughts of them than ever before, having experienced the manifold Civilities of Captain *Morgan*. Especially hearing him many times to swear by the Name of God, and of Jesus Christ, in whom, she was perswaded, they did not believe. Neither did she now think them to be so bad, or to have the Shapes of Beasts, as from the Relations of several people she had oftentimes heard. For as to the Name of *Robbers* or *Thieves*, which was commonly given them by others, she wondered not much at it, seeing, as she said, that among all Nations of the Universe, there were to be found some wicked Men, who naturally coveted to possess the Goods of others. Conformable to the perswasion of this Lady, was the Opinion of another Woman, of weak Understanding, at *Panama*, who used to say, before the Pirats came thither, she desired very much, and had a great curiosity, to see one of those Men called *Pirats*. For as much as her Husband had often told her, that they were not Men, like unto others, but rather irrational Beasts. This silly Woman at last happening to see the first of them, cryed out aloud, saying, *Jesus bless me! these Thieves are like unto us Spaniards.*

This false Civility of Captain *Morgan*, wherewith he used this Lady, as a thing very common unto such persons as pretend and cannot obtain, was soon after changed into barbarous Cruelty. For three or four days being past, he came to see her, and entertain'd her with dishonest and lascivious Discourses, opening unto her his ardent Desires,

The Pirats
scarcely thought
to be Men.

Huge Constancy
of the said
Lady.

of enjoym^{nt} of his Lust. The vertuous Lady constantly rep^u all the Civility imaginable, and many humble and most expressions of her Mind. But Captain Morgan still persisted in his disorderly Request, ung her withal with much Pearl, Gold, and all that he had at was precious and valuable in that Voyage. But the Lady in no manner willing to consent thereunto, a his Presents, and shewing her self, in all Respects, like unto rob for Constancy, he presently changed Note, and began to speak unto her in another Tone, threatening her with a thousand Cruelties and hard Usages at his hands. Unto all these things she gave this resolute and positive Answer, than which no other could be extorted from her: *Sir, My Life is in your hands; but as to my Body, in relation to that which you would persuade me unto, my Soul shall sooner be separated from it, through the Violence of your Arms, then I shall condescend to your Request.* No sooner had Captain Morgan understood this heroick Resolution of her Mind, but he commanded her to be stript of the best of her Apparel, and imprisoned in a darksom and stinking Cellar. Here she had allowed her an extream small quantity of Meat and Drink, wherewith she had much ado to sustain her Life for a few days.

Under this Hardship, the constant and vertuous Lady ceased not to pray daily unto God Almighty, for constancy and patience against the Cruelties of Captain Morgan. But he being now thorowly convinc'd of her chaste Resolutions, as also desirous to conceal the cause of her Confinement, and hard Usage, since many of the Pirates, his Companions, did compassionate her condition, laid many false Accusations to her charge, giving to understand, she held Intelligence with the Spaniards, and corresponded with them by Letters, abusing thereby his former Lenity and Kindness. I my self was an Eye-witness unto these things here related, and could never have judged such constancy of Mind, and vertuous Chastity, to be found in the World, if my own Eyes and Ears had not informed me thereof. But of this incomparable Lady, I shall say something more hereafter in its proper place; whereupon I shall leave her at present, to continue my History.

Captain Morgan having now been at Panama the full space of three weeks, commanded all things to be put in order for his Departure. Unto this effect, he gave Orders to every Company of his Men, to seek out for so many Beasts of Carriage, as might suffice to convey the whole Spoil of the City, unto the River where his Canows lay. About this time a great Rumour was spread in the City, of a considerable number of Pirates, who intended to leave Captain Morgan. And that by taking a Ship which was in the Port, they determined to go and rob upon the South-Sea, till they had got as much as they thought fit, and then return homewards by the way of the East-Indies, into

E e e

Europe.

*She is tryed
with great
Hardship.*

*Captain
Morgan pre-
pares to de-
part.*

*A Plot dis-
covered.*

Europe. For which purpose, they had already gathered great quantity of Provisions, which they had hidden in private places, with sufficient store of Powder, Bullets, and all other sorts of Ammunition. Likewise some great Guns, belonging to the Town, Muskets, and other things, wherewith they designed not only to equip the said Vessel, but also to fortifie themselves, and raise Batteries in some Island or other, which might serve them for a place of Refuge.

This design had certainly taken effect as they intended, had not Captain *Morgan* had timely Advice thereof given him by one of their Comrades. Hereupon he instantly commanded, the Main-mast of the said Ship should be cut down and burnt, together with all the other Boats that were in the Port. Hereby the Intentions of all or most of his Companions were totally frustrated. After this, Captain *Morgan* sent forth many of the *Spaniards*, into the adjoining Fields and Countrey, to seek for Money, wherewith to ransom not only themselves, but also all the rest of the Prisoners, as likewise the Ecclesiasticks, both Secular and Regular. Moreover he commanded all the Artillery of the Town to be spoyled, that is to say, nail'd and stopt up. At the same time he sent out a strong company of Men, to seek for the Governour of *Panama*, of whom Intelligence was brought, that he had laid several Ambuscades in the way, by which he ought to pass at his Return. But those who were sent upon this Design, returned soon after, saying, they had not found any Sign or Appearance of any such Ambuscades. For a confirmation whereof, they brought with them some Prisoners they had taken, who declared, how that the said Governour had had an Intention of making some Opposition; by the way, but that the Men whom he had designed to effect it, were unwilling to undertake any such Enterprize; so that for want of Means, he could not put his Design in execution.

On the 24th. of February, of the year 1671. Captain *Morgan* departed from the City of *Panama*, or rather from the place where the said City of *Panama* did stand. Of the Spoils whereof he carried with him, 175 Beasts of Carriage, laden with Silver, Gold, and other precious things, besides 600 prisoners, more or less, between Men, Women, Children, and Slaves. That day they came unto a River, that passeth through a delicious Campagn Field, at the distance of a League from *Panama*. Here Captain *Morgan* put all his Forces into good Order of martial Array, in such manner, as that the prisoners were in the middle of the Camp, surrounded on all sides with Pirates. At which present Conjunction, nothing else was to be heard but Lamentations, Cryes, Shrieks, and doleful Sighs, of so many Women and Children, who were perswaded Captain *Morgan* designed to transport them all, and carry them into his own Countrey for Slaves. Besides that, among all those miserable prisoners, there was extream

Hunger

Ransoms demanded.

The Artillery spoyled.

They leave *Panama*.

175 Beasts laden with Riches.

Misery of the Prisoners.

Hunger and Thirst endured at that time. Which Hardship and Misery Captain *Morgan* designedly caused them to sustain, with intent to excite them more earnestly to seek for Moneys, wherewith to ransom themselves, according to the Tax he had set upon every one. Many of the Women begg'd of Captain *Morgan* upon their Knees, with infinite Sighs and Tears, he would permit them to return unto *Panama*, there to live in company of their dear Husbands and Children, in little Huts of Straw, which they would erect, seeing they had no Houses; untill the rebuilding of the City. But his Answer was, He came not thither to hear Lamentations and Cryes, but rather to seek Moneys. Therefore they ought to seek out for that in the first place, where-ever it were to be had, and bring it to him, otherwise he would assuredly transport them all unto such places, whither they cared not to go.

*They are all
put to Ran-
som.*

The next day, when the March began, those lamentable Cryes and Shrieks were renewed, in so much as it would have caused compassion in the hardest Heart to hear them. But Captain *Morgan*, as a Man little given to Mercy, was not moved therewith in the least. They marched in the same order as was said before; one party of the Pirates preceding in the Van, the Prisoners ith middle, and the rest of the Pirates in the Rear-guard, by whom the miserable *Spaniards* were, at every Step, puncht and thrust in their Backs and Sides, with the blunt end of their Arms, to make them march the faster. That beautiful and vertuous Lady, of whom we made mention heretofore, for her unparell'd Constancy and Chastity, was led prisoner by her self; between to Pirates who guarded her. Her Lamentations now did pierce the Skies, seeing her self carried away into foreign Captivity, often crying unto the Pirates, and telling them: *That she had given order unto two religious persons, in whom she had relyed, to go unto a certain place, and fetch so much Money as her Ransom did amount unto. That they had promised faithfully to do it. But having obtained the said Money instead of bringing it unto her, they had employed it another way, to ransom some of their own, and particular Friends.* This ill Action of theirs was discovered by a Slave, who brought a Letter unto the said Lady. Her Complaints, and the cause thereof, being brought unto the Ears of Captain *Morgan*, he thought fit to enquire thereinto. Having found the thing to be true, especially hearing it confirmed by the Confession of the said religious Men, though under some frivolous Excuses, of having diverted the Money but for a day or two, within which time they expected more Sums to repay it, he gave Liberty unto the said Lady, whom otherwise he designed to transport unto *Jamaica*. But ith mean while he detained the said religious Men, as prisoners in her place, using them according to the Deserts of their incompassionate Intrigues.

*Their Cryes re-
new'd.*

*The Lady set
at Liberty.*

As soon as Captain *Morgan* arrived, upon his March, at the Town called

called *Cruz*, seated on the Banks of the River *Chagre*, as was mentioned before, he Commanded an Order to be published among the Prisoners, that within the space of three days, every one of them should bring in their Ransom, under the penalty afore-mentioned, of being transported unto *Jamaica*. In the mean while he gave Orders, for so much Rice and Maize to be collected thereabouts, as was necessary for the victualling all his Ships. At this place some of the Prisoners were ransom'd, but many others could not bring in their Moneys in so short time. Hereupon he continued his Voyage, leaving the Village on the 5th day of March next following, and carrying with him all the Spoyle that ever he could transport. From this Village he likewise led away some new Prisoners, who were Inhabitants of the said place. So that these Prisoners were added unto those of *Panama*, who had not as yet paid their Ransoms, and all transported. But the two religious Men, who had diverted the Money belonging to the Lady, were ransomed three days after their Imprisonment, by other persons, who had more compassion for their condition, then they had shewed for hers. About the middle of the way unto the Castle of *Chagre*, Captain *Morgan* commanded them to be placed in due order, according to their custom, and caused every one to be sworn, that they had reserved nor concealed nothing privately to themselves, even not so much as the value of Six-pence. This being done, Captain *Morgan* having had some Experience, that those lewd Fellows would not much stickle to swear falsely in points of Interest, he commanded them every one to be searched very strictly, both in their Cloaths and Satchels, and every where it might be presumed they had reserved any thing. Yea to the intent this Order might not be ill taken by his Companions, he permitted himself to be searcht, even to the very soles of his Shoes. Unto this effect, by common consent, there was assigned one out of every Company, to be the Searchers of all the rest. The French Pirats, that went on this Expedition with Captain *Morgan*, were not well satisfied with this new custom of Searching. Yet their Number being less then that of the English, they were forced to submit unto it, as well as the others had done before them. The Search being over, they re-imbarqued in their Canows and Boats, which attended them on the River, and arrived at the Castle of *Chagre*, on the 9th day of the said Month of March. Here they found all things in good order, excepting the wounded Men, whom they had left there at the time of their departure. For of these the greatest number were dead, through the Wounds they had received.

Every one to be
ransom'd,
& transported.

A strict Search
for concealed
Riches.

They arrive at
Chagre.

A Boat sent to
Puerto Velo.

From *Chagre* Captain *Morgan* sent presently after his Arrival, a great Boat unto *Puerto Velo*, wherein were all the Prisoners he had taken at the Isle of *St. Catharin*, demanding by them a considerable Ransom for the Castle of *Chagre*, where he then was, threatening otherwise to
ruine

ruine and demolish it even to the Ground. Unto this Message, those of *Puerto Velo* made answer, They would not give one Farthing towards the Ransom of the said Castle, and that the *English* might do with it as they pleased. This Answer being come, the Dividend was made of all the Spoil they had purchased in that Voyage. Thus every Company, and every particular person therein included, received their portion of what was gotten. Or rather, what part thereof Captain *Morgan* was pleased to give them. For so it was, that the rest of his Companions, even of his own Nation, complained of his Proceedings in this particular, and feared not to tell him openly to his Face, that he had reserved the best Jewels to himself. For they judged it impossible that no greater share should belong unto them than 200 pieces of Eight *per capita*, of so many valuable Purchases and Robberies as they had obtained. Which small Sum they thought too little Reward for so much Labour, and such huge and manifest Dangers as they had so often exposed their Lives unto. But Captain *Morgan* was deaf unto all these, and many other Complaints of this kind, as having designed in his mind to cheat them of as much as he could.

The Dividend made.

But with much disgust on all sides.

At last, Captain *Morgan* finding himself obnoxious to many Obloquies and Detractions among his People, began to fear the consequence thereof. And hereupon thinking it unsafe to remain any longer time at *Chagre*, he commanded the Ordnance of the said Castle to be carried on board his Ship. Afterwards he caused the greatest part of the Walls to be demolished, and the Edifices to be burnt, and as many other things spoil'd and ruin'd as could conveniently be done in a short while. These Orders being performed, he went secretly on board his own Ship, without giving any notice of his departure unto his Companions, nor calling any Council as he used to do. Thus he set Sail and put out to Sea, not bidding any body adieu, being only followed by three or four Vessels of the whole Fleet. These were such (as the *French* Pirates believed) as went shares with Captain *Morgan* towards the best and greatest part of the Spoil, which had been concealed from them in the Dividend. The *French-men* could very willingly have revenged this Affront upon Captain *Morgan*, and those that followed him, had they found themselves with sufficient means to encounter him at Sea. But they were destitute of most things necessary thereunto. Yea, they had much ado to find sufficient Victuals and Provisions for their Voyage to *Jamaica*, he having left them totally unprovided of all things.

Captain Morgan fears their displeasure.

And stealthily away very privately.

The French desirous of revenge.

CHAP. VII.

Of a Voyage made by the Author, along the Coasts of Costa Rica, at his return towards Jamaica. What happened most remarkable in the said Voyage. Some Observations made by him at that time.

The Author arrived at Boca del Toro.

Islands of wild Indians.

Captain Morgan left us all in such a miserable condition, as might serve for a lively Representation of what Reward attendeth Wickedness at the latter end of Life. From whence we ought to have learned, how to regulate and amend our Actions for the future. However it was, our Affairs being reduced to such a posture, every Company that was left behind, whether *English* or *French*, were compelled to seek what means they could to help themselves. Thus most of them separated from each other, and several Companies took several Courses at their return homewards. As for that party unto which I did belong, we steer'd our Voyage along the Coast of *Costa Rica*, where we intended to purchase some Provisions, and careen our Vessel in some secure place or other. For the Boat wherein we were, was now grown so foul, as to be rendred totally unfit for Sailing. In few days we arrived at a great Port, called *Boca del Toro*, where are always to be found an huge quantity of good and eatable Tortoises. The Circumference hereof is ten Leagues, more or less, being surrounded with little Islands, under which Vessels may ride very secure from the violence of the Winds.

The said Islands are inhabited by *Indians*, who never could be subjugated by the *Spaniards*, and hence they give them the name of *Indios bravos*, or *wild-Indians*. They are divided, according to the variety of Idioms of their Language, into several Customs and Fashions of People, from whence ariseth, that they have perpetual Wars against one another. Towards the East-side of this Port are found some of them, who formerly did much Trade with the *Pirats*, selling unto them the Flesh of divers Animals, which they hunt in their Countries, as also all sorts of Fruits that the Land produceth. The Exchange of which Commodities was Iron-Instruments, that the *Pirats* brought them Beads, and other Toys, whereof they made great account for wearing, more then of precious Jewels, which they knew not, nor esteemed in the least. This Commerce afterwards failed, because the *Pirats* committed many barbarous Inhumanities against them, killing many of their Men on a certain occasion, and taking away their Women to serve their disorderate Lust. These Abuses gave sufficient cause for a perpetual cessation of all Friendship and Commerce between them and the *Pirats*.

