

CHAPTER XXI.

THE BUCCANEERS.

"And some we got by purchase,
And some we had by trade,
And some we found by courtesy
Of pike and carronade—
At midnight, 'mid-sea meetings,
For charity to keep,
And light the rolling homeward-bound
That rode a foot too deep."

RUDYARD KIPLING.



THE Elizabethan seamen of the 16th century were followed by the Buccaneers of the 17th century; who, in turn, gave rise to the ordinary Pirates of the 18th century. As we know, early in the 16th century French corsairs, Dutch *see-roovers*, and English smugglers, slavers, traders, and privateers, began to appear in the West Indies.¹ The most prominent among the English were Hawkins, Drake, Raleigh and Cavendish. In the next century, these foreign intruders found it both necessary and profitable to wage a general warfare against Spain, who was trying to keep them all out of her American possessions.

The Buccaneers were a loose association of foreign smugglers, cattle-hunters, freebooters, and privateers, who, in the 17th century, infested the Caribbean Sea, attacked Spanish settlements on the islands and mainland, and even invaded the South Sea, either by crossing the Isthmus, or going through the Strait of Magellan. At first, and at their best, the Buccaneers were a league of defence and offence against their common enemy, Spain. This federation against Spain was founded upon racial antagonism, competition in trade and conquest, and differences in religion; Protestant England and Holland, with Huguenot France, being arrayed in opposition to Catholic

¹As early as 1518, an English trading vessel arrived at Santo Domingo, and was fired upon by order of the Governor, Francisco de Tapia. The English then sailed to Porto Rico, where they bartered wrought iron, and vessels of tin and pewter, for provisions. In 1526, one Thomas Tison resided in the West Indies as a secret factor for some English merchants.

In 1572, John Chilton, an inhabitant of Britain, sailed as a passenger in a Spanish vessel from Panama to Peru.

Three hundred seventy-five

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Spain, the instigator and supporter of the Inquisition, and the foe of Freedom.²

The Buccaneers were an amphibious lot of dare-devils, reckless, and often lawless, but sometimes well regulated and orderly. Individual commanders occasionally exhibited acts of knightly chivalry. The French affectionately called them *nos braves*; while to the Spaniards they were known as demons of the sea. French chroniclers compared Alexandre Bras-de-Fer, not unfavorably, to Alexander the Great; and English writers classed Henry Morgan with Julius Caesar and the other Nine Worthies of Fame.

Lawrence, on a small vessel, when overtaken by two large Spanish ships, each carrying sixty guns, thus addressed his crew: "You have too much experience not to be sensible of your danger, and too much courage to fear it. On this occasion we must avail ourselves of every circumstance, hazard everything, attack and defend ourselves at the same time. Valor, artifice, rashness, and even despair itself, must now be employed. Let us dread the ignomy of a defeat; let us dread the cruelties of our enemies; and let us fight that we may escape them." Lawrence not only escaped, but nearly succeeded in capturing the two Spanish ships.

As the foreigners (non-Spanish) gained a footing in the West Indies, their respective governments unloaded their undesirable citizens on the infant colonies. If they came to naught, there was no loss. When M. d'Ogeron, in 1665, came out as Governor of Tortuga and the French settlements on Haiti, France sent over a lot of women to encourage the filibusters to form domestic ties. These women, like many others coming to the islands, were noted for their licentiousness rather than for their virtues.³ Of the men, M. de Pointis wrote: "All who

² There is a law of compensation and of retribution. The Gueux de Mer, Sea Beggars, from the revolted Netherlands, Huguenot corsairs, and Protestant buccaneers, now plundered and killed Catholic Spaniards with the same religious zest and fervor displayed by the Christian Spaniards during the Conquest in robbing and butchering the native Americans.

