CHAPTER III

THE MARCH ACROSS THE ISTHMUS

Hereupon Capt. Morgan commanded four ships and one boat to be equipped and provided with all things necessary, to go and take the castle of Chagre, seated upon a river of that name. Neither would he go himself with his whole fleet, fearing less the Spaniards should be jealous of his farther designs upon Panama. In these vessels he caused to embark four hundred men, who went to put in execution the orders of their chief commander Capt. Morgan, while he himself remained behind in the Island of St. Catherine, with the rest of the fleet, expecting to hear the success of their arms.

Capt. Morgan sending these four ships and a boat to the river of Chagre, chose for Vice-Admiral thereof a certain person named Capt. Brodley. This man had been a long time in those quarters and committed many robberies upon the Spaniards when Mansvelt took the

THE CHAGRES RIVER, SHOWING LABOR CAMP ON THE LEFT.

Isle of St. Catherine. He, being therefore well acquainted with those coasts, was thought a fit person for this exploit, his action likewise having rendered him famous among the Pirates, and their enemies the Spaniards. Capt. Brodley being chosen chief of these forces, in three days after he departed from the presence of Captain Morgan, arrived within sight of the said castle of Chagre, which by the English is called St. Lawrence.[1] This castle is built upon a high mountain, at the entry of the river, and surrounded on all sides with strong palisades or wooden walls, being very well terrepleined, and filled with earth, which renders them as secure as the best walls made of stone or brick. The top of this mountain is in a manner divided into two parts, between which lies a ditch of the depth of thirty foot. The castle itself has but one entry, and that by a drawbridge which passes over the ditch aforementioned. On the land side it has four bastions, that on the sea containing only two more. That part thereof that looks towards the south is totally inaccessible and impossible to be climbed, through the infinite asperity of the mountain. The north side

[1] English rendition of the Spanish, "San Lorenzo." The remains of the castle constitute one of the interesting points in the neighborhood of Panama.

is surrounded by the river, which hereabouts runs very broad. At the foot of the said castle, or rather mountain, is seated a strong fort, with eight guns, which commands and impedes the entry of the river. Not much lower are to be seen two other batteries, whereof each hath six pieces of cannon, to defend likewise the mouth of the said river. At one side of the castle are built two great store-houses, in which are deposited all sorts of warlike material, and merchandize, which are brought thither from the inner parts of the country. Near these houses is a high pair of stairs, hewn out of the rock, which serves to mount to the top of the castle. On the west side of the said fortress lies a small port, which is not above seven or eight fathoms deep, being very fit for small vessels and of very good anchorage. Besides this, there lies before the castle, at the entry of the river, a great rock, scarce to be perceived above water, unless at low tide.

No sooner had the Spaniards perceived the Pirates to come than they began to fire incessantly at them with the biggest of their guns. They came to an anchor in a small port, at the distance of a league 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. This march continued until two o'clock in the afternoon, before they could reach the castle, by reason of the difficulties of the way, and its mire and dirt. And although their guides served them exactly notwithstanding they came so near the castle at first that they lost many of their men with the shots from the guns, they being in an open place where was nothing to cover nor defend them. This much perplexed the pirates 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, caused them much to fear the success of their enterprise. But to give it over they dared not, lest they should be reproached and scorned by their companions.

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 fireballs 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 companions that are behind come on too, ye shall not go to Panama this bout. After the Pirates 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 if by the help of their fire-balls they could overcome and pull down the pales before the wall. This they attempted to do, and while they were about it there happened a very remarkable accident, which gave them the opportunity of the victory. One of the Pirates 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 shot it back into the castle. But the cotton being kindled by the powder, occasioned two or three houses that were within the castle, being thatched 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 ruin, and no less consternation to the Spaniards, who were not able to account for this accident, not having seen the beginning thereof.

Thus the Pirates perceiving the good effect of the arrow, the beginning of the misfortune of the Spaniards, were infinitely gladdened thereat. And 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 Pirates made use of this opportunity, setting fire likewise to the palisades. 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 Pirates climbed up and got over into the castle, notwithstanding that some Spaniards who were not busied about the fire, cast down upon them many flaming pots, full of combustible matter and odious smell, which occasioned the loss of many of the English.

The Spaniards, notwithstanding the great resistance they made, could not hinder the pal-

isades from being entirely burnt before midnight. Meanwhile the Pirates ceased not to persist in this intention of taking the castle. To 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 caused many to fall dead from the walls. When day was come, they observed all the movable earth that lay between the pales to be fallen into the ditch in huge quantity. So that now those within the castle did in a manner lie equally exposed to them without, as had been on the contrary before. Whereupon the Pirates continued shooting very furiously against them, and killed great number of the 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 to the breaches.

Notwithstanding, the fire within the castle still continued, and now the Pirates from without used what means they could to hinder its progress, by shooting incessantly against it. One party of the Pirates was employed only to this purpose, and another to watch all mo-

tions of the Spaniards, and take all opportunities against them. About noon the English happened to gain a breach, which the Governor himself defended with twenty-five soldiers. 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 Pirates 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 ask any quarter for their lives. The Governor himself retreated to 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 Governor being dead, and the corps du garde surrounded, they found still remaining in it alive to the number of thirty men, whereof scarce ten were not wounded. These informed the Pirates that eight or nine of their soldiers had deserted their colours, and were

gone to Panama to carry news of their arrival and invasion. These thirty men alone were remaining of three hundred and fourteen, wherewith the castle was garrisoned, among which number not one officer was found alive. They were all made prisoners, and compelled to tell whatever they knew of their designs and enterprises. 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 designs to come and take the said city of Panama. Moreover, that this their intention had been made known by a person, who had run away from the Pirates at the river De la Hacha, where they provided their fleet with corn. That, upon this news, the said Governor had sent one hundred and sixty-four men to strengthen the garrison of their castle, together with much provisions and warlike ammunition. The ordinary garrison whereof did only consist of one hundred and fifty men. So that in all they made the number aforementioned of three hundred and fourteen men being all very well armed. Besides this they had 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 three thousand six hundred men.

The taking of this castle cost the Pirates excessively dear, in comparison to the small number they used to lose at other time and places. Yea, their toil and labour here far exceeded what they sustained at the conquest of the Isle of St. Catherine and its adjacent. For coming to number their men, they found that they had lost above one hundred, besides those that were wounded, whose number exceeded seventy. 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 seaside, and afterwards to bury them. Such as were wounded were carried to the church belonging to the castle of which they made a hospital and where also they shut up the women.

Capt. Morgan remained not long time behind at the Isle of St. Catherine, after taking the castle of Chagre of which he had notice presently sent him. Yet notwithstanding, before he departed thence, he caused to be embarked all the provisions that 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 to the garrison of the aforesaid castle of Chagre, from what partsoever they could be got. At a certain place on the island they cast into the sea all the guns belonging thereto, with a design to return and leave that island well garrisoned, for the perpetual possession of Pirates. Notwithstanding, he ordered 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 secure himself at his return from Panama. He carried with him all the prisoners of the island, and thus set sail for the river of 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 lose four of their ships at the entry thereof, that, wherein Capt. 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 on that occasion, which cast the ships upon the rock

above mentioned, that lies at the entry of the said river.

Capt. Morgan was brought into the castle with great acclamations of triumph and joy of all the Pirates, both of those that were within, and also them that were 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 merchandize up and down the said river as also for going to Porto Bello 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 other ships they found there, and all the canoes. 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 toward Panama, at the head of one thousand two 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 lie in ambuscade at several places by the way.