We

We went ashore with design to seek Provisions, our necessity being now almost extream: But our Fortune was so bad, that we could find nothing else then a few Eggs of Crocodiles, wherewith we were forced to content our selves for that present. Hereupon we left those Quarters, and steered our course Eastwards. Being upon this Tack, we met with three Boats more of our own Companions, who had been left behind by Captain *Morgan*. These told us, they had been able to find no Relief for the extream Hunger they sustained. Moreover, that Captain *Morgan* himself, and all his People, were already reduced to such Misery, as he could afford them no more allowance than once a day, and that very short too.

They seek for Provisions, But find none.

Three Boats of their own Comrades.

They depart Westwards.

We therefore hearing from these Boats, that little or no good was like to be done by sailing farther Eastwards, changed our course, and steered towards the West. Here we found an excessive quantity of Tortoises, more then we needed for the Victualling our Boats, should we be never so long without any other Flesh or Fish. * Having provided our selves with this sort of Victuals, the next thing we wanted was fresh Water. There was enough to be had in the Neighbouring Islands, but we scarce dared to land on them, by reason of the Enmity above-mentioned between us Pirats and those *Indians*. Notwithstanding, Necessity having no Law, we were forced to do as we could, rather then as we desired to do. And hereupon we resolved to go all of us together unto one of the said Islands. Being landed, one Party of our Men went to range in the Woods, mean while another filled the Barrels with Water. Scarce one whole hour was past after our People were got ashore, when suddenly the *Indians* came upon us, and we heard one of our Men cry, *Arm, Arm*. We presently took up our Arms, and began to fire at them as hot as we could. This caused them to advance no farther, and in a short while put them to flight, sheltering themselves in the Woods. We pursued them some part of the way, but not far, by reason we then esteemed rather to get in our Water, then any other advantages upon the Enemy. Coming back, we found two *Indians* dead upon the shore, whereof the Habiliments of one gave us to understand, he was a Person of Quality amongst them. For he had about his Body a Girdle or Shasta, very richly woven; and on his Face he wore a Beard of Massive Gold. I mean, a small planch of Gold hung down at his Lips by two strings, (which penetrated two little Holes, made there on purpose) that covered his Beard, or served instead thereof. His Arms were made of sticks of *Palmit*-trees, being very curiously wrought; at one end whereof, was a kind of Hook, which seemed to be hardened with Fire. We could willingly have had opportunity to speak with some of these *Indians*, to see if we could reconcile their minds unto us, and by this means renew the former Trade with them, and obtain Provisions. But this was a thing impossible, in vain though,

Are assaulted by the Indians.

Two Indians killed.

One had a golden Beard.

They desire to speak with the Indians, but in vain.

through the wildness of their Persons, and Savageness of their Minds. Notwithstanding, this Rencontre hindered us not from filling our Barrels with Water, and carrying them aboard.

Great Cries
heard from
Shore.

These Indians
never visit the
Sea.

They return to
Chagre.

Are chased by
a Ship.

But of their
own Party.

The Night following, we heard from the Shore huge Cries and Stricks among the *Indians*. These Lamentations caused us to believe, because they were heard so far, they had called in much more people to aid them against us; as also, that they lamented the Death of those two Men, who were kill'd the day before. These *Indians* never use to come upon the Waters of the Sea, neither have they ever given themselves to build Canows, or any other sort of Vessels for Navigation; nor so much as Fish-boats, of which Art of Fishery they are totally ignorant. At last, having nothing else to hope for in these Parts, we resolv'd to depart from thence for *Jamaica*, whether we design'd to go. Being set forth, we met with contrary Winds, which caused us to make use of our Oars, and row as far as the River of *Chagre*. When we came nigh unto it, we perceived a Ship that made towards us, and began to give us Chase. Our Apprehensions were, that it was a Ship from *Cartagena*, which might be sent to rebuild and retake possession of the Castle of *Chagre*, now all the *Pirats* were departed from thence. Hereupon we set all our Sail, and ran before the Wind, to see if we could escape or refuge our selves in any place. But the Vessel being much more swifter and cleaner then ours, easily got the Wind of us, and stopt our Course. Then approaching nigh unto us, we discover'd what they were, and knew them to be our former Comrades, in the same Expedition of *Panama*, who were but lately set out from *Chagre*. Their Design was to go unto *Nombre de Dios*, and from thence to *Cartagena*, to seek some Purchase or other in or about that frequented Port. But the Wind at that present being contrary to their Intention, they concluded to go in our company towards the same place where we were before, called *Boca del Toro*.

Sea-Cows.

This Accident and Encounter retarded our Journey, in the space of two days, more then we could regain in a whole Fortnight. This was the occasion that oblig'd us to return unto our former Station, where we remained for a few days. From thence we directed our Course for a Place called *Boca del Dragon*, there to make Provisions of Flesh: Especially of a certain Animal, which the *Spaniards* call *Manantins*, and the *Dutch*, *Sea-Cows*, because the Head, Nose and Teeth of this Beast, are very like unto those of a Cow. They are found commonly in such places, as under the depth of the Waters are very full of Grass, on which it is thought they do Pasture. These Animals have no Ears, and only in place of them are to be seen two little Holes, scarce capable of receiving the little Finger of a Man. Nigh unto the Neck they have two Wings, under which are seated two Udders, or Breasts, much like unto the Breasts of a Woman. The Skin is

very

very close, and united together, resembling the Skin of a *Barbary*, or *Guany-Dog*. This Skin upon the Back is of the thickness of two Fingers, which being dried, is as hard as any Whale-bone, and may serve to make Walking-staffs withal. The Bell is in all things like unto that of a *Pow*, as far as the Kidneys, or Reins. Their manner of Engendering likewise, is the same with the usual manner of a Land-Cow, the Male of this kind being in similitude, almost one and the same thing with a Bull. Yet notwithstanding they conceive and breed but once. But the space of time that they go with Calf, I could not as yet learn. These Fishes have the sense of Hearing extremely acute, in so much as in taking them, the Fishermen ought not to make the least noise, nor row, unless it be very slightly. For this reason they make use of certain Instruments for Rowing, which the *Indians* call *Pagayos*, and the *Spaniards* name *Caneletas*, with which although they row, yet is it performed without any noise that can fright the Fish. Mean while they are busied in this Fishery, they use not to speak to one another, but all is transacted by Signs. He that darteth them with the Javelin, useth it after the same manner as when they kill Tortoises. Howbeit, the point of the said Javelin is somewhat different, as having two Hooks at the Extremity, and these longer then that of the other Fishery. Of these Fishes, some are found to be of the length of 20, unto 24 Foot. Their Flesh is very good to eat, being very like in Colour unto that of a Land-Cow, but in Taste, unto that of Pork. It containeth much Fat, or Grease, the which the Pirats use to melt, and keep in earthen Pots, to make use thereof instead of Oyl.

How they take them.

On a certain day, wherein we were not able to do any good at this Fishery, some of our Men went into the Woods to hunt, and as to catch other Fish. Soon after we espied a Canow, where two *Indians*. These men sooner had discovered our vessel, they rowed back with all the speed they could towards us, being unwilling to trade, or have any thing to do with us. They followed them to the shore, but through their natural Nimbleness, being much greater then ours, they retired into the Woods before we could overtake them. Yea, what was more admirable, they drew on shore, and carried with them their Canow into the Wood, as easily as if it were made of Straw, although it weighed above 2000 *lib*. This we knew by the Canow it self, which we found afterwards, and had much ado to get it into the Water again, although we were in all 11 persons to pull at it.

Huge Strength of those Indians.

We had at that time in our Company, a certain Pilot, who had been divers times in those Quarters. This Man, seeing us, and being told us, that some few years before, a *Spaniard* had happened to arrive at that place. Being there, they

An Account thereof given by a Pilot.

Canows,

Canows, to cover the Port of little Birds, which inhabiteth the Sea-coast, under very beautiful Trees, which here are to be seen. Many were busied at that Work, certain *Indians*, who were come to the Trees, to view their Actions, seeing now the Canows, they leaped down into the Sea, and with huge celerity of the Canows and Pirats that kept them, both which they sorted so nimbly into the remotest parts of the Woods, as the Prisoners could not be relieved by their Companions. Here the Admiral of the said Squadron landed presently after with his Forces, to seek and rescue the Men he had lost. But they saw such a great number of *Indians* flock together to oppose them, as obliged them to retreat with all possible diligence unto their Ships. Concluding themselves, that if such Forces as those could not perform towards the recovery of their Companions, they ought to use no longer time there. Having heard this History, we came away from thence, fearing some Mischief might befall us, and bringing with us the Canow afore-mentioned. In this we found nothing else but a Fishing-net, though not very large, and four Arrows, made of Palm-tree, of the length of 7 Foot each, and of the figure, or shape, as followeth.



Arms of the
said Indians.

These Arrows, we believed, to be their Arms. The Canow we brought away was made of Cedar, but very roughly hewn, and possh, which caused us to think, that those People have no Instruments of Iron.

They go to the
River of
Zuera.

We left that Place, and arrived in 24 hours unto another, called Rio de Zuera, where we found some few Houses belonging to the City of Cartagena. These Houses are inhabited by *Spaniards*, whom we resolved to visit, not being able to find any Tortoises, nor yet any of their Eggs. The Inhabitants were all fled from the said Houses, having left no Victuals, nor Provisions, behind them, in so much as we were forced to content our selves with a certain Fruit, which there is called *Platano*. Of these *Platanos* we filled our Boats, and continued our Voyage, coasting along the shore. Our Design was to find out some Creek, or Bay, wherein to careen our Vessel, which

The Spaniards
fly away.

They are in
great danger.

now was very leaky on all sides. Yea, in such a dangerous condition, that both night and day we were constrained to employ several Men at the Pump, unto which purpose we made use of all our Slaves. This Voyage lasted a whole Fortnight, all which time we lay under

Part III.

Bucaniers of America.

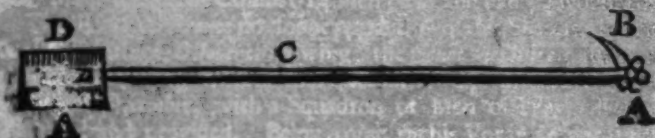
the continual Frights of perishing every moment. At last we arrived at a certain Port, called *The Bay of Bleve*, being so named from a Pirat who used to resort thither, with the same Design that we did. Here one party of our Men went into the Woods to hunt, ith mean while that another undertook to visit and careen our Vessel.

Our Companions who went abroad to hunt, found hereabouts *Huge Porcupines*, of a huge and monstrous bigness. But their chief Exercise was killing of Monkeys, and certain Birds, called by the Spaniards, *Faisanes*, or *Pheasants*. The Toyl and Labour we had in this Employ of Shooting, did seem, at least, unto me, to be sufficiently compensated with the pleasure of killing the said Monkeys. For at these we usually made 15 or 16 Shot, before we could kill three or four of them. So nimbly would they escape our Hands and Aim, even after being desperately wounded. On the other side, it was delightful to see the Female Monkeys carry their little ones upon their Backs, even just as the *Negra's* do their Children. When any person passeth under the Trees where these Monkeys are sitting, they will commonly open their Bellies, and squirt their Excrements upon their Heads and Cloaths. Likewise, if shooting at a parcel of them, any Monkey happeneth to be wounded, the rest of the Company will flock about him, and lay their Hands upon the Wound, to hinder the Blood from issuing forth. Others will gather Moss that groweth upon the Trees, and thrust it into the Wound, and hereby stop the Blood. At other times they will gather such or such Herbs, and chewing them in their Mouth, apply them after the manner of a Poultice, or Cataplasm. All which things did cause in me great Admiration, seeing such strange Actions in those irrational Creatures, which testified the Fidelity and Love they had for one another.

On the Ninth day, after our Arrival at that Place, our Women-Slaves being busied in their ordinary Employments of washing Dishes, sewing, drawing Water out of Wells, which we had made on the shore, and the like things, we heard great Cryes of one of them, which said, She had seen a Troop of *Indians* appear towards the Woods, whereby she began immediately to cry out, *Indians, Indians*. We hearing this Rumor, ran presently to our Arms and their Relief: But, coming unto the Wood, we found no person there, excepting two of our Women-Slaves killed upon the Place, with the shot of Arrows. In their Bodies we saw so many Arrows sticking, as might seem they had been fixed there with particular care and leisure. For otherwise we knew, that one of them alone was sufficient to bereave any humane Body of Life. These Arrows were all of a rare fashion and shape, their length being of eight Feet, and their thickn: is of a man's Thūmb. At one of the Extremities hereof, was to be seen a hook made of Wood, and tyed to the body of the Arrow with a String.

At the other end was a certain Case or Box, like the Case of our Twizars, in the which we found certain little Pibbles or Stones. The colour thereof was red, and very shining, as if they had been lapped up some considerable time. All which, we believed, were Arms belonging to their Captains and Leaders.

Arms of the
Indians.



- A. A Marcasite, which was tyed unto the Extremity of the Arrow.
- B. A Hook tyed to the same Extremity.
- C. The Arrow.
- D. The Case at the other end.

How they make
their Arrows.

Their Arrows were all made without Instruments of Iron. For whatsoever the Indians make, they harden it first very artificially with Fire, and afterwards polish it with Flints.

Their Con-
stitution.

As to the Nature of these Indians, they are extremely robust of Constitution, strong and nimble at their Feet. We sought them carefully up and down the Woods, but could not find the least trace of them; neither any of their Canows nor Floats, whereof they make use to go out to fish. Hereupon we retired unto our Vessels, where, having embarked all our Goods, we put off from the shore, fearing, least finding us there, they should return in any considerable number, and overpowering our Forces, tear us all in pieces.

CHAP. VIII.

The Author departeth towards the Cape of Gracias à Dios. Of the Commerce which here the Pirats exercise with the Indians. His arrival at the Island de los Pinos. And finally, his Return unto Jamaica.

THE Fear we had, more then usual, of those Indians above-mentioned, by reason of the Death of our two Women-Slaves, of which we told you in the former Chapter, occasion'd us to depart, as fast as we could, from that Place. We directed our Course from thence, to-
wards

wards the Cape of *Gracias a Dios*, where we had fixed our last Hopes of finding Provisions. For thither do usually resort many Pirats, who entertain a friendly Correspondence and Trade with the *Indians* of those Parts. Being arrived at the said Cape, we hugely rejoyced, and gave thanks unto God Almighty, for having delivered us out of so many Dangers, and brought us unto this Place of Refuge, where we found People, who shewed us most cordial Friendship, and provided us with all Necessaries whatsoever.

They depart for Cape Gracias a Dios.

where they find great Relief.

The Custom of this Island is such. That when any Pirats arrive there, every one hath the Liberty to buy unto himself an *Indian* Woman, at the price of a Knife, or any old Ax, Wood-Bill, or Hatchet. By this Contract, the Woman is obliged to remain in the Custody of the Pirat all the time he stayeth there. She serveth him in the mean while, and bringeth him Victuals of all sorts, that the Country affordeth. The Pirat moreover hath liberty to go when he pleaseth, either to hunt, or fish, or about any other Divertisements of his Pleasure. But withal is not to commit any Hostility, or Depredation upon the Inhabitants, seeing the *Indians* bring him in all that he standeth in need of, or that he desireth.

They buy here Women for any Trifle.

Through the frequent Converse and Familiarity these *Indians* have with the Pirats, they sometimes use to go to Sea with them, and remain among them for whole years, without returning home. From whence it cometh, that many of them can speak *English*, and *French* and some of the Pirats their *Indian* Language. They are very dextrous at darting with the Javelin, whereby they are very useful to the Pirats towards the victualling their Ships, by the Fishery of Tortoises, and *Manita's*, a sort of Fish so called by the *Spaniards*. For one of these *Indians*, is alone sufficient to victual a Vessel of an 100 persons. We had among our Crew, two Pirats, who could speak very well the *Indian* Language. By the Help of these Men, I was so curious to enquire into their Customs, Lives, and Policy, whereof I shall give you here a brief Account.

Policy and Customs of the Island.