³ Each buccaneer said to the woman falling to his lot: "I take thee without knowing, or caring to know, whom thou art. If any body from whence thou comest would have had thee, thou wouldst not have come in quest of me; but no matter. I do not desire thee to give me an account of thy past conduct, because I have no right to be offended at it, at the time when thou wast at liberty to behave either well or ill, according to thy own pleasure; and because I shall have no reason to be ashamed of anything thou wast guilty of when thou didst not belong to me. Give me only thy word for the future. I acquit thee of what is past." Then striking his hand on the barrel of his gun, he added: "This will revenge me of thy breach of faith; if thou shouldst prove false, this will certainly be true to my aim."—Abbé Raynal.

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11. They are of great reputation to this island and of terror to the Spaniard, and keep up a high and military spirit in all the inhabitants.

12. It seems to be the only means to force the Spaniards in time to a free trade, all ways of kindness producing nothing of good neighborhood, for though all old commissions have been called in and no new ones granted, and many of their ships restored, yet they continue all acts of hostility, taking our ships and murdering our people, making them work at their fortification and sending them into Spain, and very lately they denied an English fleet bound for the Dutch colonies wood, water, or provisions.

For which reasons it was unanimously concluded that the granting of said commissions did extraordinarily conduce to the strengthening, preservation, enriching, and advancing the settlement of this island."

By right of discovery, conquest, and settlement, Spain claimed not only all the West India Islands, but most of the mainland of the three Americas. That this claim was well founded, one need only read the records of the invasion and conquest of the New World by Europeans in the 16th century. Spain was fifty to one hundred years ahead of all other nations. Fifty years before the settlement of Jamestown, in 1607, by the English, Spain had already conquered two empires, the Aztecan in Mexico, and the Incan in Peru; and when the Pilgrims landed in New England, in 1620, America was Spanish from Florida and Arizona south through Mexico, Central America and the Antilles, to Chile and the Rio de la Plata in South America.

Besides, the Pope, regarded as the representative of the Creator, had, by Papal Bull, given to Spain the New World which she had discovered. Before the discovery of America, Portugal had been extending her discoveries from Cape Bojador down the west coast of Africa, until, in 1486, she had rounded the Cape of Buona Speranza. Pope Martin V., Eugene IV., and others, had confirmed her titles to possession of these new lands.

When Columbus, on his first voyage, discovered the West Indies for Spain, she applied to Pope Alexander VI. to endorse her claim. Portugal thought these new islands might be within the region of discovery in the south, granted to her in 1479. To avoid controversy between these two Christian kingdoms, the Pope, in May, 1493, by a "Bull of Donation," drew an imaginary line from pole to pole, passing 100 leagues west of the

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Azores and Cape Verde Islands. All discoveries east of this line should belong to Portugal; all west to Spain.

The next year, 1494, these two powers, by treaty,⁴ and without papal mediation, moved this line westward to 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. This change, later on, gave Brazil to Portugal; for in 1500, Cabral, following the route to India opened by Vasco da Gama in 1498, intentionally or unintentionally blundered onto the coast of Brazil; and the territory was found to be east of the "Pope's line," so-called. King Francis wrote to Carlos of Spain: "Your Majesty and the King of Portugal have divided the world between you, offering no part of it to me. Show me, I beseech you, the will of our father Adam, that I may judge whether he has really constituted you his universal heirs!"

When we consider that during this same period Spain was conducting wars by land and sea with other European nations, and establishing settlements in the East Indies, as well as in America, we cannot but be impressed with the magnitude of her undertakings, nor fail to admire the daring, hardships, and success of the Conquistadores.

The means wherewith to prosecute and maintain these wars and conquests came from the mines of Mexico and Peru, which were yielding tons of the precious metals under the slave labor of the Indians. Spain having such a large territory to look after, it was natural that most of her endeavors should be directed to those parts of the mainland yielding the largest returns; and that the islands, first discovered, where but little gold was now found, should be neglected. Spain prohibited settlement by other nationalities within her dominion, and foreign ships were not permitted to trade with her people. Even Spanish traders, in the West Indies, were required to pay a high license to the King, and her colonists were taxed enormous import duties.