Capt. Morgan set forth from the castle of Chagre, towards Panama, the 8th day of January in the year 1671. He had under his control one thousand two hundred men, five boats with artillery, and thirty-two canoes, all of which were filled with the said people. Thus he steered his course up the river towards Panama. That day they sailed 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 awhile, 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 that the greatest part were forced to pass with only a pipe of tobacco, without any other refreshment.

The next day, very early in the 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 canoes, by reason the river was very dry for the 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 one hundred and sixty men, on board the boats to defend them, with intent they might serve for a place of refuge, in case of necessity.

The next morning, being the third day of their journey, they all went ashore, excepting those above mentioned who were to keep the boats. To these Capt. 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 surprised and cut off by an ambuscade of Spaniards, that might chance to lie 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 Capt. Morgan thought it more convenient to transport some of the men in canoes (though it could not be done without great labor) to a place farther up the river called Cedro Bueno.

Thus they re-embarked, and the canoes returned for the rest that were left behind. So that about night they found themselves altogether at the said place. The Pirates 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.

On the fourth day, the greater part of the Pirates marched by land, being led by one of the guides. The rest went by water, farther up with the canoes, being conducted by another guide, who always went before them with two of the said canoes, to discover on both sides of the river the ambuscades of the Spaniards. These had also spies, who were very dextrous, and could at any time give notice of all accidents or of the arrival of the Pirates, six hours at least before they came to any place.

This day about noon they found themselves near a post, called Torna Cavallos. Here the guide of the canoes began to cry aloud he perceived an ambuscade. His voice caused infinite joy to all the Pirates, as persuading themselves they should find some provisions, wherewith to satiate their hunger, which was very great.

Being come to the place, they found nobody in it, the Spaniards who were there not long before being everyone fled, and leaving nothing behind unless it were a small number of leather bags, all empty, and a few crumbs of bread scattered upon the ground where they had eaten. Being angry at this misfortune, they pulled down a few little huts which the Spaniards had made, and afterwards fell to eating leather bags, as being desirous to afford something to the ferment of their stomachs, which now was grown so sharp that it did gnaw their very bowels, having nothing to prey on. 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 conjectured five hundred 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 on that occasion have roasted or boiled, 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 anywhere the least crumb of sustenance, whereby the Pirates 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 were never out of their mother's kitchen may ask how these Pirates could eat, swallow and digest those pieces of leather, so hard and dry. To whom I only answer: That could they once experiment with hunger, or rather famine, is, they would certainly find the manner, by their own necessity, as the Pirates did. For these first took the leather, and sliced it in pieces. Then they beat it between two stones, to render it by this means supple and tender. Lastly, they scraped off the hair, and roasted or boiled it upon the fire. And being thus cooked they cut it into small morsels, and ate it, helping it down with fre-

quent gulps of water, which by good fortune they had near at hand.

They continued their march the fifth day, and about noon came to a place called Barbacoa.[1] Here likewise they found traces of another ambuscade, but the place totally as unprovided as the two preceding were. At a small distance were to be seen several plantations, which they searched very narrowly, but could not find any person, animal or other thing that was capable of relieving their extreme and ravenous hunger. Finally, having ranged up and down and searched a long time, they found a certain grotto which seemed to be but lately hewn out of a rock, in which they found two sacks of meal, wheat and like things, with two great jars of wine, and certain fruits called Platanos. Capt. Morgan knowing that some of his men were now, through hunger, reduced almost to the extremity of their lives, and fearing lest the major part should be brought into the same condition, caused all that was found to be distributed amongst them who were in greatest necessity.

Having refreshed themselves with these vict-

[1] To-day known as Barbacoas, near where the P. R. R. crosses the Chagres.

uals, they began to march and with greater courage than ever. Such as could not go well for weakness were put in the canoes. Thus they prosecuted their journey till late at night, at which time they came to a plantation where they took up their rest. But without eating anything at all for the Spaniards as before, had swept away all manner of provisions, not leaving behind them the least sign of victuals.

On the sixth day they continued their march, part of them by land through the woods and part by water in the canoes. Howbeit they were constrained to rest themselves very frequently by the way, both for the ruggedness thereof and the extreme weakness they were under. To this they endeavoured to occur, by eating some leaves of trees and green herbs, or grass, such as they could pick, for such was the miserable condition they were in. This day, at noon, they arrived at a plantation, where they found a barn full of maize. Immediately they beat down the doors, and fell to eating of it dry as much as they could devour. Afterwards they distributed great quantities, giving to every man a good allowance thereof.

Being thus provided, they prosecuted their journey, which having continued for the space

of an hour, or thereabouts, they met with an ambuscade of Indians. This they no sooner had discovered, than they threw away their maize, with the sudden hopes they conceived of finding all things in abundance. But after all this haste, they found themselves much deceived, they meeting neither Indians, nor victuals, nor anything else of what they had imagined. They saw notwithstanding on the other side of the river a troop of a hundred Indians, more or less, who all escaped away through the agility of their feet. Some few Pirates there were who leaped 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 on their feet than the Pirates, they easily baffled their endeavours. Neither did they only baffle them but killed also two or three of the Pirates with their arrows, shooting at them at a distance and crying: Ha; Perros, a la savana, a 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. Howbeit their sleep was not heavy

nor profound, for great murmurings were heard that night in the camp, many complaining of Capt. 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. In the meanwhile they had a guide who much comforted them, saying: It would not be long before they met with people, from whom they should reap considerable advantage.

The seventh day, in the morning, they all made clean their arms, and every one discharged his pistol or musket, without bullet, to examine the security of their firelocks. This being done, they passed to the other side of the river in the canoes, 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.[1] Being at a great distance as yet from the place, they perceived much smoke to arise out of the chimneys.

[1] Now called Cruces, head of navigation on the Chagres for parties bound for Panama.

The sight hereof afforded them great joy and hopes of finding people in the 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 the external signs, though all like castles built in the air. For, said they, there is smoke coming out of every house, therefore they are making good fires, to roast and boil 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 in the town, nor anything 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 storehouses and stables belonging to the King.

They had not left behind them any beast whatsoever, either dead or alive. This occasioned 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 killed and devoured with great appetite.

At last in the King's stables they found by good fortune fifteen or sixteen jars of Peru wine, and a leather sack full of bread. But no sooner had they begun to drink of the said wine when they fell sick, almost every man. This sudden disaster made them think that the wine was poisoned, which caused a new consternation in the whole camp, as judging themselves now to be irrecoverably lost. But the true reason was, their huge want of sustenance in that whole voyage, and the manifold sorts of trash which they had eaten upon that occasion. Their sickness was so great that day as to cause them to remain there till the next morning, without being able to prosecute their journey as they used to do, in the afternoon.

This village is seated in the latitude of 9 degrees and 2 minutes, north, being distant from the river of Chagre twenty-six Spanish leagues,[1] and eight from Panama. Moreover, this is the last place to which boats or canoes can come; for which reason they built here store-houses, wherein to keep all sorts of merchandize, which hence to and from Panama are transported upon the backs of mules.

[1] The chronicler doubtless meant to say "from the mouth of the river Chagre."

NATIVE HUT.