This Island containeth about 30 Leagues in Circumference, more or less. It is governed after the form of a little Commonwealth, they having no King, nor Sovereign Prince among them. Neither do they entertain any Friendship, or Correspondence, with other neighbouring Islands, much less with the *Spaniards*. They are in all but a small Nation, whose number exceedeth not 1600 or 1700 persons. They have among them some few *Negro's*, who serve them in quality of Slaves. These happened to arrive there, (swimming after Shipwrack made upon that Coast. For being bound for *Tierra firme*, in a Ship that carried them to be sold in those Parts, they killed the Captain and Mariners, with design to return unto their Countrey. But through their Ignorance in Marinerie, they stranded their Vessel herabouts. Although

How Negro came to

as I said before, is a small Nation, yet they live divided, as it were, into several Provinces. Of these, the one sort employ themselves in Agriculture, and making several Plantations. But the other sort, they have not Courage to build themselves Houses, but dwell in the Woods. They frequent chiefly the Sea-coast, wandering disorderly up and down, without knowing, or caring so much as to cover their Bodies from the Rains which are very frequent in those Parts, unless it be with a few Palm-leaves. These they put upon their Heads, and keep their Backs always turned to the Wind that bloweth. They use no other Cloaths then an Apron, which being tyed to their Middle, cometh down so far, as to hide the shameful parts of their Bodies. Such Aprons are made of the rinds of Trees, which they strongly beat upon stones, till they are softened. Of these same they make use for Bed-cloaths, to cover themselves when they sleep. Some make to themselves Bed-cloaths of Cotton, but these are but few in number. Their usual Arms are nothing, but *Azapayan* or Spears, which they make use for their use with points of Iron, or Teeth of Cocodriles.

Their Arms.

Religion.

Food.

Their Drink.

They know, after some manner, that there is a God, yet they live without any Religion, or divine Worship. Yea, as far as I can learn, they believe not in, nor serve the Devil, as many other Nations of America do both believe, invoke, and worship him. Hereby they are not so much tormented by him, as other Nations are. Their ordinary Food, for the greatest part, consisteth in several Fruits; such as are called *Bananas*, *Raovers*, *Ananas*, *Potato's*, *Cazave*; as also *Crabs*, and some few Fish of other sorts, which they kill in the Sea with Darts. As to their Drink, they are something expert in making certain pleasant and delicate Liquors. The commonest among them is called *Achioe*. This is made of a certain Seed of *Palm-tree*, which they bruise, and afterwards steep or infuse, in hot Water, till it be settled at the bottom. This Liquor being strained off, hath a very pleasant Taste, and is very nourishing. Many other sorts of Liquors they prepare, which I shall omit for brevity. Only I shall say something, in short, of that which is made of *Platanos*. These they knead betwixt their Hands with hot Water, and afterwards put into great Calabashes, which they fill up with cold Water, and leave in repose for the space of eight days, during which time, it fermenteth as well as the best sort of Wine. This Liquor they drink for pleasure, and as a great Regale, inasmuch that when these *Indians* invite their Friends, or Relations, they cannot treat them better, than to give them some of this pleasant Drink.

Their Invitations.

They are very unskilful in dressing of Victuals; and hence it is, that they very seldom treat one another with Banquets. For this purpose, when they go, or send, to any House, to invite others, they desire

fire them to come and drink of their Liquors. Before the Sons come to their House, those that expect them, cry well, and anoint their Faces with Oyl of a certain black Tincture, which rendereth them very black. The Women, in like manner, dawb their Faces with another Stuff, which causeth them to look as red as Carmine. And such are the greatest Civilities they use in the Ornament and Attire. Afterwards, he that inviteth the other, take his Arms, which are three or four *Axagayas*, and goeth out of his Cottage the space of 3 or 400 Steps, to wait for, and receive the persons that are to come to visit him. As soon as they draw nigh unto him, he falleth down upon the Ground, lying flat on his Face, in which posture he remaineth, without any Motion, as if he were dead. Being thus prostrate before them, the invited Friends take him up, and set him on his Feet, and thus they go altogether unto the Hut. Here the persons who are invited, use the same Ceremony, falling down on the Ground, as the Inviter did before. But he listeth them up one by one, and giving them his hand, conducteth them into his Cottage, where he causeth them to sit. The Women, on these Occasions, perform few or no Ceremonies.

Being thus brought into the House, they are presented every one with a Calabash full of the Liquor above-mentioned, made of *Platanos*, which is very thick, almost like unto Water-gruel, or Childrens Pap, wherein is contained four Quarts, more or less, of the said Liquor. These they are to drink off as well as they can, and get down at any rate. The Calabashes being emptied into their Stomachs, the Master of the House, with many Ceremonies, goeth about the Room, and gathereth his Calabashes. And this Drinking hitherto is reckoned but for one Welcome, whereas every Invitation ought to contain several Welcomes. Afterwards, they begin to drink of the clear Liquor above-mentioned, for which they were called to this Treat. Hereunto follow many Songs, Dances, and a 1000 Carresses, to the Women that are present. In so much that oftentimes, for a Testimony of their great Love unto them, they take their Darts, and with the points thereof, pierce and wound their genital Parts. This Relation, I confess, I could not believe, though oftentimes it had been certified unto me, until such time as my own Eyes were Witnesses unto these, and the like Actions. Neither only on this Occasion do they perform this Ceremony, of piercing their Genitals, but also when they make Love unto any Woman, intending thereby to let them understand the greatness of their Affection and Constancy.

They use not to marry any young Maid, without the Consent of her Parents. Hereupon, if any one desireth to take a Wife, he is first examined by the Damselfs Father, concerning several Points relating to good Husbandry. These are most commonly: whether he can
make

*They pierce
their Genitals.*

Marriages.

make *Azagayas*, Darts for Fishing; which they use about their Arrows, the Examiner calleth to his Daughter the Liquor above-mentioned. Of this he putteth a Cup unto the young Man; and he filleth it up; and with this only Ceremony the Marriage is made. When any one drinketh to the Health of another, the second person ought to drink up the Liquor, which the other person hath left in the Calabash. But in case of Marriage, as was said before, it is consumed alone among them three, the Bride obtaining the greatest part to her share.

How the *W*omen lyeth in.

When the Woman lyeth in, neither she nor her Husband observe the time, as is customary among the *Caribes*. But as soon as the Woman is delivered, she goeth instantly unto the next River, Brook, or Fountain, and washeth the new born Creature, swathing it up afterwards in certain Rowlers, or Swathing-bands, which there are called *Cabals*. This being done, she goeth about her ordinary Labour, as before. At their Entertainments it is usual, that when the Mandieth, his Wife burieth him with all his *Azagaya's*, Aprons, and Jewels, that he used to wear at his Ears. Her next Obligation is, to come every day to her Husband's Grave, bringing him Meat and Drink for a whole year together. Their Years they reckon by the Moons, allowing 15 to every year, which their entire Circle, as our 12 Months make do ours.

Their Burials.

Some Historians, writing of the *Caribe Islands*, do affirm, that this Ceremony, of carrying Victuals to the Dead, is generally observed among them. Moreover, that the Devil cometh unto the Sepulchres, and carrieth away all the Meat and Drink which is placed there. But I my self am not of this Opinion, seeing I have oftentimes with my own Hands, taken away these Offerings, and eaten them, instead of other Victuals. Unto this, I was moved, because I knew that the Fruits used on these Occasions, were the choicest and ripest of all others, as also the Liquors, of the best sort, they made use of, for their greatest Regale and Pleasure. When the Widow hath thus compleated her year, she openeth the Grave, and taketh out all her Husband's Bones. These she scrapeth and washeth very well, and afterwards dryeth against the Beams of the Sun. When they are sufficiently dried, she tyeth them altogether, and putteth them into a *Cabala*, being a certain Pouch, or Satchel, and is obliged for another year to carry them upon her back i'th' day-time, and to sleep upon them i'th' night, until the year be compleatly expired. This Ceremony being finished, she hangeth up the Bag and Bones, against the Post of her own Door, in case she be Mistress of any House. But having no House of her own, she hangeth them at the Door of her next Neighbour, or Relation.

Strange Custom of Widows here.

The

to the Laws
years above,
form no such
with an Indian
to do with him, if he were an
Indian Man born. The Negro's that are upon this Island, live here, in
all Respects, according to the Customs of their own Country. All
these things I have thought fit to take notice of in this place, though
briefly as judging them worthy the Curiosity of some judicious and
inquisitive Persons. Now I shall continue the Account of our Voy-
age.

After that we had refreshed and provided our selves, as well as we
could, at the Island aforesaid, we departed from thence, and steered our
Course towards the Island *delos Pinos*. Here we arrived in 15 days, and
were constrained to visit again our Vessel, which now, the second time
was very leaky, and not fit for sayling any farther. Hereupon we divided
our selves as before, and some went about that work of cartoning the
Ship, meanwhile others betook themselves to Fishing. In this last we
were so successful as to take in 6 or 7 hours, as much Fish, as would a-
bundantly suffice to feed a 1000 persons. We had in our Company
some *Indians*, from the Cape of *Gracias a Dios*, who were very dextrous
both in Hunting and Fishing. With the Help of these Men we killed
likewise, in a short while, and salted, an huge number of wild Cows,
sufficient both to satiate our hungry Appetites, and to victual our Ves-
sel for the Sea. These Cows were formerly brought into this Island by
the *Spaniards*, with design they should here multiply, and stock the
Country with Cattel of this kind. We salted, in like manner, a vast
number of Tortoises, whereof in this Island huge quantities are to be
found. With these things, our former Cares and Troubles began to
dissipate, and our Minds to be so far recreated, as to forget the Miseries
we had lately endured. Hereupon, we began to call one another again
by the Name of Brothers, which was customary amongst us,
but had been difused in our Miseries, and scarce remembered without
Regret.

All the time we continued here, we feasted our selves very plentifully,
without the least Fear of Enemies. For as to the *Spaniards* that were
upon the Island, they were here in mutual League and Friendship with
us. Thus we were only constrained to keep Watch and Ward every
night, for fear of the *Cycodiles*, which are here in great plenty all o-
ver the Island. For these, when they are hungry, will assault any
Man whatsoever, and devour him; as it happened in this Conjun-
cture unto one of our Companions. This Man being gone into the
Wood, in Company with a Negro, they fell into a place where a Cro-
codile lay concealed. The furious Animal with incredible Agili-ty, as-
saulted

They depart for
the Island de
los Pinos.

Great plenty of
Fish.

And Cows.

Many Cro-
codiles here.

A Pirat as-
saulted by one.

faulced the Pirat, and fastning upon his Leg, cast him upon the Ground, the *Negro* being fled, who should assist him. Yet he notwithstanding, being a robust and courageous Man, drew forth a Knife he had then about him, and with the same, after a dangerous Combat, overcame and killed the Crocodile. Which having done, he himself, both tired with the Battel, and weakened with the loss of Blood, that ran from his Wounds, lay for dead upon the Place, or at least beside his Senses. Being found in this posture some while after by the *Negro*, who returned to see what was become of his Master, he took him upon his Back, and brought him to the Sea-side, distant from thence the space of a whole League. Here we received him into a Canow, and conveyed him on board our Ship.

After this Misfortune, none of our Men dared be so bold, as to enter the Woods without good Company. Yea, we our selves, desirous to revenge the Disaster of our Companion, went in Troops, the next day unto the Woods, with design to find out Crocodiles to kill. These Animals would usually come every night to the Sides of our Ship, and make resemblance of climbing up into the Vessel. One of these, on a certain night, we seized with an iron Hook, but he instead of flying to the bottom, began to mount the Ladder of the Ship, till we kill'd him with other Instruments. Thus after we had remained there some considerable time, and refitted our selves with all

They go to seek
Crocodiles.

They arrive at
Jamaica.

things necessary, we set Sayl from thence for *Jamaica*. Here we arrived within few days, after a prosperous Voyage, and found Captain *Morgan*, who was got home before us, but had seen as yet none of his Companions whom he left behind, we being the first that arrived there after him.

Captain
Morgan is
sent to keep
St. Catharin.

But is promoted
by a new
Governour.

The said Captain at that present was very busie, endeavouring to perswade and levy People, to transport unto the Isle of *St. Catharin*, which he designed to fortifie, and hold as his own, thinking to make it a common Refuge unto all sorts of Pirats, or at least of his own Nation, as was said before. But he was soon hindered in the prosecution of this Design, by the arrival of a Man of War from *England*. For this Vessel brought Orders from his Majesty of *Great Britain*, to recal the Governour of *Jamaica* from his Charge over that Island, unto the Court of *England*, there to give an Account of his Proceedings and Behaviour, in relation to the Pirats whom he had maintained in those Parts, to the huge detriment of the Subjects of the King of *Spain*. Unto this purpose, the said Man of War brought over also a new Governour of *Jamaica*, to supply the place of the precedent. This Gentleman, being possessed of the Government of the Island, presently after gave notice unto all the Ports thereof, by several Boats, which he sent forth to that intent, of the good and entire Correspondence, which his Master the King of *England* designed hencefor-

wards.

wards to maintain, in those Western Parts of the World, towards his Catholick Majesty, and all his Subjects, and Dominions. And that unto this effect, for the time to come, he had received from his Sacred Majesty, and Privy Council, strict and severe Orders, not to permit any Pirat whatsoever, to set forth from *Jamaica*, to commit any Hostility, or Depredation, upon the *Spanish Nation*, or Dominions, or any other People of those neighbouring Islands.

No sooner these Orders were sufficiently divulged, but the Pirates, *all the Pirates* who as yet were abroad at Sea, began to fear them, inasmuch as *fear him* they dared not return home unto the said Island. Hereupon they kept the Seas as long as they could, and continued to act as many Hostilities as came in their way. Not long after, the same Pirates took and ransacked a considerable Town, seated in the Isle of *Cuba*, called *la Villa de los Cayor*, of which we made mention in the Description of the said Island. Here they committed again all sorts of Hostility, and inhumane and barbarous Cruelties. But the new Governour of *Jamaica* behaved himself so constant to his Duty, and the Orders he had brought from *England*, as that he apprehended several of the chief Actors herein, and condemned them to be hanged, which was accordingly done. *Some of them hanged.* From this Severity, many others still remaining abroad, took warning, and retired unto the Isle of *Tortuga*, lest they should fall into his Hands. Here they joyned in Society with the *French Pirates*, Inhabitants of the said Island, in whose Company they continue unto this day.

CHAP. IX.

The Relation of the Shipwrack which Monsieur Bertram Ogeron, Governor of the Isle of Tortuga, suffered nigh the Isles of Guadanillas. How both he and his Companions fell into the Hands of the Spaniards. By what Arts he escaped their Hands, and preserved his Life. The Enterprize which he undertook against Puerto Rico, to deliver his People. The unfortunate success of that Design.

AFTER the Expedition of *Panama* above-mentioned, the Inhabitants of the *French Islands in America*, in the Year 1673. (mean while the War was so fierce in *Europe* between *France* and *Holland*) gathered a considerable Fleet for to go and possess themselves of the Islands belonging to the *States-General* of the *United Provinces* in the *West-Indies*. Unto this effect, their Admirall called together, and le-

vice, all the Pirates and Quarters that would, by any Inductions whatsoever, sit down under his Colours. With the same Design the Governor of Tortuga caused to be built in that Island, a good strong Man of War, unto which Vessel he gave the name of *Ogeron*. This Ship he provided very well with all sort of Ammunition, and manned with 500 *Buccaniers*, all resolute and courageous Men, as being the Vessel he designed for his own Safety. Their first Intention was to go and take the Isle of *Corasao*, belonging to the said *States of Holland*. But this Design met with very ill success, by reason of a Shipwreck, which interrupted the Course of their Voyage.

Monsieur *Ogeron* set Sail from the Port of *Tortuga*, as soon as all things were in a readiness, with intent to joyn the rest of the said Fleet, and pursue the Enterprize afore-mentioned. Being arrived on the West-side of the Island of *St. John de Puerto Rico*, he was suddenly surprized with a violent Storm. This increased to that degree, as caused his new Frigate to strike against the Rocks that neighbour upon the Islands, called *Guadanillos*, where the Vessel broke into a thousand pieces. Yet being nigh unto the Land of *Puerto Rico*, all his Men escaped, by saving their Lives, in Boats, which they had at hand.

Monsieur Ogeron is cast away.

They get ashore in Boats.

And are taken by the Spaniards.