Emigration from Spain was large, and the home factories could not fully supply her colonists in the New World. The Spanish settlers welcomed the foreign smugglers, and bought their much needed supplies without paying the enormous taxes imposed on them by their king. America was the source of Spain's wealth and greatness; yet, for three hundred years, she restricted and taxed the trade of her struggling colonists. Had it not been for the intimate association between Church and State, and the control of the people by the priesthood, the

⁴ Treaty of Tordesillas, June 7, 1494.

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Spanish-American colonies would have declared their independence a century earlier than they did.

Inasmuch as Isabella had been the patroness of Columbus, while Ferdinand of Aragon contributed nothing, America was considered as belonging to Castile, and her citizens were favored above those of other parts of Spain. It was but natural that foreign ships should evade the duties in selling supplies to Spanish colonies; and it was also natural that the colonists should buy goods in the cheapest market, even though it be of illicit traders. Unlicensed foreign ships were generally called *forbans* in Haiti.

In order to keep the plantations going, African slavery had early been introduced into the West Indies to replace the Indian slaves exterminated by the Spanish taskmasters. "Whenever colonies are founded by conquering hordes the same types arise, and the sedentary element is subjugated, as in South America and Mexico. Where it does not exist, where only wandering tribes of huntsmen are found, who can be exterminated but not exploited, resource is had to slavery by importing from afar exploitable and compellable masses of men." (Dr. Franz Oppenheimer.) Adventurous merchantmen dealt in negroes as in any other commodity, and their cargoes were welcomed by planters and others. Sir John Hawkins made a number of voyages in the 16th century, and is often credited with being the first slaver in these parts. As French, English, and Dutch gradually invaded the West Indies, smuggling became so pronounced that the Spanish government maintained *guarda-costas*, or armed cruisers, among the islands and along the main, and the officers were instructed to capture all foreign ships, to destroy all foreign settlements, and to take no prisoners.

At this time, the large islands and towns were settled with Spaniards, but remote parts and some of the smaller islands were occupied by other Europeans; mostly French, English, and Dutch. Settlers of other nations, with a common foe, found it necessary and profitable to combine for mutual defence; and every Spaniard was considered an enemy. Spanish trading vessels found it unsafe to cruise among the islands, as they were in danger of capture by bands of foreigners calling themselves "Brethern of the Coast," and who were known later as Freebooters, Flibustiers, and Buccaneers. Aggressions by these foreigners formed the grounds of frequent complaints by the Spanish Ambassadors at the courts of St. James and Versailles.

To one of these complaints Queen Elizabeth replied, "That

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the Spaniards had drawn these inconveniences upon themselves by their severe and unjust dealings in their American commerce; for she did not understand why either her subjects, or those of any other European prince, should be debarred from traffic in the Indies. That, as she did not acknowledge the Spaniards to have any title by the donation of the Bishop of Rome, so she knew no right they had to any places other than those they were in actual possession of; for that they having touched only here and there upon a coast, and given names to a few rivers or capes, were such insignificant things as could no ways entitle them to a propriety further than in the parts where they actually settled, and continued to inhabit." (Camden). While these hostile acts were officially disowned, there is no doubt but that they had the secret support of their governments, and the backing of popular opinion at home.

The nursery of all English and French colonies in the West Indies was the island of St. Christopher, now known as St. Kitts. This island was discovered, in 1493, by Columbus on his second voyage to America, and he called it after the saint for whom he himself was named. It is one of the small, gem-like islands of the Caribbee group, and lies about midway between Porto Rico and Guadeloupe. Close by, is Nevis island, where Hamilton was born, and where Nelson married.