Here, therefore, Capt. Morgan was constrained to leave his canoes and land all his men, though never so weak in their bodies. But lest the canoes should be surprized, or take up too many men for their defence, he resolved to send them all back to the place where the boats were, excepting one, which he caused to be hidden, to the intent it might serve to carry intelligence according to the exigence of affairs. Many of the Spaniards and Indians belonging to this village were fled to the plantations thereabouts.

Hereupon Capt. Morgan gave express orders that none should dare to go out of the village, except in whole companies of a hundred together.

The occasion hereof was his fear lest the enemies should take an advantage upon his men, by any sudden assault. Notwithstanding one party of the English soldiers, stickled not to contravene these commands, being tempted with the desire of finding victuals. But these were soon glad to fly into the town again being assaulted with great fury by some Spaniards and Indians, who snatched up one of the Pirates, and carried him away prisoner. Thus the vigilance and care of Capt. Morgan was not

sufficient to prevent every accident that might happen.

On the eighth day, in the morning, Capt. Morgan sent two hundred men before the body of his army, to discover the way to Panama, and see if they had laid any ambuscades therein, especially considering the places by which they were to pass were very fit for that purpose, the paths being so narrow that only ten or twelve persons could march in a file and oftentimes not so many.

Having marched about the space of ten hours, they came to a place called Quebrada Obscura. Here, all on the sudden three or four thousand arrows were shot at them, without being able to perceive whence they came, or who shot them. The place whence it was presumed they were shot was a high rocky mountain, excavated from one side to the other, wherein was a grotto that went through it, only capable of admitting one horse, or rather beast laded. This multitude of arrows caused a huge alarm among the Pirates, especially since they could not discover the place whence they were discharged.

At last seeing no more arrows to appear they marched a little farther, and entered into a wood. Here they perceived some Indians to

fly as fast as they could possibly before them, to take the advantage of another post, and thence observe the march of the Pirates. There remained notwithstanding one troop of Indians upon the place, with full designs 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, endeavouring to raise himself, with undaunted mind laid hold of his azagaya, or javelin, and struck at one of the Pirates. But before he could second the blow, he was shot to death with a pistol. This was also the fate of many of his companions, who, like good and courageous soldiers lost their lives with their captain, for the defence of their country.

The Pirates endeavoured, as much as possible, to lay hold on some of the Indians and take them prisoners. But they being infinitely swifter than the Pirates, every one escaped, leaving eight Pirates dead upon the place, and ten wounded. Yea, had the Indians been more dextrous in military affairs, they might have defended that passage and not let one soul pass.

Within a little while after they came to a large campaign field open, and full of variegated meadows. From here they could perceive at a distance before them a parcel of Indians, who stood on top of a mountain very near the way by which the Pirates were to pass. They sent a troop of fifty men, the nimblest they could pick out, to see if they could catch any of them, and afterwards force them to declare whereabouts their companions had their mansions. But all their industry was in vain for they escaped through their nimbleness, and presently afterwards showed themselves in another place, hallooing to the English and crying: A la savana, A la savana, cornudos, perros Ingleses; that is To the plain, to the plain, ye cuckolds, ye English dogs. While these things passed, the ten Pirates that were wounded a little before were dressed and plastered up.

At this place there was a wood, and on each side thereof a mountain. The Indians had immediately possessed themselves of one, and the Pirates took possession of the other that was opposite to it. Capt. Morgan was persuaded that in the wood had been placed an ambuscade, as lying so conveniently for that purpose. Hereupon he sent before two hundred men to

search it. The Spaniards and Indians perceiving the Pirates 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 Pirates, they disappeared, and were seen no more, leaving the passage open to them.

About night there fell a great rain, which caused the Pirates to march the faster and seek everywhere for houses wherein to preserve their arms from being wet. But the Indians had set fire to every one thereabouts, and transported all their cattle to remote places, to the end that the pirates, 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 in the open field endured much hardship that night, the rain not ceasing to fall until the morning.

The next morning about break of day being the ninth of this tedious journey, Capt. Morgan continued his march while the fresh air of the morning lasted. For the clouds then hanging

as yet over their head were much more favorable to them than the scorching rays of the sun, by reason the way was now more difficult and laborious than all the preceding. After two hours' march they discovered a troop of about twenty Spaniards, who observed the motions of the Pirates. They endeavoured 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 Pirates.

At last they came to a high mountain which when they ascended, they discovered from the top thereof the South Sea. The happy sight, as if it were the end of their labours, caused infinite joy among all the Pirates. Hence they could descry also one ship and six boats, which were set forth from Panama and sailed towards the islands of Taboga and Taboguilla. Having descended this mountain, they came to a vale, in which they found great quantity of cattle, whereof they killed good store. Here while some were employed in killing and flaying of cows, horses, bulls and chiefly asses, of which there was a very large number, others busied themselves in kindling fires and getting wood wherewith to roast them. Thus cutting the

flesh of these animals into convenient pieces, or gobbets, they threw them into the fire, and half carbonadoed or roasted, they devoured them with incredible haste and appetite. For such was their hunger that they more resembled cannibals than Europeans at this banquet, the blood many times running down from their beards to the middle of their bodies.

Having satisfied their hunger with these delicious meats, Capt. Morgan ordered them to continue the march. Here again he sent before the main body fifty men, with intent to take some prisoners, if possibly they could. For he seemed now to be much concerned that in nine days' time he could not meet one person who might inform him of the condition and forces of the Spaniards.

About evening they discovered a troop of two hundred Spaniards, more or less, who hallooed to 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 discovered than they began to show signs of extreme 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 the trumpets were sounded and every drum beaten, in token of this universal acclamation and huge alacrity of their minds.

Thus they pitched 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 fifty 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 hallooed aloud to the Pirates, and threatened them, saying: Perros! nos veremos, that is, Ye dogs! we shall meet ye. Having made this menace, they returned into the city, excepting only seven or eight horsemen 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 to the Pirates, whom they could not conveniently reach. About this time also the 200 Spaniards whom the Pirates had seen in

the afternoon appeared again within sight, making a resemblance as if they would block 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 blockades, as soon as they had placed sentries 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 received since noon. This being done they laid themselves down to sleep upon the grass with great repose and huge satisfaction, expecting only with impatience the dawning of the next day.

CHAPTER IV

MORGAN SACKS PANAMA

On the tenth day betimes in the morning, they put all their men in convenient order, and with drums and trumpet sounding, continued their march directly towards the City. But one of the guides desired Capt. Morgan not to take the common highway that led thither, fearing lest they should find in it much resistence 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 Pirates 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 Governor of Panama put his forces in order, consisting of two squadrons, four regiments of foot, and a huge number of wild bulls, which were driven by a great number of Indians, with some negroes and others, to help them.

The Pirates, being now upon their march, came to the top of a little hill, whence they had a large prospect of the City and campaign country underneath. Here they discovered the forces of the people of Panama, extended in battle array and when they perceived them 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 condition 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 last drop of blood in their bodies. Afterwards they divided themselves into three battalions, or troops, sending before them one or two hundred buccaneers, which sort of people are infinitely dextrous at shooting with guns. Thus the Pi-

rates 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 near them the Spaniards began to shout and cry, Viva el Rey! God save the King! and immediately their horse began to move against the Pirates but the field being full of quags and very soft underfoot they could not ply to and fro and wheel about, as they desired. The two hundred buccaneers who went before, every one putting one knee to the ground, gave them a full volley of shot, wherewith the battle was instantly kindled very hot.