The next Day, all being now got on shore, they were discovered by the *Spaniards*, who inhabit the Island. These instantly took them to be French Pirates, whose intent was to take the said Island anew, as they had done several times before. Hereupon they alarm'd the whole Country, and gathering their Forces together, marched out to their Encounter. But they found them unprovided of all manner of Arms, and consequently not able to make any Defence, craving for Mercy at their Hands, and begging Quarter for their Lives, as the Custom is. Yet notwithstanding, the *Spaniards* remembering the horrible and cruel Actions those Pirates had many times committed against them, would have no compassion on their Condition. But answering them, *Ha! ye thievish Dogs, here's no Quarter for you*; they assaulted them with all Fury imaginable, and killed the greatest part of the Company. At last, perceiving they made no resistance, nor had any Arms to defend themselves, they began to relent in their Cruelty, and stay their blows, taking Prisoners as many as remained alive. Yet still they would not be perswaded, but that those unfortunate People were come thither, with Design to take again and ruin the Island.

Hereupon they bound them with Cords, by two and two, or three and three together, and drove them through the Woods into the Champaign or open Fields. Being come thus far with them, they asked them, What was become of their Captain and Leader? Unto these Questions they constantly made Answer, He was drowned in the Shipwreck at Sea; although they knew full well it was false. For Monsieur *Ogeron* being unknown unto the *Spaniards*, behaved himself among

A Fiction of Monsieur Ogeron.

mong them, as if he were a Fool, and had no common use of Reason. Notwithstanding, the *Spaniards* scarce believing what the Prisoners had answered, used all the means they could possibly to find him, but could not compass their Desires. For M. Ogeron kept himself very close to all the Features and mimical Actions that might become any innocent Fool. Upon this account, he was not tyed as the rest of his Companions, but let loose, to serve the Divertisement and Laughter of the common Souldiers. These now and then would give him scraps of Bread, and other Victuals, whereas the rest of the Prisoners had never sufficient wherewith to satisfy their hungry Stomachs. For as to the allowance they had from the *Spaniards*, their Enemies, it was scarce enough to preserve them alive.

It happened there was found among the *French* Pirates, a certain Surgeon, who had done some remarkable Services unto the *Spaniards*. In consideration of these Merits, he was unbound and set at liberty, to go freely up and down, even as Monsieur Ogeron did. Unto this Surgeon, Monsieur Ogeron having a fit opportunity thereunto, declared his Resolution of hazarding his Life to attempt an Escape, from the Cruelty and hard Usage of those Enemies. After mature Deliberation, they both performed it, by flying unto the Woods, with Design there to make something or other that might be Navigable, whereby to transport themselves elsewhere. Although unto this effect they had nor could obtain no other thing i^th' World, that could be serviceable in building of Vessels, but one only Hatchet. Thus they joyned Company, and began their March towards the Woods that lay nearest the Sea-coast. Having travelled all day long, they came about Evening unto the Sea-side almost unexpectedly. Here they found themselves without any thing to eat, nor any secure Place wherein to rest their wearied Limbs. At last they perceived nigh the Shore an huge quantity of Fishes, called by the *Spaniards*, *Corlabados*. These frequently approach the Sands of the Shore, in pursuit of other little Fishes that serve them for their Food. Of these they took as many as they thought necessary, and by rubbing two Sticks tediously together, they kindled Fire, wherewith they made Coals to roast them. The next day they began to cut down and prepare Timber, wherewith to make a kind of small Boat, in which they might pass over unto the Isle of *Santa Cruz*, which belongeth to the *French*.

Mean while they were busied about their Work, they discovered at a great distance a certain Canow, which steered directly towards the Place where they were. This occasioned in their Minds some Fears lest they should be found, and taken again by the *Spaniards*; and hereupon they retired into the Woods, till such time as they could see from thence, and distinguish what People were in the Canow. But at last, as their good Fortune would have it, they perceived them to be no more

A Surgeon un-
tyed.

Who plotteth
with Monsieur
Ogeron to get
away.

They fly into
the Woods.

They seize a Ca-
now by killing
two men.

more than two Men, who in their disposition and apparel seemed to be Fishermen. Having made this Discovery, they concluded unanimously between themselves to hazard their Lives and overcome them, and afterwards seize the Canow. Soon after they perceived one of them, who was a *Mulato*, to go with several Calabashes hanging at his back towards a Spring, not far distant from the shore, to take in fresh Water. The other, who was a *Spaniard*, remained behind, waiting for his return. Seeing them divided, they assaulted the *Mulato* first, and discharging a great blow on his Head with the Hatchet, they soon bereav'd him of Life. The *Spaniard* hearing the noise, made instantly towards the Canow, thinking to escape. But this he could not perform so soon, without being overtaken by the two, and there massacred by their Hands. Having now compassed their Design, they went to seek for the Corps of the *Mulato*, which they carried on board the Canow. Their intent was to convey them into the middle of the Sea, and there cast them over-board, to be consumed by the Fish, and by this means conceal this Fact from being known unto the *Spaniards*, either at a short or long distance of time.

These things being done, they took in presently as much fresh Water as they could, and set Sail from thence to seek some place of Refuge. That day they steered along the Coasts of *Puerto Rico*, and came unto the Cape, called by the *Spaniards*, *Cabo Roxo*. From hence they traversed directly to the Isle of *Hispaniola*, where so many of their own Comrades and Companions were to be found. Both the Currents of the Waters and Winds were very favourable unto this Voyage, insomuch, as in a few days, they arrived at a place called *Samana*, belonging to the said Island, where they found a Party of their own People.

They arrive at
Samana.

Monseigneur Ogeron
gathers a
Fleet,

To rescue his
Companions.

Monseigneur Ogeron being landed at *Samana*, gave Orders unto the Surgeon to levy all the People he could possible in those Parts, mean while he departed to re-visit his Government of *Tortuga*. Being arrived at the said Port, he used all his Endeavors to gather what Vessels and Men he could to his Assistance: So that within a few days he compassed a good number of both, very well equipped and disposed to follow and execute his Designs. These were to go unto the Island of *St. John de Puerto Rico*, and deliver his fellow-prisoners, whom he had left in the miserable condition was said before. After having embarked all the People which the Surgeon had levied at *Samana*, he made them a Speech, exhorting them to have good Courage, and telling them, *You may all expect great Spoil and Riches from this Enterprize, and therefore let all Fear and Cowardize be set on side. On the contrary, fill your Hearts with Courage and Valour, for thus you will find your selves soon satisfied, of what at present bare hopes do promise.* Every one relied much on these Promises of Monseigneur Ogeron, and from his words conceived no small

Joy

Joy in their Minds. Thus they set Sail from *Tortuga*, steering their *Thyris* Sail. Course directly for the Coasts of *Puerto Rico*. Being come within sight of Land, they made use only of their lower Sails, to the intent they might not be discovered at so great a distance by the *Spaniards*, till they came something near unto the Place where they intended to land.

The *Spaniards*, notwithstanding this Caution, had Intelligence before-hand of their coming, and were prepared for a Defence, having posted many Troops of Horse all along the Coast, to watch the Descent of the *French* Pirates. Monsieur *Ogeron* perceiving their Vigilancy, gave Order to the Vessels to draw nigh unto the Shore, and shoot off many great Guns, whereby he forced the Cavalry to retire unto Places more secure within the Woods. Here lay concealed many Companies of Foot, who had prostrated themselves upon the Ground. Mean while the Pirates made their Descent at leisure, and began to enter among the Trees, scarce suspecting any Harm to be there, where the Horse-men could do no Service. But no sooner were they fallen into this Ambuscade, when the *Spaniards* arose with great Fury, and assaulted the *French* so courageously, that in a short while they destroyed great part of them. And thus falling great numbers of Dead on the place, the rest with great difficulty escaped, by retreating in all haste unto their Ships.

Monsieur *Ogeron*, although he escaped this Danger, yet could willingly have perished in the Fight, than suffer the Shame and Confusion, the unfortunate Success of this Fight was like to bring upon his Reputation. Especially considering, that those whom he had attempted to set at Liberty, were now cast into greater Miseries, through this Misfortune. Hereupon they hastened to set Sail, and go back unto *Tortuga*, the same way they came, with great Confusion in their Minds, much diminished in their Number, and nothing laden with those Spoils, the Hopes whereof had possessed their Hearts, and caused them readily to follow the Promises of unfortunate Monsieur *Ogeron*. The *Spaniards* were very vigilant, and kept close nigh unto the Sea-side, till such time as the Fleet of Pirates was cast out of sight. I th' mean while they made an end of killing their Enemies, as being desperately wounded, could not escape by Flight. In like manner, they cut off several Limbs from these Bodies, with design to shew them unto the former Prisoners, whose Redemption these others had cross'd the Seas.

The Fleet being departed, the *Spaniards* kindled Bonfires all o the Island, and made great Demonstrations of Joy, for the Victory they had obtained. But the *French* Prisoners, who were there bel had more Hardship shewed them from that day than ever. Of their Misery and Mis-usage, was a good Eye-witness, *Jacob Binker*, Govern-

The *Spaniards* know of their design.

They land.

And are over-come.

Monsieur *Ogeron* escapes.

They cut off these limbs to show to the Prisoners.

Blacks bring-
eth away six
Prisoners.
The rest sent to
Havana.

They are trans-
ported by de-
grees into
Spain.

Most of them
meat in
France.

And return
unto Tortuga.

They take the
Island de la
Trinidad.

And put it to
a Ransom of
10000 pieces
of Eight.

our at that time in America, for the *Statof-General* of the *United Provinces*. He was ordered to arrive in that Conjunction, at the Island of *Puerto Rico*, with some Men of War, to buy Provisions, and other Necessaries for his Fleet. His Compassion on their Misery was such, as caused him to bring away by Stealth, five or six of the said Prisoners, which served only to exasperate the Minds of the *Spaniards*. For soon after they sent the rest of the Prisoners, unto the chief City of the Island, there to work and toil about the Fortifications which then were making, forcing them to bring and carry Stones, and all sorts of Materials belonging thereunto. These being finished, the Governour transported them unto *Havana*, where they employed them in like manner, in fortifying that City. Here they caused them to work 1st day-time, and by night they shut them up as close Prisoners, fearing lest they should enterprize upon the City. For of such Attempts the *Spaniards* had had divers Proofs, on other Occasions, which afforded them sufficient Cause to use them after that manner.

Afterwards at several times, wherein Ships arrived there from *New Spain*, they transported them by degrees into *Europe*, and landed them at the City of *Cadiz*. But notwithstanding this Care of the *Spaniards* to disperse them, they soon after met almost all together in *France*, and resolved among themselves to return again unto *Tortuga*, with the first Opportunity should proffer. Unto this effect, they assisted one another very lovingly, with what Necessaries they could spare, according to every ones Condition. So that in a short while the greatest part of those Pirats had nested themselves again at *Tortuga*, their common Place of Rendezvous. Here, some time after, they equipped again a new Fleet, to revenge their former Misfortunes on the *Spaniards*, under the Conduct of one *le Sieur Mainzenon*, a French-man by Nation. With this Fleet he arrived at the Island de la *Trinidad*, situated between the Isle of *Tabago*, and the neighbouring Coasts of *Paria*. This Island they sackt, and afterwards put to the Ransom of 10000 pieces of Eight. From hence they departed, with Design to take and pillage the City of *Caracas*, seated over against the Island of *Curacao*, belonging to the *Hollanders*.

CHAP. X.

A Relation of what Encounters lately happened at the Islands of Cayana and Tabago, between the Count de Estres, Admiral of France, in America, and the Heer Jacob Binkes, Vice-Admiral of the United Provinces, in the same Parts.

IT is a thing already known unto the greatest part of Europe, that the Prince of Curland began to establish a Colony in the Island of Tabago. As also, that some while after, his People, for want of timely Recruits from their own Country abandoned the said Island, leaving it to the first that should come and possess it. Thus it fell into the Hands of the Heers Adrian, and Cornelius Lambsius, Natives of the City of Flissing, in the Province of Zeeland. For being arrived at the said Island of Tabago, in the year 1654. they undertook to fortifie it, by Commands of their Sovereigns, the States General. Hereupon they built a goodly Castle, in a convenient Situation, capable of hindring the Assaults of any Enemies, that might enterprize upon the Island.

The Prince of Curland first Possessor of Tabago. The said Island possessed Dutch.

The Strength of this Castle was afterwards sufficiently tried by Monsieur de Estres, as I shall presently relate, after I have first told you, what happened before at Cayana, in the year 1676. This year the States-General of the United Provinces, sent their Vice-Admiral, Jacob Binkes, unto the Island of Cayana, then in possession of the French, for to retake the said Island, and hereby restore it unto the Dominions of the United Provinces afore-mentioned. With these Orders he set forth from Holland, on the 16th. day of March, in the said year, his Fleet consisting of seven Men of War, one Fireship, and five other small Vessels of less account. This Fleet arrived at Cayana the 4th. day of the Month of May next following. Immediately after their Arrival, the Heer Binkes landed 900 Men, who approaching the Castle, summoned the Governour to surrender, at their Discretion. His Answer was, He thought of nothing less then Surrendring, but that he and his People were resolved to defend themselves, even to the utmost of their Endeavours. The Heer Binkes having received this Answer, presently commanded his Troops to attack the Castle on both sides at once. The Assault was very furious. But at length, the French being few in number, and overwhelmed with the multitude of their Enemies, surrendered both their Arms and the Castle. In it were found 37 pieces of Cannon. The Governour, who was named Monsieur Lefi, together with two Priests, were sent into Holland. The

The Isle of Cayana retaken by the Hollanders.

H h h

Heer

The Count de Estres first retakes it again from the Dutch.

Binkes lost in the Combat 14 Men only, and had 72 wounded. The King of France no sooner understood this Success, but he sent the Month of October following, the Count de Estres, for to retake the said Island again from the *Hollanders*. He arrived there in the Month of December, with a Squadron of Men of War, all very well equipped and provided. Being come on his Voyage as far as the River called *Aperezo*, he met there with a small Vessel of *Nantes*, which had set forth from the said Island of *Cayana* but a fortnight before. This Ship gave him Intelligence of the present state and condition, wherein he might be certain to find the *Hollanders* at *Cayana*. They told him, there were 300 Men in the Castle; that all about it they had fixed strong *Palizadas*, or *Empalements*; and that within the Castle were mounted 26 pieces of Cannon.

He arriveth there.

And landeth his Men.

Monsieur de Estres, being enabled with this Intelligence to take his own Measures, proceeded on his Voyage, and arrived at a Port of the said Island, three Leagues distant from the Castle. Here he landed 800 Men, whom he divided into two several Parties. The one he placed under the Conduct of the Count de Blinas, and the other he gave unto Monsieur de St. Faucher. On board the Fleet he left Monsieur Gabarri, with divers other principal Troops, which he thought not fit to be necessary to be landed. As soon as the Men were set on shore, the Fleet weighed Anchor, and sailed very slowly towards the Castle, meanwhile the Souldiers marched by Land. These could not travel otherwise then by night, by reason of the excessive Heat of the Sun, and in tolerable Exhalations of the Earth, which here is very sulphureous, and consequently no better then a smoaky and stinking Oven.

He summoneth them to surrender.

Which they deny to do.

He stormeth the Castle.

And taketh it.

He departeth to Martinica.

On the 19th Day of the said Month, the Count de Estres sent Monsieur de Lusi (who had been Governor of the Island, as was said before) demanding of them to deliver the Castle unto the Obedience of the King his Master, and unto him in his Sovereigns Name. But those who were within resolved not to deliver themselves up, but at the expence of their Lives and Blood, which Answer they sent unto Monsieur de Estres. Hereupon the French, the following Night, assaulted and storm'd the Castle on seven several sides thereof all at once. The Detendants, having performed their Obligation very stoutly, and fought with as much Valour as was possible, were at last forced to surrender. Within the Castle were found 38 Persons dead, besides many others that were wounded. All the Prisoners were transported into France, where they were used with great hardship.