In the year 1625, a party of English under Thomas Warner,⁵ and some French led by Denambuc, on the same day, invaded St. Christopher, and started separate colonies. "Thus the governments of Great Britain and France, like friendly fellow-travellers, and not like rivals who were to contend in a race, began their West Indian career by joint consent at the same point both in time and place." (Burney.)

As usual, the landing of white men was baptized with the blood of the rightful owners of the soil. One hundred and twenty of the Carib⁶ men were killed, a lot of women captured, and the rest driven from the island. Spain now had some rivals; and this settlement by English and French on St. Christopher, in 1625, marks the beginning of that international strife for the possession of the West Indies and the mastery in the Caribbean, which has continued down to the present day. The colonies flourished; but disagreements arose, and in a few years the island became too small for both of them. Before they

⁵ Upon his return to England, Warner was knighted by James I.

⁶ "Ils refrent en une nuit de tous les plus factieux de cette nation."—De Rochefort, "*Histoire Morale des Isles Antilles*."

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could cut each other's throats, a fleet of twenty-nine Spanish ships under Don Federico de Toledo arrived, in 1629, killed many of both parties, and broke up the settlements. Spain at that time was at war with England, France, and Holland; and Don Frederic was then on his way to attack the Dutch in Brazil. Some of the colonists returned later to St. Christopher, but most of them located, in 1630, on Tortuga, the garrison of twenty-five Spaniards retiring without a blow. The latter is a little island, five or six miles off the northwest coast of Haiti, which, from its resemblance to a sea-turtle (*tortuga de mar*), is called Tortuga. The Buccaneers built a fort, established magazines, and cultivated the land. For a long time, Tortuga was the headquarters of the Buccaneers, and a haven for the corsairs and smugglers of all nations.¹ It was easily defended, and gave an outlook over the Mona Passage, the route taken by Spanish galleons to and from Cartagena, Puerto Bello, and Vera Cruz.

Here the Buccaneers gathered supplies and planned their raids, divided the spoils of victory, gambled away their pieces-of-eight, and passed the nights in drunken revels in the arms of dusky mistresses.²

Orient and Occident paid them tribute; and wine, women, music, and dancing were the rewards of hardships and daring. When supplies ran low, and the pirates had lost their money, they clamored to go to sea again, or be led against some Spanish settlement.

Tortuga was captured more than once by the Spanish forces, but was always retaken by the Buccaneers. In 1638, the Spaniards chose a time when most of the Buccaneers were absent, descended upon the island, slew those remaining, and destroyed their fort and houses. The Buccaneers to the number of three hundred, then united under an Englishman named Willis, and recaptured their stronghold.

In 1641, the French Governor-General, De Poigny, came from St. Christopher with a party of Frenchmen, and established his seat of government on Tortuga. His first act was

¹ "Tortuga, the common Refuge of all sort of Wickedness, and the Seminary, as it were, of Pirates and Thieves." Yet, they are described as living together in an orderly manner, and without bolts or bars to their houses.

² The Buccaneers led profligate, irregular, and intemperate lives, consumed enormous quantities of meat and alcohol, and were exposed to many hardships and dangers; yet we do not read of diseases and epidemics among them, like occurred in the Spanish *flotas*, and the fleets of Drake and Vernon.

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to expel all the English from the island; to which they never returned.⁹ De Poigny gradually installed French governors on the adjoining coast of Haiti, which was the beginning of French regime on that island.

In 1655, the Cromwellian forces, under Penn and Venables, took Jamaica from the Spanish, largely with the help of the Buccaneers. This gave the English Buccaneers a convenient gathering place at Port Royal. Thereafter, the English and French had separate headquarters, but were always ready to co-operate in any large undertaking. "The English and French Buccaneers were faithful associates, but did not mix well as comrades," says Captain Burney.