The Spaniards defended themselves very courageously, acting all they could possibly perform to disorder the Pirates. Their foot, in like manner endeavoured to second the horse, but were constrained by the Pirates to separate 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 in disorder, but the greatest part of the wild cattle ran away, being frightened with the noise of the battle and some few that broke through the English Companies did no other harm than to tear the colours in pieces,

whereas the buccaneers shooting them dead, left not one to trouble them thereabouts.

The battle having now continued for the space of two hours, at the end thereof the greatest part of the Spanish force was ruined and almost all killed. 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, throwing them on the ground, betook themselves to flight everyone which way he could run. The Pirates could not possibly follow them, as being too much harassed 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 Pirates were instantly killed, without giving quarter to any. Some religious men were brought prisoners before Capt. Morgan, but he being deaf to their cries and lamentations, commanded them all to be immediately pistoled, which was immediately 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. To which he answered: Their whole strength did consist in 400 horse, 24 Companies of foot, each being of 100 men complete, 60 Indians and some negroes 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 raised batteries in several places, in which they had placed many guns and that at the entry of the highway which led to the City they had built a fort which was mounted with eight great guns of brass, and defended by fifty 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 six hundred dead upon the place, besides the wounded and prisoners. The Pirates 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 was left alive. With this courage they recommenced their march, either to conquer or be conquered, carrying with them all the Prisoners.

They found much difficulty in their approach to the city. For 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 Pirates at their drawing nigh to the place, and gave them full and frequent broadsides, firing at them incessantly. Whence it came to pass that unavoidably they lost, at every step they advanced great number of men. But neither these manifest dangers to their lives, nor the sight of so many of their own men dropping 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.

The Pirates having now possessed themselves thereof, 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 to more remote and occult places. Howbeit they found within the city as yet several warehouses, very well stocked with all sorts of merchandize, as well as silks, cloths, linen, and other things of considerable value.

As soon as the first fury of their entrance into the city was over, Capt. Morgan assembled all his men at a certain place which he assigned, and then 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 that 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 inhumanly as they had used the inhabitants before.

Capt. Morgan, as soon as he had placed guards at several quarters where he thought necessary, both within and without the city of Panama, immediately commanded twenty-five men to seize a great boat which had struck in the port for want of water at a low tide, so that she could not be put out to sea. The same day, about noon, he caused certain men privately to set fire to several great edifices of the city, nobody knowing whence the fire proceeded nor who were the authors thereof, much less what motives persuaded Capt. Morgan thereto, which are as yet unknown to this day. The fire increased so fast that before night the greatest part of the city was in flame.

Capt. Morgan endeavoured to make the public believe the Spaniards had been the cause thereof, which suspicions he surmised among his own people, perceiving they reflected upon him for that action. Many of the Spaniards as also some of the Pirates, used all the means possible either to extinguish the flame, or by blowing up houses with gunpowder, 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 was already transported out of the Pirates' way, and another great part was consumed by the voracity of the fire. There belonged to this city (which is also the head of a bishopric), 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, and huge quantity of gold and silver, with other precious things, all of which the ecclesiastics had hidden and concealed.

Besides the above ornaments, here were to be seen two thousand houses of magnificent and prodigious building, 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 five thousand houses more. Here were also a great number of stables which served for the horses and mules that carry all the plate, belonging as well to the King of Spain as to private men, towards the coast of the North Sea. The neighbouring fields belonging to this city are all cultivated with fertile planta-

tions and pleasant gardens, which afford delicious prospects to the inhabitants the whole year long.

The Genoese had in this city of Panama a stately and magnificent house belonging to their trade and commerce of negroes. This building likewise was commanded by Capt. Morgan to be set on fire whereby it was burnt to the very ground. Besides which pile of buildings, there were consumed to the number of two hundred warehouses, and a great number of slaves who had hid themselves therein, together with an infinite multitude of sacks of meal.

The fire of all the houses and buildings was seen to continue four weeks after the day it begun. The Pirates in the meanwhile, at least the greatest part of them, camped some time without the city, fearing and expecting that the Spaniards would come and fight them anew. For it was known that they had an incomparable number of men more than the Pirates had. This occasioned them to keep the field thereby to preserve their forces united, which now were very much diminished by the losses of the preceding battles, as also because they had a great many wounded, all of which they had put into one of the churches which alone remained stand-

ing, the rest being consumed by the fire. Moreover, besides these decreases of their men Capt. Morgan had sent a convoy of one hundred and fifty to the Castle of Chagre, to carry the news of his victory obtained against Panama.

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 anything against the Pirates. In the afternoon of this fatal day Captain Morgan reentered again the city with his troops, to the intent that every one might take up his lodgings, which now they could hardly find, very few houses having escaped the desolation of the fire. Soon after they fell to seeking very carefully among the ruins and ashes for utensils of plate or gold which peradventure were not quite wasted by the flames. And of such things they found no small number in several places, especially in wells and cisterns where the Spaniards had hid them from the covetous search of the Pirates.

The next day Capt. Morgan despatched away two troops of Pirates, of one hundred and fifty men each, being all very stout soldiers and well armed, with orders to seek for the inhabitants

of Panama who were escaped from the hands of their enemies. These men, having made several excursions up and down the campaign fields, woods and mountains, adjoining to Panama, returned after two days' time bringing with them above two hundred prisoners, between men, women and slaves.

The same day returned also the boat above mentioned, which Capt. Morgan had sent into the South Sea, bringing with it three other boats which they had taken in a little while. But all these prizes they could willingly have given, yea, although they had employed greater labour into the bargain, for one certain galleon which miraculously escaped their industry, being very richly laden with all the King's plate and a great quantity of riches of gold, pearls, jewels and other most precious goods of all the best and richest merchants of Panama. On board of this galleon were also the religious women, belonging to the nunnery of the said city, who had embarked with them all the ornaments of the church consisting of a large quantity of gold, plate and other things of great value.

The strength of this galleon was nothing considerable as having only seven guns and ten or

twelve 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 galleon, 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 have done, especially considering the said galleon could not long subsist at sea.

But they were impeded from following this vastly rich prize by 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 appetite with the things above mentioned, than to lay hold on the occasion of such a huge advantage, although this sole prize would certainly have been of far more value and consequence to them than all they secured at Panama, and other places thereabout.

The next day, repenting of their negligence, and being totally wearied of the vices and de-

baucheries aforesaid, they set forth to sea another boat well armed, to pursue with all speed imaginable the said galleon. 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 near them, whereupon they fled to places more remote and unknown to their enemies.

Notwithstanding, the Pirates found in the ports of the islands of Taboga and Taboguilla, several boats that were laden with many sorts of very good merchandize all of which they took and brought to Panama where, being arrived, they made an exact relation of all that had passed while they were abroad to Capt. Morgan. The prisoners confirmed what the Pirates had said, adding thereto, that they undoubtedly knew whereabouts the said galleon might be at that present, but that it was very probable they had been relieved before now from other places.

These relations stirred up Capt. Morgan anew to send forth all the boats that were in the port of Panama with design to seek and pursue the said galleon 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 and creeks, they lost all their hope of finding what they so earnestly sought for.