Monsieur de Estres, having put all things in good Order at the Isle of *Cayana*, departed from thence for that of *Martinica*. Being arrived at the said Island, he was told, that the Heer Binkes was at that present in the Island of *Tabago*, and his Fleet lay at Anchor in the Bay. Having received this Intelligence, Monsieur de Estres made no long stay there,

there, but set Sail again, steering his Course directly for *Tabago*. No sooner was he come nigh unto the Island, but Vice-Admiral *Binkes* sent his Land-Forces, together with a good number of Mariners, on shore, for to manage and defend the Artillery that was there. These Forces were commanded by the Captains *van der Graef*, *van Dongen*, and *Cistone*, who laboured very hard all that night in raising certain Batteries, and filling up the *Palizada's*, or Empalements of the Fortrefs called *Sterreschans*.

And thence to
Tabago.

Two days after, the French Fleet came to an Anchor in the Bay of *Palmis*, and immediately with the help of 18 Boats they landed all their Men. The Heer *Binkes* perceiving the French to appear upon the Hills, gave Orders to burn all the Houses that were nigh unto the Castle, to the intent the French might have no place to shelter themselves thereabouts. On the 23d. day of February, Monsieur de *Estres* sent a Drum over to the *Hollanders* to demand the Surrendry of the Fort, which was absolutely denied. In this posture of Affairs things continued until the third of March. On this day the French Fleet came with full Sail, and engaged the Dutch Fleet. The Heer *Binkes* presently encountered them, and the Dispute was very hot on both sides. I'th' mean while the Land-Forces belonging to the French, being sheltered by the thicknes of the Woods, advanced towards the Castle, and began to storm it very briskly, with more than ordinary Force: But were repulsed by the Dutch with such Vigor, as caused them after three distinct Attacks to retire, with the loss of above 150 Men, and 200 wounded. These they carried off, or rather drag'd away with no small Difficulty, by reason of their disorderly Retreat.

He landed his
Men at Ta-
bago.

And engag'd
the Dutch
Fleet at the
same time.

But is beaten
by Land.

All this while the two Fleets continued the Combat, and fought very desperately, until that on both sides some Ships were consumed between *Vulcan* and *Neptune*. Of this number was Monsieur de *Estres* his own Ship, mounted with 27 Guns of prodigious bigness, besides other Pieces of lesser Port. The Battel continued from break of day until the Evening. A little before which time, Monsieur de *Estres* quitted the Bay, with his rest of the Ships, unto his *Hollanders*, excepting only two, which were stranded under Sail, as having gone too high within the Port. Finally, the Victory remained on the side of the *Hollanders*, howbeit, with the loss of several of their Ships that were burnt.

He loofed his
own Ship
aboard.

And through
the Port
the Dutch

Monsieur de *Estres* finding himself under the Shame of the loss of this Victory, and that he could expect no Advantage for that present over the Island of *Tabago*, set Sail from those Quarters the 18th. day of March, and arrived the 21st. day of June next following, at the Port of *Brest* in France. Having given an Account of these Transactions unto his most Christian Majesty, he was pleased to command him to undertake again the Enterprize of *Tabago*. Unto this effect, he gave

H h h 2

Orders

Orders for eight great Guns of War to be equipped with all speed, together with eight others of smaller account. With all which Vessels he sent again *Monsieur de Estres* into *America* the same year. He set Sail from the Port of *Brest*, on the third day of *October* following, and arrived there on the 10th of *December*, at the Port of *San Pedro de Macoris*. Afterwards, having received some Reports from the Isle of *Martinica*, he sent before-hand to review the Condition thereof. This done, he weighed anchor and sailed directly for the said Isle. He arrived the seven day of the said Month of *December*.

Immediately after his arrival, he landed 500 Men, under the Conduct of *Monsieur de Blin*, Governor of the *French* Islands in *America*. These were followed afterwards by One thousand more. The ninth day of the said Month, they approached within 600 Paces of a certain Post called *le Cort*, where they landed all the Artillery designed for this Enterprize. On the tenth day *Monsieur de Estres* went in Person to take a view of the Castle, and demanded of the *Heer Bunker*, by a Messenger, the Surrendry thereof, which was generously denyed. The next day the *French* began to advance towards the Castle, and on the twelfth of the said Month, the Dutch from within began to fire at them with great Perseverance. The *French* made a beginning to their Attack, by casting Fire-balls into the Castle with main violence. The very third Ball that was cast in, hapned to fall in the Path-way that led unto the Store-house, where the Powder and Ammunition was kept belonging to the Castle. In this Path was much Powder scatter'd up and down, through the Negligence of those that carried it to and fro, for the necessary Supplies of the Defendants. By this means the Powder took Fire in the Path, and from thence ran in a moment as the Store-house above-mentioned. So that suddenly both the Store-house was blown up, and with it, Vice-Admiral *Bunker* himself, then Governor of the Island, and all his Officers: only Captain *van Dongen* remained alive. This Mischance being perceived by the *French*, they instantly ran with 500 Men, and possessed themselves of the Castle. Here they found 300 Men alive, whom they took Prisoners, and transported into *France*. *Monsieur de Estres* after this, commanded the Castle to be demolished, together with other Posts that might serve for any Defence, as also all the Houses standing upon the Island. This being done, he departed from thence the twenty seventh day of the said Month of *December*, and arrived again in *France* after a prosperous Voyage.

He arriveth there.

He landeth Men.

And attacketh the Castle.

The Castle blown up by an accident.

And hence is taken by the French.

Adventures of Captain Cook, in the Year 1678. He is taken by three Spanish Men of War, and Revenge of his Loss by some few Bucaniers that were on board.

IN THE Year 1678. Captain Cook, who followed the Trade of the *West India*, and our several Plantations there, hapned to go into the Bay of *Campeche*, there to load his Vessel with *Log-wood*, as many others had done before. 'Tis about *Campeche*, are a certain place adjoining to the Bay of the *Bucaniers* who usually resort and prepare hides for Shoe-leathering of several Ships that from thence frequent the forementioned Bay, to Trade with them. After he had taken in his Lading, having also some of the *Bucaniers* aboard his Vessel, he set Sail for the Island of *Tabago*, at which place he was to deliver his Cargo: But his Fortune was to fall somewhat short, or *Leward*, in the phrase of the Mariners, of his desired and intended Port. Hereupon, he came to an Anchor at the West-end of a certain Island, called *Rubia*; whereof mention hath been already made in the precedent History of the *Bucaniers*.

Here Captain Cook had not lain long at anchor, expecting a Wind for the prosecution of his Voyage, when he was unexpectedly surprized, and taken by three *Spanish Men of War*. These having possessed themselves of his Ship and Cargo, presently after set both him and his Companions ashore, upon the aforesaid Island. Here therefore being landed, they found a *Dutch Governor* or Officer, with six men in his retinue, who were only settled there to purchase Provisions for their Vessels, that should happen to touch in those Parts.

Our *English* had not been long on this Island, but there happened to come into the Road a *Spanish Boat*, equipped with sixteen or eighteen Men, and laden with *Cacao-nuts*, whereof *Chocolate* is made, and Plate. The *Bucaniers* immediately put it into the thoughts of Captain Cook, to make reprisal upon the Country-men of those who had so lately stript them of all they had: He approving of their Proposals, in order thereunto they acquainted the *Governors* man with their intentions: And withal desired him, under promise of a good Reward, to lend them a small number of *Fusils*, or Guns, wherewith to put these their Designs in execution. The Governor and his Men hearing the promise of so great a Reward, were easily perswaded to accommodate them.

them with Arms at their Request : Six Men therefore of the *Bucaniers*, being thus resolved, and fitted with Arms, placed themselves in *Ambuscade* about that part of the Island, where the Boat of the *Spanish* Sloop was to come ashore. The Boat happening to Land thereabouts, in a small time after, as they desired, they immediately set upon the Men, and took them Prisoners. Having bound them fast upon the Strand, they seized the Boat, and Embarked therein with resolution to take the Vessel it belonged unto ; which they performed in this manner : Two of them they appointed among themselves to row the Boat : two more to charge their Guns ; and the remaining couple were to fire into the *Spanish* Bark, as briskly as they could pour in their shot. In this posture they rowed in the wake, under the Stern of the said Vessel. The *Spaniards* on board, soon perceived they were not to expect their own Men again, but Enemies in lieu of them. Therewith immediately they put themselves into a posture of Defence, and began to handle their Arms. But this they performed so unfortunately on their side, or rather fortunately for the *English*, that the *Bucaniers* killed the *Padre* or *Priest* they had on Board, and the Captain or Master of the Vessel likewise ; whereupon the rest surrendered themselves by throwing their Arms over-board, and craving Quarter for their Lives. Thus, at the same time, they made themselves Masters of the Vessel, and restitution of their former losses.

Here, in the first place, they gave the *Dutch* Governor out of their gains a considerable Present ; and his chief Man they rewarded very liberally for the loan of the Arms afore-mentioned. In the next, they assigned unto Captain *Cook* a valuable consideration for his Losses, and likewise something unto each, and every one of the Mariners that belonged to his Ship. After which, the *Bucaniers* (for these were the chief, or rather only Men concerned in this attempt) divided among themselves nigh Four hundred pound to each, both in Goods and Plate. Thus they set Sail from the Isle of *Rubia*, in the same *Spanish* Bark they had taken, and arrived in few days after at *Jamaica*, where they took out her Lading, and afterwards set fire unto the Bottom, as being unfit for their purpose. Here they paid the Governor his Duties, and Embarked themselves, with their Goods, for *England*, where some of them live in good Reputation unto this day. Yet their Names are desired to be concealed in this place, this Action representing too much of Self-justice, or *petite Piracy*, which is a term they themselves have given unto it.

CHAP. XII.

A brief account of Captain Sharp, and other his Companions; their Voyage from Jamaica unto the Province of Darien, and South-Sea; with the Robberies and Assaults they committed there for the space of three Years, till their return for England, in the Year 1682. Given by one of the Bucaniers, who was present at those Transactions.

WE set Sail from Port-Royal, upon the Island of *Jamaica*, in the Year of our Lord, 1679. Our Fleet consisted of five Sail of Ships, whereof the chief Commanders were named Captain *Crozier*, *Cornelius Essex*, *Robert Allison*, *John Rose*, and Captain *Sharp*. The first Port we went unto, was Port *Moranto*. From hence we steered our Course directly for the Coast of *Cartagena*, or rather for the Islands of *Pinar*, commonly called, *de las Pinar*, not far distant from that Coast. At these Islands we Victualled our Ships, as at other times hath been done by other Men of the like Trade. But in this passage from Port *Moranto* unto the *Pine Islands*, we had the misfortune to lose, by force of Weather, two of our number of Vessels, to wit, Captain *Sharp* and *Cornelius Essex*, both who separated from us in a Storm. However, having taken in what provision of Victuals we thought necessary, we steered from thence towards the Island called *Fuerte*, or *Fort*. Being upon this Course about the middle of the Islands called *Zavallos*, or *Zambullas*, we happened to meet with a French Man of War, who was mounted with eight Guns, and who kept in our Company for some days. His Commission was but for a small space of time, as being only for three Months. We shewed him our Commission, which was now for three years to come. This we had purchased at a cheap rate, having only given for it the sum of Ten *Ducats*, or Pieces of Eight. But the truth of the thing was, that at first our Commission was made only for the space of three months, the same date as the French Mans was; whereas among our selves, we had contrived to make it last for three years; for with this we were resolved to seek our Fortunes.

Having ranged for some while up and down the Islands, which in those Seas are pretty frequent, and finding nothing that could give us satisfaction, We at last resolved to attempt *Parado Vela*, which formerly had been taken and sacked by Sir *Henry Morgan*, and others, both English and French, hoping his Fortune would favor our Atoms, and that we should bring away no less Booty than he had done before.

They attempt Parado Vela, and take it the second time.

Unto

Unto this effect, we thought it convenient to leave our Ships at certain Islands, not far distant from *Puerto Velo*, and put our Men into fourteen or fifteen Canow's, which we had taken for that purpose. With these we landed at a considerable distance from the Town and Port, and were constrained, after landing, to travel three whole Nights before we could reach the Place. By day we concealed our selves in the Woods, and took our rest; for then we dared not to travel, fearing lest we should be discovered by the *Spaniards*, our mortal Enemies, whom we intended to Plunder: Yet notwithstanding, all the care we could possibly take, we were at last, before we came to the Town, discovered by a *Negro*, who ran before us unto the place and gave intelligence of our coming. Hereupon, perceiving we were descryed, we hastened our March after his steps as fast as we could, and got into the Town before he could raise the Citizens, or any considerable Body of defence could be formed against us. Thus we possessed our selves of the City without any considerable loss on our side, and plundered all we could find in the Houses, and elsewhere. Our stay here was but short, for fear lest the Enemy should rally against us, or pour in the Country upon our small Forces, and thus intercept our retreat: Especially, we having left our Ships at the Islands above-mentioned, and being only Masters of a few Canows to convey us over the Seas unto them. Having been therefore in possession of the Town the space of two days and two nights, we resolved to quit it, and return unto our Ships. We divided amongst us, out of the booty, about forty pound sterling to each Man, beside what extraordinary shares, were drawn by our Officers, the Owners of the Vessels, Carpenters, Surgeons, and those who lost any Limbs, or were killed in this Expedition, according to the customary Laws of the *Bucaniers*, which are described in the History of these People, but lately Printed. In this Exploit of taking the Town of *Puerto Velo*, our number was not above that of two hundred men, the residue being left behind, both to man and defend our Ships. Yet notwithstanding, these who guarded the Ships, had their shares equally distributed unto them, as well as those who went on shore. In all, our whole number might consist of three hundred fighting Men, which we brought out from *Jamaica* with us; not many more, if I well remember: the which point I forgot to tell you, at the beginning of this Relation.

They take a
Barco de a-
vísó.

Being returned on board our Ships, we cruized so and so for some days, hoping to find some other purchase by Sea, as we had done by Land. But nothing could we meet withal that would stay our thirst and hunger after more prey: Only being upon a certain Tack, we happened to meet with a Spanish *Bares de avísó*, or *Packet-Boat*, which was called *St. Rose*, mounted only with six Guns, and which was bound for *Spain*, or from thence to the *West-Indies*, with Letters and Intelligence

gence concerning the *Galeons*, or *Flotas*, and other State-Affairs, as they are usually sent every Year by the Catholick King unto his Vice-Roys, or Governors in those parts, or else by them unto his Majesty, upon the foresaid account. This little Ship therefore, we immediately set upon and took, but found not so much in her as would answer our expectations. Neither the Letters they had on Board, could we reach, from which we might possibly have learned something which would have pleased our Fancies, or flattered our hopes for some while; for the *Spaniards* cast them into the Sea, when they saw themselves in danger of being taken, before we could possess our selves of the Vessel; which was done according to the strict, and almost inviolable Orders, the Captains of these *Packet-Boats*, or *Navios de aviso*, for so they are also named; that is, *Packet-Ships*, do constantly receive from the King of Spain; unto which effect also they take an Oath, viz. To cast their Letters over-board, and not deliver them up to any Enemy whatsoever. Conformable to this Point, all the Captains of the *Galeons* belonging to the King of Spain, when they are entrusted with that charge, are likewise solemnly sworn, to sink, burn, or otherwise to destroy their Ships, rather then permit them to be taken by an Enemy, for fear of enriching him, not so much with those their great Vessels, as with the Treasure they bring home.

After taking the *Packet-Boat* before-mentioned, perceiving our Vessels to be foul, we steered our Course for *Boca del Toro*, there to careen our Ships. This place is already mentioned in the History of the *Bucaniers*, and is often frequented by Pyrats for the same purpose. Here we met with Captain *Peter Harris*, in a Dutch Ship of Thirty two Guns, and also with Captain *Richard Sawkins*, who was in a small *Brigantin*, mounted only with Four Guns. Both these Ships had put in there, either to careen, or refresh themselves with Water, and other Provisions.

They careen at
Boca del toro.

Having cleansed and careen'd our Bottoms to our satisfaction, We afterwards cruized again, for some while, in hopes of finding some such Purchase as we most desired. But, being frustrated of our Expectations, at last we resolved to quit again our Ships, and land on the Coast of *Darien*, thinking there to find what we so long had sought for; or at least Plunder and Pillage some Towns belonging to that Coast. This Resolution therefore we presently put in Execution, and standing over towards the Land of *Darien*, we soon after went on shoat there, and began to range up and down the Woods, designing to take some Prisoners who might serve us with Intelligence, and be our Guides, as being totally ignorant of the Country. Here we found an *Indian* that could speak *Spanish*, whom therefore we examined very strictly, Where the Gold and Silver of that Country did lie; for we had heard, that both these coveted Metals were digged out, or found

They land on
the Coast of
Darien.

in some parts of that Province, by the *Spaniards*. He told us, That not far distant from thence, there was a place called *Tocamora* (for so it was named) which was the receptacle Town of all the Gold that was found in those Parts, saying often unto us in the *Spanish* Language, and repeating these words, *Mucho oro ay en Tocamora*, that is, *A great deal of Gold lyeth at Tocamora*, and that he would guide us unto it. With these Promises we were infinitely encouraged, and resolved not to return unto our Ships, until such time as we had made some considerable Booty, at least sufficient for one Voyage, to satisfy our earnest Appetite of Gold. We landed in *Darien*, according to what I can best remember, either about the latter end of *March*, or the beginning of *April*, in the Year 1680. when began the chiefest and hardest of our Adventures, both by Land and Sea; those I have rehearsed, being only the *Preludium's* of such as were to follow.

Are advised to
serve an Indi-
an-Emperor.

By the way, as we marched towards *Tocamora*, under the Conduct of our *Indians*, we took other Prisoners, and learned from them other things. That the *Indians* of that Country hated mortally the *Spaniards*, and were at enmity with them: That they had a Chief Captain, or Leader, whom they stiled *Emperor*, and who would be glad of our assistance against the *Spaniards*, by whom he had been much wronged, and was therefore with them in open and continual War. That in recompence of our Service, he would certainly lead us unto those places where most Gold and Silver was to be had, these being unjustly detained from him, and where it was but fighting for it, and having more then we should be able to carry away. These Allurements put our minds upon new Designs, and were sufficient to entice us to present our Auxilliary Service unto the Emperor of that Country, as judging it more convenient to be put in possession, or rather led unto those so vastly rich places, by the Emperor and the *Indians* themselves, then to have both *Indians* and *Spaniards* all at once against us; especially, in a Foreign Country, where we knew not one step of our way.

They serve the
Emperor of
Darien.

Thus, after an intercourse of some few Messengers who were sent to and fro, we came at last (not to be too tedious in this Narrative) unto a view and amicable Parley with the Emperor himself in Person, who readily accepted of our Service, and promised himself great matters from our aid and assistance against the *Spaniards*. He failed not to promise us great heaps of Gold, would we but fight courageously under his Conduct, and regain those Places from the *Spaniards*, where they were most certainly to be found. These things we easily believed, as feasible, and therefore as readily did embrace his Propositions: Yet, should we fail of our Designs, we had still other things under consideration, which might in great probability be as profitable, and turn to the same account. The sum of these was, to descend by
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the River of *Darien*, or any other, into the *South-Sea*, and there to rove up and down until such time as we could meet any rich Prize, or *Galien*, coming from *Lima* to *Panama*; or else to Plunder again either the City of *Panama*, or any other, of so many rich Towns and Villages as are known to border upon the Coasts of that Sea. As for Shipping, though we had it not at present, yet we feared not to obtain it by the help of those Canows we should employ to carry us down the River. After which, we considered it would be no great difficulty to return homewards, either round about the Streight of *Magallants*, which Navigation, though difficult, had been performed by others; or thorow the same Country of *Darien*, where we were at present. Thus we engaged, about the number of Three hundred Men, in the Service of this *Indian* Emperor, whom we took for our Leader, in company of many others of his own Subjects, who were to back our Designs, as we intended to lead the Van of most Attempts. The Name of this Emperor afore-mentioned was *Andreas*, from whence we guessed, that some foot-steps of Christianity had been planted in his Country by the *Spaniards*, and that either he or his Ancestors had been by them Baptized, though at present they seemed to regard but little what belonged unto Christian Religion. He had also a Son, whose name was *Augustin*, and unto whom we made bold, among our selves, to give the name of King *Golden-cap*, from a certain Cap or Hat of pure and massive Gold, which he had then upon his Head when first we saw him.

*They take the
Town of Santa
Maria.*

The first Enterprize which the said Emperor propounded unto us, was to take the Town of *Santa Maria*, situate pretty near unto the Southern Sea, and at the distance of several days Journey from the place where these things were agreed upon. This Town, as it was said, had been taken from the Emperor by the covetous *Spaniard*, and was reported to be hugely rich in dust of Gold, which there was gathered in great quantity out of a River that runneth through the Country. Here was a Fort, and a Town pretty well Garrison'd, as having between both, about 400 *Spaniards* for their defence, and to guard the Treasure which there was lodged, of Gold-dust, as hath been said. We marched therefore in company of the Emperor *Andreas* (who always went before us, and encouraged our Men where-ever they fought) the space of three days Journey, to meet his Son King *Golden-cap*, at his own Habitation, or Palace, as lying in our way, and he being to joyn with us in this Expedition. He entertained us very nobly at this Palace for a day or two, and sent us also presents of Victuals to meet us by the way, having heard of our coming. From thence we departed with our entire little Camp, the Emperor and his Son, in quest of the Town of *Santa Maria*, as yet distant from thence no less than four or five days Journey. After several Fatigues sustained by the

way, together with the loss of some of our Canows, by the downfalls of the Rivers, and Trees likewise, which the *Spaniards* had cast therein to hinder our Passage, we arrived by Night within two or three miles of *Santa Maria*, and there reposed our selves in the Woods until the next Morning.

Are disappointed of their expectations.

Day being come, we marched towards the Town, and gave the Assault unto the Place and Fort: Both which we carried, or possessed our selves of with no great difficulty, and an inconsiderable loss on our side, as consisting only of three Men, though several others were wounded. Of the *Spaniards* we killed and wounded above one hundred. The Fort was encompassed with *Palizada's*, called also by the *Spaniards*, *Estacada's*, or huge strong and thick pales of Wood. Having taken the Fort and Town, and examined our Prisoners very severely, concerning the Treasure we there expected to find, all that we got out of them, was very inconsiderable, in order to answer the huge expectations we had conceived in our minds. For the *Spaniards* having timely notice of our March, had conveyed away unto remoter places, towards *Panama*, some few days before, all that was valuable upon the Place: So, that our disappointment here in this particular, was very great, and all that ever we could rob and pillage, either in the Town or Fort, scarce amounted unto twenty pound weight of Gold, and some small quantity of Silver.

Our stay here at *Santa Maria* was but short, not above the space of two days, our resolutions being to seek revenge for the huge loss, or rather disappointment, we had sustained of our vast Expectations. We had here Intelligence given us of some Mine or Mines of Gold, that were somewhere to be found farther on about this place, called *St. Marias River*, but whether it might prove to be worth our time and labour to go seek them, (especially considering we knew not how to come at the Gold, when we should find them out, and that the *Spaniards* and Miners, or Slaves, would be all fled, transporting with them what was already digged out) we could not easily determine. Hereupon, we all unanimously agreed to visit the *South-Sea*, unto which we were already very near, in those Canows we had brought with us, which were sufficient for our number, concluding either to attack *Panama*, and ransack it anew, as *Sir Henry Morgan* had done before us; or at least, that we should meet with some considerable prize in that Sea, where Ships do navigate so quietly, and but few Pyrats were ever seen.

They proceed to Panama.

Thus having taken in what Provisions we thought necessary, we fell down the River in our Canows, taking the opportunity of the Tide, and arrived the next day at the Mouth of the River, in sight of the *South-Sea*. Here we were all in danger of being lost with our Canows, the wind blowing extream hard, and causing a violent Storm, which

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over-whelmed one of our Canows with seven or eight Men, who had all inevitably perished, had they not been taken up with the utmost extremity of danger of others, who ventured their Lives to save them. This River we went down into the *South-Sea*, I think was called *Darien*, though I cannot be very positive herein. Being now come into the *Pacifick*, or *South-Sea*, we Sailed, or Rowed along the Shoar towards *Panama*, which is not far distant from the Mouth of the River, where we disembogued, touching at several places or little Islands in our way, to take in Water, or search for Provisions for our Fleet of Canows. All this while we had in our Company the Emperor and his Son *Golden-cap*, together with the *Indians* they brought into the Field, so that we were a pretty considerable Fleet of Fisher-boats, or Canows: Each Canow had six, eight, or ten Men on board, yea some had fourteen, and more. At *Plantin-Isle*, which Isle lieth between the Mouth of the River we came out at, and *Panama*, we seized a *Spanish Bark*, which had a considerable number of Men on board, ^{we} believe above 100, but nothing else that was worth our acceptance. ^{It's} Vessel we took in hopes of a good Prize, and withal, to mend our selves in Shipping, for this was now the biggest Bottom we had.

By this time, those of *Panama* had received advice of our Adventures at *Santa Maria*, as also of our coming into the *South-Sea*, either ^{They fight three} in quest of that City, or of some other hazardous Attempt. ^{small Men of} They were therefore infinitely Alarum'd at these News, and in great haste had thrust out to Sea three or four small Vessels or Barks, though pretty well Manned, which they called, *la Armadilla*, or *They* Fleet, out of design to guard their Coasts, and oppose our *Ad pla*. Thus, the very next day, we came into the *South-Sea*, one *Span* Barks belonging to the *Armadilla*, came up with us, and very *gan* y fired at our Fleet, as if they would fight us all; but soon tacked ^{about}, and bid us adieu, having killed us one Man, and wounded six or seven more. Two days after, we met with three more of these Barks belonging to the *Armadilla* of *Panama*, whereof the one had on Board, as well as I can remember, ninety Men; another had fourscore; and the third, threescore and five. These small Men of War met with us at a great disadvantage, for that Morning we had sent away the *Spanish Bark*, which we had taken at *Plantin-Isle*, to seek for fresh Water at some places, we having been disappointed of it where we had sought for it before; and to the intent she might go the faster, and peradventure bring us some good purchase by the way, we had put on Board her above One hundred of our best Men: So that what Bottoms we had left, were only Canows, and in them not above Two hundred good fighting Men, for of the *Indians* we made no great account, as wanting both our Arms, and experience to manage them. The *Armadilla* came up with full Sail unto us, and engaged us very stoutly, thinking to take

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or every Canow in our Fleet; but we knowing force any quarter could be expected at their hands, especially in those Seas, we resolv'd never to surrender, and do the utmost of our endeavour to destroy them, or make them fly. Thus after the first Volleys of shot, we presently encompassed one of these little Men of War with our Canows, and as desperately ran him aboard with Sword and Pistol in hand, causing him suddenly to surrender. Being in possession of him, we took another of their small number, and forced the third away towards the Town of *Panama*, with all the Sail he could make: This *Rencontre*, or Engagement, tho' but short, yet was very bloody; especially on the *Spaniards* side, and sharp: For in it we had a dozen of our men kill'd outright, and almost forty, who were desperately wounded. How many the *Spaniards* lost, or had wounded among them, we could not learn; especially in the third Vessel, which fought us all along very briskly, and stood close to it for a good while, even after the other two were taken; so that we could not do otherwise, than commend the courage of those *Spaniards*.

And took two
of them.

They block up
the Road of Pa-
nama.

The *Armada* being destroyed, we proceeded to the Road of *Panama*, the which we instantly blocked up with our Canows, and other Vessels, which now were three or four. Here in the Harbor, and at the mouth thereof, we took five or six Vessels more, or rather Ships, between great and small; but no great booty in them: Amongst these only was one, called *La Trinidad*, or, *The Blessed Trinity*, which was a Ship of four hundred Tuns, and in which we found about threecore thousand *Pieces of Eight*, that were sent to pay the Garrison of the Town, or for some other effect. In this Ship, being a good, strong, and tight Vessel, we came afterwards for *England*: The dividend of this Prize amounted unto above 240 *Pieces of Eight* to each man: yet had we good fortune in not being disappointed of this purchase, as we had been oftentimes before in other Adventures: For tho' we had blocked up the mouth of the Road, and lay, as I have said, before *Panama*, yet this Ship gave us the slip, and got into the Harbor in the dark of the Night, both unseen and unknown to us. However, we having intelligence thereof, entred the Harbor when they thought themselves in safety, and had the good luck to seize, and make a prize of her, tho' not without some small loss of men. Both in this and other skirmishes, we lost in all, before *Panama*, Forty Men, and had about fifty more wounded; so that now our small number was almost, if not quite, reduced unto two third parts thereof. The Wounded we all put into one Vessel, which we appointed to be the Hospital of our Fleet, and the other Vessels we Mann'd as well as our number would afford to do it. After having staid some days before *Panama*, and blocked up the Road, we weigh'd Anchor, and went unto a little Island named *Taboga*, there to provide our selves with severall necessaries, which

were

were at that instant something scarce with us. As for the Town of Panama it self, we dared not to attempt it with so small a number of Men, they being well provided to give us a hot Reception: Only once we Landed one hundred and fifty Men, which were as many as we could well spare, from manning and defending our Fleet of Canows and Ships; but found we could do no good agaisst the Town, being repulsed with some damage, the which, notwithstanding, we made a good Retreat unto our Fleet.

Being almost ready to raise the Blockade of Panama, Captain John Coxen, or Correa, began to vary in his Resolutions, and at last openly to mutiny against the rest of the Company. The effect hereof was, that he departed from us, and returned back with the Emperor and his Son King Golden-Copp, and all the Indians and Canows they had brought with them, carrying also with him fifty of our English Company, and the best Chyrurgeon of the Fleet, who belonged unto him, and who would not go without his Instruments to work withal, that is to say, the Medicaments, the which we very much wanted for our wounded men. What Medicines he left behind were not considerable, in comparison of what he carried away: But this point we knew not till afterwards, or we should have torn in pieces the said Chyrurgeon and his Master, rather than have parted with those things, of which we had so much necessity. This piece of dishonour of Capt. Coxen weakened much our Forces, and diminished in great measure our number; for had he taken care of, or carried away our wounded men, we should not much have resented his departure; the Indians being of no considerable help unto us. But here, that he may be known, I will not omit to tell you, that the chief occasion of his grudge against us, was, because we reproached him for his ill behaviour in the Engagement we had with the Armadilla of Panama: For, in that dangerous Action, to speak it all in a word, he shewed himself more like a Coward than one of our Profession; that is to say, a true Buccanier. What Adventures he and his Company met withal after they separated from us, I cannot give any just account thereof; only that as we started afterwards, he went back unto the mouth of the River, and over land much by the same way he had come before, till he came to the North Sea, (where doubtless he found the Ships we had left behind us) being civilly entertained all along by those Indians, and the good Emperor Andreas, and his Son, tho' he had done them no great service; which sheweth the civility of those Indians, and what Inclinations they had for us English, rather than the Spaniards, their ancient Masters. Thus we disengaged from the pretended Service we had proffered unto that Emperor; I call it pretended, forasmuch as any one would easily guess, that the real intent thereof was only to serve our selves with Gold and Silver, and learn Intelligence from those Indians where it was to be had,

They mutiny among themselves, and separate.

or what is more obvious, to be led by them unto its especially considering that had we gone any other way about this matter, it might have cost us every one our Lives: For these *Indians of Darien* are very fierce and cruel, and are the same people that killed, and tore in pieces, that famous *Bucanier,OLONOIS* (of whom you may read many notable exploits in the History of the *Bucaniers*) and many other of his Companions, for landing upon, and offering violence to their Country and Habitations.

Our constant resolutions were, not to go back nor return homeward until such time as we had made a diligent search into those *South Seas*, and freighted, if possible, our Vessels with Gold, or at least as much Silver as they could carry. Such vast expectations had we framed now unto our selves, in the vain *Idea's* of our minds. *Capt. Croxen*, who commanded in chief, being separated, or departed from us, we chose in his place *Capt. Sawkins* and *Capt. Sharp* to Lead us, and were now reduced unto two hundred men, whereof many, as was said before, lay dangerously wounded in the Hospital Vessel.