Hereupon they resolved to return to the isles of Taboga and Taboguilla. Here they found a reasonably good ship that was newly come from Payta, (Peru), being laden with cloth, soap, sugar and biscuit, and with twenty thousand pieces of eight in ready money. This vessel they instantly seized, not finding the least resistance from any person within her. Near to the said ship was also a boat, whereof in like manner they possessed themselves. Upon the boat they laded great part of the merchandize they had found in the ship, together with some slaves they had taken in the said island. With this purchase they returned to Panama, something better satisfied of their voyage, yet withal much discontented they could not meet with the galleon.

The convoy which Capt. Morgan had sent to the castle of Chagre returned much about the same time, bringing with them very good news. For while Captain Morgan was upon his journey to Panama, those he had left in the castle of Chagre had sent forth to 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 Pirates that were in the castle, they put forth Spanish colours, thereby to allure and deceive the ship that fled before the boats. Thus the poor Spaniards thinking to find refuge for themselves under the castle and the guns thereof, by flying into the port, were caught in a snare and made prisoners where they thought to find defence. The cargo which was found on board the said vessel consisted of victuals and provisions that were all eatable things. Nothing could be more opportune than this prize for the castle, where they had begun already to experience great scarcity of things of this kind.

This good fortune of the garrison of Chagre gave occasion to Capt. Morgan to remain longer time than he had determined at Panama. And hereupon he ordered several new excursions to be made into the whole country round about the city. So that while the Pirates at Panama were employed in these expeditions, those at Chagre were busied in exercising piracy upon the North Sea.

Capt. Morgan used to send forth daily parties of two hundred men to make inroads into all

the fields and country thereabouts, and when one party came back another consisting of two hundred more was ready to go forth. By this means they gathered in a short time a huge quantity of riches, and a no less number of prisoners. These, being brought into the city, were presently put to the most exquisite torture imaginable to make them confess both other people's goods and their own.

Here it happened that one poor and miserable wretch was found in the house of a gentleman of great quality, who had put on, amidst the confusion of things a pair of teffety breeches belonging to his master with a little silver key hanging at the strings thereof. This being perceived by the Pirates they immediately asked him where was the cabinet of 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 inhumanly disjointed 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 tor-

THE PATIO OR COURTYARD OF A COUNTRY HOUSE.

ments could they obtain any positive answer to their demands. Whereupon they soon after hung him up, giving him infinite blows and stripes 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 straw, 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 inhuman 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.

They spared in these their cruelties, no sex or condition whatsoever. For as to religious persons and priests, they granted them less quarter than to others, unless they could produce a considerable sum of money, capable of being sufficient ransom. Women themselves were no better used, and Capt. Morgan, their leader and commander, gave them no good example on this point. For as soon as any beautiful woman was brought as a prisoner to his

presence, he used all the means he could both of rigor and mildness to bend her to his pleasure, for a confirmation of which assertion I shall here give my reader a short history of a lady, whose virtue and constancy ought to be transmitted to 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 no less virtue and chastity, who was wife to one of the richest merchants in all of those countries. Her years were but few, and her beauty so great as peradventure I may doubt whether in all Europe one 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 Peru, about great concerns of commerce and trade, wherein his employments did lie. This virtuous lady, likewise, hearing that Pirates were coming to assault Panama, had absented herself thence in the company of other friends and relations, thereby to preserve her life amidst the dangers which the cruelties and tyrannies of those hard-hearted enemies did seem to menace to every citizen. But no sooner

had she appeared in the presence of Capt. Morgan than he commanded they should lodge her in a certain apartment by herself giving her a negress, or black woman, to wait upon her, and that she should be treated with all the respect and regale due to 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 the unexpected kindness of the commander might prove to be a design upon her chastity. But Capt. Morgan would by no means hearken to her petition, and all he commanded, in answer thereto, 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 Pirates, before their arrival at Panama, intimating to her, as if they were not men, but as they said, heretics, 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 Capt. Morgan, especially hearing him many times to swear by the name of God, and of Jesus Christ, in whom, she was persuaded 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 did, 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 persuasion of this lady was the opinion of another woman of weak understanding, at Panama who used to say, before the Pirates came thither, she desired very much and had a great curiosity to see one of those men called Pirates for as much as her husband had often told her they were not men, like others, but rather irrational beasts. This silly woman at last happened to see the first of them, and cried out aloud saying: Jesus bless me! these thieves are like us Spaniards.

This false civility of Capt. Morgan wherewith he used this lady was soon after changed into barbarous cruelty. For three or four days being past, he came to see her and the virtuous lady repulsed him with all the civility imaginable and many humble and modest expressions

of her mind. But Capt. Morgan still persisted in his disorderly request, presenting her withal with much pearl, gold and all that he had got that was precious and valuable in that voyage. But the lady being in no manner willing to consent thereto nor accept his presents, and showing herself in all respects like Susannah for constancy, he presently changed note and began to speak to her in another tone, threatening her with a thousand cruelties and hard usages at his hands.

To 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 to, my soul shall sooner be separated from it through the violence of your arms than I shall condescend to your request. No sooner had Captain Morgan understood this heroic resolution of her mind than he commanded her to be stripped of the best of her apparel and imprisoned in a darksome and stinking cellar. Here she had allowed her an extremely small quantity of meat and drink, wherewith she had much ado to sustain life for a few days.

Under this hardship the constant and virtu-

ous lady ceased not to pray daily to God Almighty for constancy and patience against the cruelties of Capt. Morgan. But he being now thoroughly convinced 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 myself was an eye witness to these things here related, and could never have judged such constancy of mind and virtuous 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.

Capt. Morgan having now been at Panama the full space of three weeks commanded all things to be put in order for his departure. To this effect, he gave orders to every company of men to seek out for so many beasts of carriage as might suffice to convey the whole spoil of the city to the river where his canoes lay.

About this time a great rumour was spread in the city of a considerable number of Pirates who intended to leave Capt. 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 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 where with they designed not only to equip the said vessel but also to fortify 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 Capt. Morgan had timely advice thereof given him by one of the comrades. Hereupon he instantly commanded the mainmast 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 country, to seek for money wherewith to ransom not only themselves but also the rest of the prisoners, as likewise the ecclesiastics both secular and regular. Moreover he commanded all the artillery of the town to be spoiled, that is to say, nailed and stopped up.

At the same time he sent out a strong company of men to seek for the Governor of Panama, of whom intelligence was brought that he had laid several ambuscades in the way of which he had to pass on his return. But those who were sent upon this design returned soon after, saying they had not found any sign or appearance of such ambuscades for, a confirmation whereof they brought with them some prisoners they had taken, who declared that the said Governor had had an intention of making some opposition by the way, but that the men whom he designed to effect it were unwilling to undertake any such enterprize, so that for want of means he could not put his design into 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 one hundred and seventy-five beasts of carriage laden with silver, gold and other precious things besides six hundred prisoners, more or less, between men, women, children and slaves. That day they came to a river that passes through a delicious campaign field, at the distance of a league from Panama.

Here Capt. Morgan put all his forces into good order of martial array in such manner that the prisoners were in the middle of the camp, surrounded on all sides with Pirates. At which present conjuncture nothing else was to be heard but lamentations, cries, shrieks and doleful signs, of the many women and children, who were persuaded Capt. Morgan designed to transport them all and carry them into his own country for slaves. Besides that, among all those miserable prisoners there was extreme hunger and thirst endured at that time, which hardship and misery Capt. Morgan designedly caused them to sustain, with intent to excite them more earnestly to seek for money wherewith to ransom themselves according to the tax he had set upon every one.

Many of the women begged of Capt. Morgan upon their knees, with infinite sighs and tears

he would permit them to return to Panama, and there live in company with their dear husbands and children, in their little huts of straw which they would erect, seeing they had not houses until the rebuilding of the city. But his answer was: He came not hither to hear lamentation and cries, but rather to seek money. Therefore they ought to seek out for that in the first place, wherever it were to be had and bring it to him, otherwise he would assuredly transport them all to such places whither they cared not to go.

The next day when the march began, those lamentable cries and shrieks were renewed in so much as it would have caused compassion in the hardest heart to hear them. But Capt. Morgan, a man little given to mercy, was not moved therewith in the least. They marched in the same order as was said before; one part of the Pirates proceeding in the van, the prisoners in the middle, and the rest of the Pirates in the rear-guard, by whom the miserable were at every step, punched and thrust in their backs and sides with the blunt end of their arms to make them march faster.

The beautiful and virtuous lady of whom we made mention heretofore for her unparalleled

constancy and chastity, was led prisoner by herself between two Pirates who guarded her. Her lamentations now did pierce the skies, seeing herself carried away into foreign captivity, often crying to the Pirates, and telling them: That she had given order to two religious persons, in whom she had relied, to go to a certain place and fetch so much money as her ransom did amount to. That they had promised faithfully to do it, but having obtained the said money, instead of bringing it to her, they had employed it another way to ransom some of their own particular friends.

This ill action of theirs was discovered by a slave, who brought a letter to the said lady. Her complaints, and the cause thereof being brought to the ears of Capt. 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 to the said lady, whom otherwise he designed to transport to Jamaica. But in the meanwhile he detained the said religious men as prisoners in her place,

using them according to the deserts of their incompassionate intrigues.

As soon as Capt. Morgan arrived upon his march at the town called Cruz, situated 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 his ransom, under the penalty aforementioned of being transported to Jamaica.

In the meanwhile he gave orders for so much crie and maize to be collected thereabouts as was necessary for the victualling of all his ships. At this place some of the prisoners were ransomed but many others could not bring in their money in so short a time. Hereupon he continued his voyage, leaving the village on the 5th day of March next following, and carrying with him all the spoil 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 new prisoners were added to 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 than they had shown for hers.

About the middle of the way to the castle of Chagre Capt. 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 a sixpence. This being done, Capt. Morgan having had some experience that those lewd fellows would not much stickle to swear falsely in points of interest, he commanded every one to be searched very strictly, both in their clothes and everywhere it might be presumed they had reserved anything. Yea, to the intent this order might not be ill taken by his companions, he permitted himself to be searched, even to the very soles of his shoes. To this effect, by common consent, there was assigned one out of every company to be the searchers of all the rest.

The French Pirates that went on this expedition with Capt. Morgan were not well satisfied with this new custom of searching. But their number being less than that of the English, they were forced to it as well as the others had done

before them. The search being over, they re-embarked in their canoes 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 left there at the time of their departure. For of these the greatest number were dead, through the wounds they had received.

From Chagre Capt. Morgan sent presently after his arrival, a great boat to Porto Bello, wherein were all the prisoners he had taken at the Isle of St. Catherine, demanding by them a considerable ransom, threatening otherwise to ruin and demolish it even to the ground. To this message those of Porto Bello 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 obtained in that voyage. Thus every company, and every particular person therein included, received their portion of what was got, or rather what part Capt. 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 for himself. For they judged it impossible that no greater share should belong to them than two hundred pieces of eight per capita, of so many valuable booties 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 to. But Capt. Morgan was dead to all these and many other complaints of this kind, having designed in his mind to cheat them of as much as he could.

At last Capt. Morgan finding himself obnoxious by many obloquies and detractions among his people, began to fear the consequences 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 spoiled and ruined as could conveniently be done in a short while.

These orders being performed, he went se-

cretly on board his own ship, without giving any notice of his departure to his companions, nor calling any council as he used to do. Thus he set sail and put out to sea, not bidding anybody 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 Capt. Morgan towards the best and greatest part of the spoil which had been concealed from them in the dividend.

The Frenchmen could very willingly have revenged this affront upon Capt. Morgan and those that followed him, had they found themselves with sufficient means to encounter him at sea. 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.

TWO-YEAR-OLD BANANA TREES.

CHAPTER V

PANAMA OF TO-DAY

THE situation of Panama Viejo was beautiful. It stood upon a wooded coast. A wide expanse of savanna stretched behind it, and beyond this ranged the mountains, from the summit of which Morgan's men looked down upon the doomed city. The natural features of the position did not lend themselves to defence and but slight attempt at fortification was made. At the time that the city was founded, and for a century thereafter, there did not appear to be any necessity for providing against attack. Spain was supreme on Terra Firma and in the neighboring seas. To reach Panama a hostile force would need to make the journey round Cape Horn, or to cross the Isthmus, and both of these undertakings were considered too difficult to be seriously considered as possible contingencies.

Drake's excursions to the Pacific and the sack

of Panama by the buccaneers rudely awakened the Spaniards to the fact that their position on the mainland was no longer secure, and that their important cities must in future be strongholds. This consideration precluded all thought of rebuilding Panama on its original site and a new one was sought in a less accessible location. The point selected was a spit of volcanic rock jutting into the bay. Here the new city was founded, in 1673, by royal decree, the formal dedication taking place on the spot which is now occupied by the central plaza. Extraordinary inducements to build were extended to the former inhabitants of the old capital, which was entirely abandoned by official order.

The work of fortifying Panama was carried out regardless of cost. Upwards of $11,000,000 were spent upon the walls and auxiliary defences. Most of the large buildings were constructed with a view to withstanding attack. A great wall completely surrounded the city. It was from 30 to 40 feet in height and in places as much as 60 feet broad. On the inland side, a deep moat stretched from one arm of the bay to another, cutting off the point on which the city stood. This moat was not filled in until some time in the fifties.

Panama as reconstructed was the strongest city in the New World. Sharp, and other pirates, came and looked it over, but decided that it offered no opportunity for successful attack. The armament of the battery, which stretched along the sea wall, was sufficient to annihilate a fleet of that day. Another condition made the position peculiarly difficult of approach. In the Pacific, the tidal oscillation is about 22 feet, so that a vessel anchored near the shore in deep water, may find itself high and dry a few hours later. The rock upon which the city is built runs out into the sea with a gradual slope, and, at low tide, a mile and a half of tufa is exposed. This is extremely slippery, and a party attempting to reach the walls over it would have had great difficulty in maintaining a foothold, not to mention the risk of being cut off by the returning tide.

The old walls of Panama have been pulled down for the most part, but small portions remain here and there. One of these is to be seen on Central Avenue, almost opposite the church of La Merced. This remnant affords a very fair idea of the size and composition of the wall on the land side. One of the main gates was near this spot. The battery, or sea

wall, remains practically intact. It used to be a favorite promenade of the population of Panama. For Americans the old sea wall should have a peculiar interest. Here, in the days of the "forty-niners," parties of voyagers to California used to spend much of their time eagerly gazing seaward for a sight of the vessel which was to bear them on the way. Sometimes the weary wait would extend into weeks, and frequently an epidemic of yellow fever, or some other virulent disease, would break out in the meanwhile. Under such conditions U. S. Grant, who was on his way to the Pacific Coast with a detachment of troops, passed many dreary hours sitting on these weather-worn parapets. The spot is associated with memories of many prominent and picturesque characters. Here the debonair Lola Montez, in male attire and smoking a cigarette, habitually walked of an evening, with a score of attendant admirers. One who was present, has described an occasion when De Lesseps stood in the midst of a group of distinguished visitors and from the sea wall presented to their imaginations a picture of crowded sails bearing down upon the entrance to the finished canal. This was only two years before the

débacle, but the great promoter spoke with such eloquent conviction that his hearers were persuaded against their better judgment and returned to France, as he had determined that they should, with glowing reports of the enterprise.