They land at *Puebla Nova*. Having therefore refitted our selves at the Island of *Taboga*, which is situated over against the Road of *Panama*, we sailed from thence about the middle of May, 1680. in quest of some other purchase or design, coasting the Shore towards the Northern Parts of *America*, commonly called *California*. We persisted in our course the space of eight or ten days, in all which time nothing remarkable happened unto us; till at the end thereof we arrived at the Isles of *Quiblo*, where there is a Town, called by the *Spaniards* *Puebla Nova*.

But are repulsed. We Landed to seek Provisions, and by the by to plunder what we could get; but the Country being alarm'd since our blocking up the Road of *Panama*, they had put themselves into an indifferent good posture of Defence, and hereupon watched for our coming, and were resolved to entertain us as warm as they could. *Capt. Sawkins* therefore Led before the rest, as being a man of undaunted Courage; and runn up with a small Party to some Breast-works they had made before the Town, was here unfortunately kill'd, more through his own temerity and the rashness of his Conduct, than any other cause. Those who followed could not possibly rescue him, as being not yet quite Landed. Besides him two or three more were killed, and five or six wounded which caused the residue of those he had led up, to retreat unto the Water-side as fast as they could. Thus we were beaten off from that place, and got nothing but blows for our pains.

A second mutiny. This disaster occasion'd a second mutiny amongst our men: Our Commanders were not thought to be Leaders fit enough for such great, and hazardous enterprises. Now *Capt. Sharp* was left in Chief, and he was censured for his rashness: The Contest grew so hot, and came to that degree, that we were divided again into Parties, and about threescore and ten more

of our Men fell off from us, separated and returned back over Land, as *Cruce* and the others had done before. Others, who commanded Vessels, threw up their Commissions (I can only name unto you Capt. *Cot* for one) in whose room others were plac'd, to Command their Ships. Thus all things were in great distraction, and our Company decreased daily; yet others held constant to their resolutions, and were still determin'd to be buried in those Seas, rather than to return home without the Gold they had sought for so long, and through so many dangers. At the mouth of the River belonging to this place, we surprized a Bark, or great Boat, which was laden with *Maine*, or *Indian* Wheat, which stood us in very good stead at that present; for Provisions now again began to grow somewhat scarce with us. Our Commander now was Capt. *Sharp*, and our number was only of one hundred and thirty, or not quite one hundred and forty.

We sailed from *Puebla Nova*, and steer'd our course for the Islands *They depart for the Isles of Galapagos.* called *de los Galapagos*, or in English, *Tortoise Islands*, from the huge number of *Tortoises* which there are to be found. These Islands which are seven or eight, all comprehended under the same Name, lye very close unto, if not under the *Equinoctial* Line: There we intended to careen our Vessels and seek more Provisions; but the Winds proving contrary for a long while, we could not reach them, and were constrained to take up for the same purpose, with another little Island called *Gorgonia*, where indifferent good accommodation was found for refitting our Ships. Here we careen'd and got in Provisions, staying *careen at Gorgonia.* here for these two intents above a Month, so that it was towards the latter end of *July* before we departed from thence: Three or four days after we set out from *Gorgonia*, we lost Capt. *Sharp* in the dark of the Night, and with him the best Vessel we had, which was the *Trinity*, the same Ship which we had taken out of the Harbor of *Panama*. This loss occasion'd sundry distractions in our minds, not knowing what would become of us after so many misfortunes: He was gone from us a whole Fortnight or thereabouts; neither had we any hopes of finding him any more, till at last, we hapning to put in at *Drakes Isle* to seek for Provisions, he happily arriv'd there three days after, which caus'd in us infinite joy, he having the best Vessel, and stoutest Men on board him: Yea, we had miss'd of him this time likewise, and perhaps for ever, had we not, by a misfortune of sinking our Canow, which was sent ashore, carried there one day longer than we determin'd.

Having sail'd from *Drakes Isle*, we arriv'd in seven or eight days after, over against *Gnayaquil*: Hereabouts, by night, we took a little *They take a Spanish Man of War, like unto the Vessel of the Armadilla of Panama.* *Man of War.* who was come out from *Gnayaquil*, and in a trice blew *Spanish Bravado*, had undertaken to take, or destroy us with that little Tool, and only

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only thirty or forty men. The *Argandonia*, of which Name and Family there have been several Sea Commanders, in this age were skilful and courageous men. The Vessel we thought at first being of no use unto us, and wanting men to man her, we lost none of our men, and only three were wounded, whose *Spaniards* lost, I do not remember. The Prisoners told us, that our men, who had deserted us at *Puebla Nova*, had not far from *Guayaguil*, and that all of them were killed by the inhabitants of an Island where they landed, excepting only one, of the rest, I have not yet learn'd. It was the only Ship of this Bark against us, little thinking perhaps, that a Ship of four hundred Tun under us, and only being perswaded they should meet with some such little Bark or Canoe as that was, whose men their Neighbours had destroyed a little before.

Another prize
taken.

About a Week or ten days after, we took another Prize more valuable than the former: This was a Ship of three hundred Tun, called *St. Peter*, and was loaden with Cacao-nuts, Broad-cloth, Timber, and other Goods, and was bound for *Lima*, which is the Capital City of *Peru*. We took out of her what we most wanted, or thought fit for our designs, and having cut down the main Mast, let her go with all the Prisoners we had, and most of the Provisions that was on board her. This was about the beginning of September, 1680. as my Notes tell me.

Towards the latter end of October we descried the Land of *Arica*, having sustained before hand, for many days, infinite hunger and thirst. For Provisions at length grew so scarce with us, that we were allowed only five ounces of meal, and one pint of water to each man; the Captain himself having no more allowance than the rest: yea, at last, some were found among us, who gave 30 pieces of Eight for a pint of water, and very glad they were to get it: so near starving we were when we came to *Arica*. Here we could land no men, the Sea was so big, which made us go to a Port close by called *He lo he*.

Are repulsed at
He lo he by
Arica.

At this Port we landed, and found some Provisions, especially at a Sugar-work not far distant from thence. Here we refreshed, and feasted our selves pretty well for three or four days. The *Spaniards* came unto us with a Flag of Truce, and promised to bring us in good store of Beefs and Hogs, as many as we demanded, provided we would spare their *Ingenio de azucar*, or Sugar-work, and not pull it down, which we promised so to do. But two days after these treacherous *Spaniards* sent 300 Horsemen against us instead of bringing the Cattel, with full intent to destroy us if possibly they could. We drew out our men into a Plain, and at the first Volley killed several of them, which made them wheel about, and instantly retire: though at first they came very fierce

we retired to our Vessels, knowing no
 were at that time, nor at Arica; for, by
 Country was alarmed against

arrived at *Coquimbo*, upon which *They take Ca-*
 venge our former affronts at *Arica*. Here we *Quimbo.*
 Horse just at our landing, which always
 set upon us with great fury, and made
 our men that were landed, thinking to
 and cut us all in pieces. But we stood
 to our arms very courageously, killed and wounded several of them,
 and routed them soon, having only one man wounded on our side.
 We followed them close at their heels into the Town, which we in-
 stantly took with no loss at all. This action was performed with on-
 ly fourscore men, a few more or less, and the first Party that fought
 the Horse were under forty. When we came into the Town, we found
 it was of a considerable bigness, and had no less than eight or nine
 Churches, which made us fear there were more Inhabitants than we
 could master, as being so few in number that it were impossible to
 fight our way through them, should they come to a head and make any
 resistance. As therefore we met the Inhabitants, we told them, they
 must repair to the Church, or Churches, or else expect no quarter
 from them, that were following us, who were many hundreds in
 number; for we were only the forerunners of a greater body of Pirates
 that were at our heels. Having so done, and got several Churches
 full of the Inhabitants, we placed at each door a Barrel of Gunpow-
 der with a Train to it, and a man standing with a lighted Match, who
 told them, that if they offered to stir out, he would presently give fire;
 but none offered to attempt it. So that by this means, while the In-
 habitants remained in that Confinement, we plundered the Town at
 our leisure. Here we found great store of Provisions of all sorts; for
 the Town is very pleasant, and finely adorned with Orchards of Fruit,
 Vineyards and Gardens. At *Coquimbo* is also Gold-dust to be found
 in a River that runneth close by the place. Here another piece of
 Treachery was put upon us by the Governor of the Town. After a
 Flag of Truce, and some Complements sent to and fro between us, he
 came to an amicable Parley with our Captain, and only two more, one
 on each side, where they drank very friendly together upon a Hill close
 by the Town, he keeping the Fields with his Horsemen, and all those
 that were fled out of the Town. There he promised to ransom the
 Town from Fire, for Ninety five thousand Pieces of Eight, which
 should be sent us in within a day or two. But that night, or the next,
 they contrived to fire our Ship, an *Indian* swimming aboard un-
 der the Stern with a Ball of combustible matter, which he fixed there

*Their Strata-
 gem against the
 Inhabitants.*

*Are forced to
retreat from
them.*

unseen to our men : so that had it not been discovered by the stink before it burst out into a flame, we had all, both on shoar and land, inevitably perished. The next day they half drowned the Town, by letting in many Sluces of Water upon us ; by which acts of Hostility and Treachery, we perceived no Faith nor Mony, more than vvhhat we had already got, was to be expected from them. Thus we set Fire to the Town, staying as long as we could, till it was all in a Flame, locked up the doors of the Churches, and marched out, fighting our way dovvvn to our Boats, which vve easily did, for they made no great opposition after the first Vollicies of our Shot, vvvhich killed some fevv of them. Here we set Captain *Argandona* on shoar, Captain *Peralta*, who vvvas taken in the Ship that vvvas bound for *Lima*, and other Prisoners which vve had still remaining on board our Vessel, and vvvhom vve all along entertained very vvell. We vvvere in possession of the Town of *Coquimbo* only four or five days, and for our Booty vve brought away *Five hundred pound weight of Plate*, besides Jewvels, Goods, and other things.

*Another muti-
ny, among them.*

From *Coquimbo* vve sailed to the Isles of *Juan Fernandez*, vvwhere vve kept our Christmase, that Year 1680. finding there good plenty of Provisions, and as much dissention among our Men, vvwho vvould not return home that year, as our Captain would have them to do, but make a farther search for Gold, or golden Prizes, into those Seas. But the true occasion of their grudge was, that Captain *Sharp* had got by these adventures, as it was said, almost a thousand pound, whereas many of our men were scarce worth a groat : and good reason there was for their poverty ; for at the *Isle of Plate*, called by us *Drakes Isle*, and other places, they had lost all their money to their fellow *Bucaniers*, at dice ; so that some had a great deal, and others just nothing. Those who were thrifty men sided with Captain *Sharp*, and were for returning home ; but the others chose another Commander, by name *John Watling*, and turned *Sharp* out of his Commission, pretending they could do it, as being a free election. And so they might do, for they were the greatest number by far ; and power may pretend to any thing. This contest had like to have come to blows among us ; but some prudent men moderated the matter, and perswaded Captain *Sharps* Party to have patience for a while ; at least seeing they were the fewest, and had moneys to lose, which the other Party had not.

*Watling made
Commander.*

*They intend to
plunder Arica.*

By order of our new Commander *Watling*, we set sail presently after the beginning of the New Year 1681. from the Isles of *Juan Fernandez*, and were resolved to go and plunder *Arica*, both to find employment for our discontented Party, as being a vastly rich place, and to remember them for the shams put upon us at *He lo be* or *Tlo*. Just as we were ready to sail, three Men of War came upon us, one of eight, another of twelve, and the third of sixteen Guns. We had not so much

much as one Gun, for all our Vessel was of four hundred Tun, or more. Neither had we now more than one Ship, we having sunk the *May-flower*, wherein Captain Cox sailed, upon the Coast of *Guayaquil*, by reason we had broken her Boltspirit with the Stern of the *Trinity*, which had her in a tow, and could not fit her with another. These Ships now being three against one, and we not able to divide them, as we endeavoured to do, by running on board their Admiral, before the rest could come up, we thought fit to run for it. So we did, bidding them adieu in the Night, and steering directly, as I have mentioned, for *Arica*.

We landed at *Arica*, and fought the Town with ninety three men, which number was all we could conveniently spare. We got into the Town, and took several of their Brest-works, yet were repulsed from the Castle, and afterwards beaten out of the Town by the Country People, who poured in upon us in huge numbers; so that we were forced to retreat unto our Boats, fighting our way through above one thousand men, who were gathered against us: This was the hardest shock we had in all the South Sea. Captain *Watling* our Commander in chief was here killed; through whose ill Conduct, as it was thought, this Misfortune hapned unto us. For had he assaulted the Fort in time, before the People and Souldiers that ran out of the Town were got into it, we had undoubtedly carried all before us. But he trifled away his time in giving Quarter and taking Prisoners upon the Brestworks, till at last, we had more Prisoners than we could command. We placed some of these Prisoners before the front of our Men; when we assaulted the Castle, just as Sir *Henry Morgan* did the Nuns and Friars at *Puerto Voló*; but the Spaniards fired as well at them as at us. In a word, we lost here forty men, nine of which were taken Prisoners, being our Chyrurgions and others, while they were dressing the Wounded at the Hospital; which loss of our Chyrurgions encreased our damage very much, and only forty two or forty three were left servicable to fight our way through so many hundred of Foot and Horse unto our Boats; we not losing one man by the way, though several were wounded. So much did we awe them with our Fuzces, and so afraid were they to break in upon us, though we were almost three miles from our Boats. This Repulse vve resented more than any other vve ever sustained before, being here was more Plate and Gold then vve could vvell carry away, by reason it is the *Embarcadero*, or Place vvhich all the vast Riches that are brought from the Mountains of *Potosy* are shipped off for *Panama*, from vvhence it goeth into *Spain*. Now Captain *Sharp* vvas chosen again, his Conduct being thought safer than any other mans, and they having had trial of another Leader. Our Chyrurgions vve left behind, had Quarter from the Enemy, they being able to do good service in that Coun-

They take the Town, yet are beaten off.

Country, but our wounded men were all knockt on the head, as we understood afterwards. This misfortune fell to us on the 30th of January, being King Charles his day, as I can remember by some tokens.

They land at
Gusco.

Having set Sail from *Arica*, we cruized to and fro for the space of six weeks, but could meet with nothing that was for our purpose. By this time provisions grew scarce again, and our men began to mutiny anew; some being for going home, and others for staying longer till they had got more monies. To find them employment we put in at a place called *Gusco*. Here we landed some of our men, took some prisoners, and got in provisions, but did nothing else considerable. We landed again afterwards within two Leagues of *Ylo*, or *He lo be*, where we took many Prisoners, and thanked them for their former kindness unto us, which we had not yet forgotten, as they found by experience this time.

They mutiny a-
gain, and are
deserted by ma-
ny.

After this, about the middle of *April*, 1681. our dissensions grew so high among us, that above 40 more of our men deserted us, and in Boats and Canows rowed away from us, to go home over land through the Province of *Darien*, as their Companions had done before. They steered their course in quest of *St. Maries River*, belonging to that Country, as was mentioned before: Their chief grudge was against Captain *Sharp*, whom they envied and would not obey; neither would we be brought to chuse another Commander, knowing that neither by that means we should ever be able to keep them quiet. Thus we parted with them, allowing them what was necessary for their Voyage, or they rather taking it away with them: But we would not quarrel about it. Now our Company and Forces were extremely weakened, but our hearts as yet were good; and though we had met with many disappointments in several places, yet we hoped that at last, by some means or other, we should attain the ends of our desires, which was, to enrich our selves.

They alter the
fashion of their
Ship.

Finding it very cold, and bad weather in the latitude where we were, we sailed Northward, and about the beginning of *May* we came to the Gulf of *Niceya*, where we anchor'd at an Island called *Chero*. Here we took down our upper Deck, and sunk our quarter Deck, and fitted our selves very well to Sea again. This was all performed by help of a *Spanish* Carpenter, and six or seven of his men, who were building some Vessels in a River close by. We rewarded them for their pains with one of our Barks, which we gave them, and for their sakes turned loose all our Prisoners, excepting some *Negro's*, which we detained to do our drudgery. One man was lost here, who was drowned, our drunken men over-turning the Boat as they came from shore.