Under the sea wall, or rather built into it, is the prison. The long narrow cells run through to the face of the battery and at that end long slits in the wall give entrance to light and sea air. At the other end, grated doors look upon a small courtyard, in which one or two police, armed with rifles, patrol day and night. The cells are cool, but necessarily damp. The unfortunate who is consigned to this prison has an indefinite stay before him, for the wheels of Panama justice move spasmodically and, unless they be greased, with deadly slowness.

In the early eighties a case containing $50,000 in gold, which was designed to pay the crew of an American war vessel in Panama harbor, mysteriously disappeared from the warehouse of the Panama Railroad. Seven Americans were arrested on suspicion and thrown into Chiriqui Prison, as it is called. There was no evidence against these men. Indeed, it was said that they were arrested to

shield the true culprits, who were generally believed to have been Panamans. After several months without trial, the Americans were released, but never received any indemnity for the confinement, which probably wrought permanent injury to their health.

A few years later, two British subjects were incarcerated in the same place for months without any specific charge being brought against them, and despite the protest of their consul. These occurrences, and others of a similar nature, took place under the government of Colombia and during the French occupancy of the canal district, but, as I shall presently show, like miscarriages of justice have happened since Panama's independence and during our tenure of the Canal Zone.

One afternoon I leaned upon the parapet of the sea wall, looking down into the prison courtyard. Beneath me stood about a dozen of the prisoners, begging in whining tones for nickels and cigarettes. Their brown backs were bare. In fact, they wore but one garment, a pair of trousers. As I learned later, this condition of semi-nakedness was deliberately maintained for the sake of facilitating cleanliness. I asked one after another what he

was confined for and in nearly every case the answer was: "For beating a policeman," at which the representative of the force who stood nearby, leaning negligently upon his rifle, smiled appreciatively.

Presently my eye fell upon a white man, who stood a little apart from the rest in the shadow of a tree. He was a fine looking young fellow, — hardly more than a boy, in fact, — clean-skinned and muscular, with a frank engaging countenance. Then, and in the course of several visits to him afterwards, I learned his story. We will call him Jones. Jones, then, was the son of a man holding the position of superintendent of an important division of the subway system in New York. The boy had been well brought up, but the desire for adventure led him to leave home against his father's wish. He came to Panama without letting his people know of his whereabouts and secured work in connection with the dredging operations of the Canal. His quarters were in Colon and there he seems to have got into bad company. One of his companions, a Panaman named Dufour, suggested a robbery to him. Jones declined to take part in the affair. It was carried out, nevertheless, and Dufour was

arrested on suspicion, which pointed very strongly to him. Jones, who was known as a companion of the suspect, was haled before a magistrate in Colon, where an examination was held in Spanish, of which language the boy did not understand half a dozen words. There was no one present to represent or befriend this American citizen and employe of the Isthmian Canal Commission.

Jones and Dufour were confined in Chiriqui Prison. In a few days the latter, whose father is a well-to-do saloon keeper, procured bail and with that his troubles ended. The Panaman authorities would rather have the bail than the man at any time. The former means so much net profit; the latter more or less expense. When a person secures his liberty on bail, no more need be heard of his case, unless he is very insistent in his demands for a trial.

Jones, held merely on suspicion of having some knowledge of the crime, was cut off from the world at large and apparently forgotten. When I came across him, he had been several weeks in confinement. He had no means of communicating with anyone who might help him. His fellow-prisoners were negroes, or Panamans of the lowest class. He had not

sufficient clothing, nor even the means of writing a letter.

The Canal Zone authorities made no enquiry about this man. After he passed into the keeping of the Panama Government, the Commission apparently washed its hands of him. There is something obviously wrong about such neglect. An American citizen in the remotest part of the world would be looked after by the nearest consular representative of his country under similar circumstances. In this case the consul was absent from his post on leave and his deputy did not seem to have known anything about Jones. The Panaman authorities should be required to notify the Commission immediately after making an arrest of a Canal employe and it should be the duty of the district attorney, or his assistant, to protect the man's legal interests.

I was impressed with the truth of the boy's story, and also convinced that there was very little of the criminal in his make-up. I decided to see what I could do for him and as a first step called upon the vice-consul with a request that he would secure for me permission to visit Jones in the prison. In response, I received a letter from the Governor of the

Province, saying that a pass would be issued to me if I would state on what day I proposed to make the visit. This did not suit my book at all, and I decided to try a simpler method. Driving to the prison, I alighted with as great an air of importance as I could assume and bustled through the gateway, the sentries on either side presenting arms. Walking to the guardhouse I briefly asked the captain on duty for Jones, and a policeman was immediately ordered to show me to the man's cell. I found him much more cheerful and uncomplaining than I believe that I could have been myself under the circumstances. He was anxious to be brought to trial, of course, and somewhat indignant because, on the day before, he had been informed that the authorities had decided to charge him with being the principal in the robbery.

To cut a long story short, I despaired of moving the wheels of justice through the vice-consul and appealed to Mr. Squiers, the American Minister at Panama. He took the matter up with as much expedition as possible, considering the painful deliberation with which official business is conducted in all Latin-American countries.

Jones had been in prison about a month when I went up-country, where I was absent three weeks. On my return I learned that Mr. Squiers had written to the boy's father — who knew nothing of his whereabouts during all this time — and had come to an understanding with the Panaman authorities that when money to send Jones home should be forthcoming, he would be quietly released.

I returned to the States and, about two weeks later, received a Panama paper containing the account of Jones' escape from the prison. No doubt he would have been released soon, but it gave me some satisfaction to learn that he had settled the matter for himself. What afterwards became of him I have never learned.

Two more illustrations of Panama justice will be given to show that, while always devious in its course, it is quite as apt to work in favor of the guilty as of the innocent.

One of the Panama Railroad Company's locomotive engineers was one day annoyed by a negro insisting upon jumping upon the footboard of the engine which was being used for switching. At length, completely losing his temper, the engine driver struck the negro on the head with a coupling pin and killed him.

The crime was committed within the limits of Colon, and the Panaman officials quite properly arrested the offender and put him in prison under a charge of murder. Immediately, the "brotherhood," or whatever the organization to which the man belonged is correctly termed, began to agitate for his release and threatened a strike in case their demand should not be complied with. There was only one thing for the Commission to do, and that was to secure the murderer's release with all the despatch possible. After a brief confinement, he was set at liberty and has never been brought to trial.

Within a year, a native of America, who became a Panaman citizen some time ago and gained a position of some importance in his adopted country, committed as cold-blooded and brutal a murder as it is possible to conceive. The victim was an American who, as the editor of a local newspaper, had given offence to the murderer. The latter was allowed bail, pending his trial, which terminated in a complete acquittal.