From *Chere* we went to the Island of *el Cavallo*, where we lost our Interpreter, who had done us good service all along, and at this place ran away from us, as we judged, unto the *Spaniards*, leaving behind him all that he had purchased in the Voyage, which was worth nigh 500 pound in Money and Goods. What should be his intent in this action we could not know, except to betray us unto that Nation.

*Their Interpreter
raneth a-
way.*

He was a *Dutchman* by birth, and his name *James Marquis*, and was very intelligent in the *Spanish Lingua*, and besides that in several others. After his departure we had no great use for an Interpreter, neither now did we much want one; yet in what occasions we had, we made use of one *Mr. Ringrose*, who was with us in all this Voyage, and being a good Scholar, and full of ingenuity, had also good skill in Languages. This Gentleman kept an exact and very curious Journal of all our Voyage, from our first setting out to the very last day, took also all the observations we made, and likewise an accurate description of all the Ports, Towns and Lands we came to. His Papers, or rather his *Diary*, with all his Drafts, are now in the hands of a person of my acquaintance at *Wapping* in *London*, and, as he telleth me, are very nigh being printed, which if it be so, as I hope he will not fail to do it, I shall refer you for the truth of what I have here said, unto those Papers; for I desire to be corrected by them, if in any thing here delivered, my Memory hath failed me; for I am certain he kept all along the best and truest account of all things that happened, beyond any man about us, and observed more Particularities than any one else. Yet I am sure, I have not much deviated from the truth in what is here set down; only that perhaps, I have omitted many things which I have forgotten, my Notes being very short concerning all the Voyage.

*Mr. Ringrose
supplyeth his
place.*

In *June 1681*, We cleaned our Vessel in the Gulf called *Dulce*, which we had not done so long before, and you may easily believe, by this time very foul. Having sailed from thence, towards *el Cabo de San Francisco*, or *Cape St. Francis*, somewhere about that Cape, in *July* we took a Ship, that was bound for *Panama*, and was laden with *Cacao-nuts*, and had besides, some small quantity of Plate on board her. We took out of her the Plate and Goods, and what else we pleased, cut down the Main mast, and so let her go before the Wind towards the Port she was bound unto. About a fortnight after, at *Cabo del Passao*, we took another small Prize which was bound for *Paya* or *Lima*, that being the Harbour, or Landing place of all that goeth up to that great City, the Head of *Peru*. This was only a kind of Packet-Boat, that was going from *Panama* to *Paya*; she ran in under the Shoar when we gave her Chase, and most of the Passengers and other People got to Land, but we took the greater part of them, and distressed them the next day, not knowing what

*They carry
their Ship*

*the town
is at sea
the ship*

*And take two
Prizes.*

to do vvith them, so they vvere forced to foot it over land back again to *Panama*. The Vessel likewise vve turned loose before the Wind, the next day after vve had rummaged her pretty vvell, as having no farther service for her.

They take another considerable Prize.

The next after, vve came up vvith another Sail at *Cape Passan*, (where vve took the Packet-boat) vvhich proved to be one of the greatest Adventures of this vvhole Voyage, if not the greatest of all; had we but knowvn our own happy Fortune, and hovv to make good use of it. This vvvas a ship called *el Santo Rosario*, or the *Holy Rosary*, of an indifferent big burthen, and loaden vvith Brandy and Oyl, Wine, and Fruit, besides good store of other Provisions. They fired at us first, but we came up board to board vvith them, and gave them such Volleys of small shot, that they were soon forced to surrender, having several of their men wounded, their Captain killed, and one only man more.

But are deceived in her cargo.

In this Ship, besides the lading above-mentioned we found also almost 700 Pigs of Plate, but we took them to be some other Metal, especially *Tin*: and under this mistake they were slighted by us all, especially the Captain, and Seamen, who by no perswasions used by some few, who were for having them rummaged, could not be induced to take them into our Ship, as we did most of the other things. Thus we left them on board the *Rosario*, and not knowing what to do vvith the bottom, in that scarcity of men we were under, we turned her away loose unto the Sea: being very glad we had got such good Belly-timber out of her, and thinking little what quantity of rich Metal we left behind. It should seem this Plate was not yet thorowly refined and fitted for to coyn; and this was the occasion that deceived us all. One only Pig of Plate, out of the vvhole number of almost seven hundred, we took into our Ship, thinking to make Bullets of it: and to this effect, or vvhat else, our Seamen were pleased, the greatest part of it was melted or squandered away. Afterwards, when we arrived at *Antego*, we gave the remaining part of it, vvhich was yet about one third thereof, unto a *Bristol* man, vvho knew presently vvhat it vvwas, (though he dissembled vvith us) brought it for *England*, and sold it there for seventy five pound sterling, as he confessed himself afterwards to some of our men. Thus we parted vvith the richest Booty we had gotten in the vvhole Voyage, through our own ignorance and laziness.

What else they took in the same Ship.

In this Ship the *Rosario* we took also a great Book full of Sea-Charts and Maps, containing a very accurate and exact description of all the Ports, Soundings, Creeks, Rivers, Capes, and Coasts belonging to the South Sea, and all the Navigations usually performed by the *Spaniards* in that Ocean. This Book, it seemeth, serveth them for an entire and compleat *Wagenaar*, in those Parts, and for its novelty and curiosity, vvvas presented unto his Majesty after our return into *England*. It hath been since translated into English, as I hear, by his Majesties Order, and

and the Copy of the Translation, made by a Jew, I have seen at *Wapping*; but withal, the Printing thereof is severely prohibited, lest other Nations should get into those Seas, and make use thereof, which is withheld may be reserved only for *England* against its due time. The Seaman, vvho at first laid hold on it, on board the *Rosario*, told us, the *Spaniards* vvere going to cast this Book over-board, but that he prevented them, vvhich notwithstanding vve scarce did give entire credit unto, as knovving in vvhat confusion they all vvere. Had the Captain himself been alive at that time, this his Story vvould have deserved more belief; yet, howsoever, if the *Spaniards* did not attempt to throw this Book into the Sea, at least they ought to have done it for the reasons that are obvious to every mans understanding, and are hinted at before. We parted vvith the *Rosario*, and her Plate, the last day of *July*, 1681.

Here it was, at *Cape Passao*, immediately after our turning away to *Sea*, the *Rosario*, and on the first or second day of *August*, 1681. that we set up our resolutions to seek no farther into those Seas, but to come away for *England* round about the *Streight of Magallanes*, or by *Streight le Maire*. This Voyage we thought less dangerous by far, seeing others had performed it before us, than to go over land, as our Companions went, through such great and imminent dangers, both of *Indians* and *Spaniards*; through which Nations, peradventure, we should be forced to fight our way, almost every step we made: After which, when we came to the *North Sea*, we knew not how to get any Shipping to convey us unto *Jamaica*; for we could not question but our own Ships were either departed long before that time, or at least taken up and carried away by our Companions and Desertors; besides that we had too much goods and luggage to carry over land, taken out of our several prizes, which we were unwilling to lose. Our chief motives for this sudden departure for *England*, were the huge scarcity of men we had at that present; for now our whole number was reduced unto sixty four men, whereof many were not fit to bear Arms, as being Negro's, and others, that had only courage or skill to do our drudgery: This number, we feared, by any farther encounters, might be so far lessened, as scarce to be able to man our Ship, at least to convey us home in safety; whereby, should we weaken it more, we might come to lose all we had got. And now we had purchased in the *Rosario* good store of Provisions, especially of Wine and Brandy, sufficient to last, as we hoped, for such a Voyage; which should we diminish upon farther adventures, we knew not when we should be so well provided again. The last motive was, that most of our men had gotten pretty well by this Voyage, and were afraid to lose by farther adventures, what they had already purchased: For tho' some of our men had made away, or lost all their money at play, yet others were so much the richer by their losses. For these reasons we set Sail from *Cape Passao*, on the third day of *August*, to seek for the *Streight of Magallanes*, or that of *le Maire*; thereby to return into *England*, or at

They resolve to return home.

least, unto the *Leward Islands*.

How long they
were coming.

This Voyage round about the *Streight of Magallanes*, or rather beyond it, as also beyond the *Streight of le Maire*, we performed in just 6 months, a day or two more or less, till we arrived at *Antego* at the end of *January* 1682. having set forth from *Cape Passao*, in the *South Sea*, at the beginning of *August*, 1681. as was said before. In all this long and tedious Voyage, very little hapned unto us that was remarkable, neither had we any encounter with Enemies either by Sea or Land, that is worth rehearsing; only two or three things I shall hint unto you by the by.

They attempt
Payta.

At *Payta*, which is the Landing-place or Harbor belonging to the Court of *Lima*, scituated some few miles distant from the Sea, we endeavoured to land some of our men, upon the side of the Bay: Having manned already our Canows for this intent, with thirty or forty men, which was now the greatest number we could spare, we descried many hundred men, both Horse and Foot, drawn up into Battel Array, who waited for our Landing. By this sight we perceived that we were discovered, and that the whole Country was alarmed against us, whereby we judged it would be the greatest piece of rashness in the World, to go ashore, and throw our selves, being so few, into the mouths of so many Enemies. Hereupon, we gave over the design we had against that rich place, went back into our Ship, and sailed away for the *Streight of Fernando de Magallanes*.

The Duke of
York's Island.

In *October* we had very hard Weather, that we had much ado to keep the Seas. This was, if I well remember, about 50 degrees and an half of Southern Latitude. Here, in this stress of Weather, we spied an high Land, unto which we made, and came to an Anchor in a good Harbor, where we moved our Ship to the Land. Here we stayed all the remaining part of that month, which was about 3 Weeks, Fishing and Fowling for our maintenance, as much as the Weather would permit us, thereby to save our other Provisions. We took one *Indian* Prisoner, but could not learn of him what Country that was, as not understanding his language: We sought for others, but they were fled. These *Indians* are very wild, and do eat raw Flesh: Unto this place we gave the name of the *Duke of York's Island*, more by guess than any thing else; for whether it were an Island or *Continent*, we could not tell, only we conceived it to be so, and that other Islands there might be adjoining unto it. One of our company, whose name was *Sbergall*, was drowned as we went into the Harbor, he falling over-board from the Sprit-Sail-Top.

They miss both
the Streights.

About the beginning of *November*, we set forth again from hence, seeking for the *Streights* either of *Magallanes* or *le Maire*, but could find neither of them, the hardness of the Weather was such, that we missed of them both, and was driven many degrees beyond them: Neither could we make any Land, but came round about such a way, as peradventure any Mortals came before us; yet nothing remarkable did we see, but yet vvithal, except hard Weather, and here and there some

boats

floats of Ice, of two or three Leagues long. We were very nigh 60 degrees of Southern Latitude: This is all I can remember, having not any Journal, nor the particular observations by me, that were taken when the Weather permitted.

Thus we arrived, by Gods infinite mercy, in at the Island of *Barbadoes*, just at the latter end of *January*, 1665. Here a Boat came off *Antego*, to us that belonged to the *Richmond* Frigate: We were afraid of the said Frigate, lest she should seize us for Pyrateering, and strip us of all we had got in the whole Voyage. Hereupon we stood away for the Isle of *Antego*, but could not get leave to come into the Harb^r *Antego*. We obtain it, we sent a Present of Jewels unto the Governor, *Antego*, he would not grant it, and our Jewels were returned us very civilly. We resolved every one to shift for our selves: The Ship in we came home, which was the *Trinity*, as I have said before, take us at *Panama*, we gave away to seven or eight of our men, who had ed away all their mony. Thus we all dispersed, some of our company coming for *England*, others going to *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, *New England*, *Virginia*, and other places. The Island of *Barbadoes* was the very first Land we deseryed in the whole Voyage of three months time, that is, ever since we set out from the *Duke of York's Island*, as we named the Place at the beginning of *November*. This Navigation, performed by us, proveth, that several degrees more to the South of the *Streight of Magallanes*, or that of *le Maire*; especially about fifty eight, fifty nine, or sixty degrees of Southern Latitude, there is a much more easier passage from the North unto the South Sea, than through either of these two *Streights*. Also that there is no such Continent as *Terra Australis incognita*, as is named and described in all the Ancient Maps: So that it is but steering many degrees higher to the South, and one may go as easily into the South Sea, or come from thence into the North Sea, as we can go from *England* to *Jamaica*; only that the Voyage, peradventure, will be something longer than by the *Streight of Magallanes*, which maketh not much to the purpose, but is rather much better, seeing it is performed through an open Sea, and with less danger by far than through either of those *Streights*: All these things I hope will very distinctly be made out in the Papers, Maps, and Draughts of that Ingenious Man, Mr. *Ringrose* above-mentioned, unto which I must of necessity refer you, against the time of their coming forth in print.

Capt. *Sharp* our Commander, my self, and several others came for *England*, soon after the performance of this Voyage. Here several of us were put into Prison and Tryed for our Lives, at the Suit of *Don Pedro de Ronquillo*, the Spanish Embassador, for committing Piracy and Robberies in the South Sea; but we were acquitted by a Jury after a fair Tryal, they wanting Witnesses to prove what they intended: Neither had they had any at all against us, were it not for two or three villains of our own Company, among which were two *Negro's*, who turn'd Cat

Capt. Sharp
and others
for England
Ant Tryed
their Lives.

in the Pan, and had a spleen against Capt. *Sharp* and others, that had profited more by the Voyage than they had done. One chief Article against us, was the taking of the *Rosario*, and killing the Captain thereof, and another man: But it was proved the *Spaniards* fired at us first, as I have hinted at above, and thus it was judged we ought to defend our selves. During the space of our Imprisonment and Tryal, several others of our company were forced to abscond, and keep themselves concealed very close, for fear of being taken and brought under the same Indictment. Also at *Jamaica* three of our company who arrived there, were taken and cast into Prison, and one of them was hang'd, who was wheedled into an open confession of his crime: The other two stood it out, and escaped, as I suppose, for want of Witnesses to prove the Fact against them. Our Tryal was at the *Marshalsea* in *Southwark*, by a Court of Admiralty.

Capt. Sharp
goeth again to
those parts.

Thus far I have given you an account of our Adventures in the *South Sea*. But here you inquire of me what is become of Capt. *Sharp*, since the time of his Tryal? I must tell you I could with I had a better account to give of him, than what I have at present: He waited all his money here in good fellowship, in a short while after that he was set at liberty: much he spent also mean while he was under confinement, so that he was soon reduc'd low, as most of the *Bucaniers* use to be after their Voyages, according to what is truly enough related of them in that History. Having spent all his money he resolv'd to go seek for more, and that by the same means he had used formerly: Yet an Order there was, either from the Privy Council, or the Court of Admiralty, that no Commander should carry him into those parts of the *West Indies* again, fearing lest he should do more mischief unto the *Spaniards*, contrary to the Articles beyond the Line, for they had notice given them he intended to return thither, to make new discoveries upon those coasts, and unto this effect, had already taken up his passage in one of his Majesty's Frigates, but this Order prevented him: As for Merchant Ships, they refused to carry him, fearing he would tempt the men to revolt against the Masters, and by this means run away with the Ship to Privateering, as he had done before.

Not finding, therefore, any means to get out of *England*, he got together a little money, and with this he bought an old Boat, which, as I am told, used to lye above *London-bridge*, for the sum of 20 l. sterling. Into this Boat he put a small quantity of Butter and Cheese, and a dozen or two pieces of Beef: These were his Provisions: His Crew were only 16 men. With this Equipage he sailed down the River, and came unto the *Dryns*: Hereabouts, as 'tis said, he met with a French Vessel, the which he clapt aboard, seized, and made himself Master thereof. Presently after he sunk his own Boat, the which he intended to carry no farther, than until he could provide himself with a new bottom. Upon *Rummy Marsh* he espied some cattle, and thereupon sent some of his men, to provide what they thought fit for the present victualling of their Vessel. He is gone out of *England*, but whither, upon what design, or what adventures, I cannot tell you.

W. D. At the Bank-side beyond
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