In the time of the French, Panama was, in a sense, a busier place than it is now, but a great deal of its business was of a questionable character. The offices of the Panama Canal

Company were in the heart of the city. They occupied a large building which still stands in a corner of the Cathedral Plaza. Around this square were a number of substantial buildings and a few comfortable residences stood in the streets that lead off it. But, for the greater part, the city was a squalid collection of dives, gin shops, and gambling hells. Aside from a handful of well-to-do, educated Colombians, a few employes of the Panama Canal Company, and the foreign consuls, the population of the city was made up of a very low class. The Panamans themselves were about as mixed a lot as you would find anywhere, almost every nation on earth entering into their composition. There were always a number of negroes from the canal works, more or less drunk and quarrelsome, hanging about the entrances to the groggeries. This element was reinforced by the crowd of loafers of all nationalities with whom the city was infested.

The present condition of Panama is in striking contrast with what it was twenty, or even ten, years ago. The worst sections have been cleaned out. The principal streets have been widened and all of them are paved and drained. Comparatively decent saloons, where order is

maintained, have taken the place of the low liquor shops that abounded formerly. In this connection, it may be well to say that the natives are markedly abstemious in the use of alcohol. I do not recollect to have ever seen a Panaman intoxicated.

A street railway was projected by an American corporation a few years ago, but the enterprise came to nought and it is doubtful whether it would have paid. The limits of the city are not extensive and one of the hacks, which afford sufficiently convenient means of transportation, will carry a passenger from any one point in it to any other for ten cents. There are a number of large stores, some of the best being run by Chinese, of whom there is a numerous colony in Panama.

The police seem to have been selected for their lack of stature. They are temptingly small and it is little to be wondered at that the most prevalent violation of law seems to consist of "beating a policeman." What they lack in size, they make up for in numbers. They are to be seen at every corner, and where one is at the moment. ten will appear instantly at the sound of his whistle. And that whistle is blown whenever there is anything doing. A

Panaman policeman would not attempt to kick a dog without the aid of a fellow bluecoat. I once saw an Irish-American steam-shoveller arrested in the streets of the city. He was very mellow, but perfectly harmless and good humored. He began the trouble by pleasantly chucking one of the guardians of the peace under the chin. Now to wound the dignity of a Panaman policeman is worse than to give him a blow in the face. The affronted "bobby" backed into the middle of the road and blew his whistle. Instantly his twin brother — if the evidence of the genial toper was worth anything — appeared on the scene, blowing his whistle as he ran. Presently there were an even dozen of "the finest" on the spot, each armed with a rifle — and a whistle. Meanwhile, the steam-shoveller had made himself comfortable with his back against the wall and evidently enjoyed the situation immensely. He grinned amicably at the group of helmeted pygmies while treating them to a string of choice slang, of which they understood not a word.

After a consultation, the platoon, or brigade, or whatever it was, decided to charge. They came on hesitatingly with a clatter of arms

Moors. It is a quadrangle, open to the sky, round which the house is built. It may be bare of ornamentation and, on the other hand, it may be beautified with flowering plants and statuary. The only stairway of the house ascends from the patio and connects with the tiers of verandahs upon which the rooms of the different floors open. These verandahs are not, like those on the outside of the dwelling, designed to be sitting places, but furnish the passage-ways.

In olden times the patio was the favorite resort of the family in the cool of the evening. It is now a more or less commonplace courtyard, without any romance about it. It may contain a fountain, but the guitar of the novels is never in evidence. As likely as not it is open to the gaze of every passer-by upon the street and probably the back doors of two or three shops open on to it.

Previous to the sanitation that was instituted by the United States authorities, the patios were the chief breeding places of mosquitoes. Each one contained a large rain barrel, into which a pipe reaching from the roof emptied itself. Now every house has connection with the water system, and its owner is compelled

PATIO OF THE PRESIDENT'S PALACE, PANAMA.

to keep his premises clean and free from refuse.

The interior of a Panama residence is somewhat bare, but the absence of draperies and carpets is conducive to cleanliness and coolness. The walls of living rooms are so high that any attempt at ornamentation would be likely to produce an incongruous effect. Only the most necessary furniture, and that of the plainest type, is used. The simple cane-bottomed chairs of a parlor are arranged in two precise rows across the room with a suggestion of cold formality that belies the character of the occupants of the house.

There is discernible in Panama a tendency among the upper class to depart from the old and tried customs in favor of those that obtain in northern climes. This is perhaps a natural consequence of the close communication of the people with Americans in recent years. So far as the movement relates to hygiene it is commendable, but not so where it interferes with distinctly picturesque and appropriate customs of the country. Plumbing is an unquestionable boon to the Panamans, but they might well halt improvement when it begins to encroach upon the architectural features of their

buildings. The invasion of galvanized iron is a case in point. It is impossible to conceive of a single advantage that it possesses over the customary tiles. The two materials are certainly not comparable in artistic effect. The metal can hardly be the cheaper or the more durable. The terra-cotta is made all over the country and will outlast two or three generations of householders.

It is to be feared that the Panamans may be led too far towards copying exotic examples in the architecture of their public buildings. The new "Palacio," which contains a large theatre at one end and the chambers of the Legislature at the other, is a garish mixture of two conflicting styles. The interior construction conforms to the Spanish-American type, but the exterior has something of the blatant aspect of a New York bank building. The venerable church of San Felipe, across the street, seems to frown down upon it in dignified disapproval.

Twenty years ago, as I remember, beautiful flowers grew abundantly about the houses and the patios of Panama. Now, they are so scarce that once I spent an hour in the search for an ordinary bunch and found them at last in the secluded garden of the *Orfelinato de San*

RUBBER TREES PLANTED BY THE FRENCH.

José, — I believe the only place in the city where they are grown in any considerable quantity, — and where the good sisters charged me an exorbitant price for them. The natives generally attribute the disappearance of their flowers to the extensive use of kerosene by the Canal Commission's Sanitary Department. This is not, however, an entirely satisfactory explanation. It is probable that the drastic cleaning up process, to which Panama was treated a few years ago, involved the destruction of most of the small plants and little or no effort has been made to replace them.

The French canal companies took great pains in the beautifying of the grounds in their possession. This was especially the case at the Ancon hospital, where the verandahs, and even the wards, were brightened by flowering plants and graceful palms. Sad to say, this otherwise praiseworthy feature of their management was a powerful agency for the spread of death and disease. The pots containing the plants were kept standing in saucers constantly filled with water. This suitable precaution against the attacks of ants created ideal breeding places for mosquitoes which, at that time, however, were not recognized as

enemies to health. The French surgeons were sorely puzzled to account for the fact that the hospital was a hotbed of yellow fever and malaria, and the originating point of thousands of cases of these diseases.

The country house of the better class of Panamans is usually a two-storied structure of stone or brick, though wood is beginning to be used extensively. The ground floor is devoted to storerooms, or given over to the use of servants, but they more frequently occupy outbuildings in the courtyard. The owner and his family reside in the upper story, after the custom which prevails in all Spanish-American countries. This arrangement is probably prompted by several considerations. Not the least potent of these is disclosed by the commonly current proverb: "Smallpox never goes upstairs."

The country house is the usual unbroken block. In place of the interior patio is an extensive yard, called by the same name. To this the same suggestion of the Orient attaches, and is especially pronounced in the case of the low mud wall and the ever-present well. The country patio always contains shade trees, and, not infrequently, vines and flowers.