The greatest advantage possessed by Tortuga as a base for the Buccaneers, was its proximity to the wild cattle and *bucans* on Haiti. In order to understand the etymology of the term buccaneer, a few facts must first be considered. The West India islands produced no cattle, either wild or domestic. Columbus relates that he found deer on Trinidad, probably because it was so near *tierra firme*, but the northern islands contained no quadrupeds larger than the wild pig or peccary; the *utia*, a kind of coney; and the "dumb dog," in Cuba.

Soon after the Discovery, the Spaniards brought over black cattle from the mother country in order to provide meat for food. This stock increased rapidly and ran wild over the islands. Very early, too, the Spaniards introduced fierce mastiffs and blood-hounds, with which to kill and enslave the Indians. These dogs multiplied so fast that they could not be kept in the settlements, so they, also, became wild, and preyed upon the calves and native wild hogs. In order to prevent the extermination of their meat supply, it was necessary to poison many of these wild dogs.

One of the first and largest of the islands discovered by Columbus was Española; at different times called Hispaniola, Santo Domingo, and Haiti. (The Indians called their island Ayte, and Haiti it should be). Here, the Spanish cattle flourished so abundantly that the increase "passeth man's reason to believe."¹⁰ Foreigners, mostly French and English, hunted these wild cattle for their meat, tallow, and hides, and developed a regular industry. The hides were carried to the port, where

⁹ The fall of Quebec, 1759, began at Tortuga, in 1641, when the French ousted the British from the island.

¹⁰ Hakluyt.

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they were bought by navigators, by bondsmen, who engaged themselves to serve three years, and hence were called *engagés*.¹¹ These men hunted in small parties on foot, and used a musket or buccaneering-piece, four and a half feet long, shooting an ounce bullet. Their skill in shooting, acquired in hunting cattle, is one of the factors which made them successful when engaging an enemy. In addition, they carried four knives, a bayonet, a quantity of the best French powder in a waxed calabash, and a small tent. These equipments, with a supply of dried beef, made them well prepared for an expedition on very short notice. No doubt one of the knives was a kind of *machete*, which would serve equally well against the jungle on shore, and as a cutlass at sea. The Buccaneers generally wore a loose blouse and drawers, belted around the waist, and hide sandals. The cattle being killed, the hunter cut a hole in the carcass, through which he stuck his head, and thus carried the meat into camp. These cattle hunters naturally presented a bloody and forbidding appearance.

The meat was cut into strips and hung on a frame made of green wood, over a slow fire. This method of curing meat, by drying and smoking, was learned from the Indians, who called the place of drying or smokehouse, where the curing was done, a *bucan*; and the dried meat, also, *bucan*.¹² The grate (*grille de bois*) was called *barbacue*,¹³ and on it was placed the animal,

¹¹ A master always fixing upon Sunday to have his hides carried to market, an engagé represented that God had forbidden work on the 7th day. The Buccaneer replied: "And I say to thee, six days thou shalt kill bulls, and strip them of their skins, and on the seventh day thou shalt carry their hides to the sea-shore."

¹² The fresh boucan restored the ailing to health. André says boucan did not keep well after six months without the addition of salt. In some of the West India islands the term boucan is used to designate the place for drying cocoa or coffee.

¹³ Also written *barbacra*. This was their common mode of cooking; and from it we get our word *barbacue* (barbecue). In Central America, *barbacoa* means a frame made of sticks; in Cuba, it refers to a platform in the lofts of country houses, upon which fruits and grain are kept. When William Dampier was with the log-wood cutters in Campeche, he slept on a barbecue, and used the sleeping pavilion necessary for defence against the insects. Dampier writes that when the Buccaneers revisited Juan Fernandez, in 1684, they found that William, the Mosquito Indian, had built himself a hut: "and slept on his couch or *barbecu* of sticks, raised about two feet from the ground and spread with goats' skins."

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fish, or meat to be roasted or dried. The Caribs¹⁴ (the word means cannibals), used to cut up their prisoners and make them into *bucan*.¹⁵ This word was adopted into the French language as *boucan*, and the verb became *boucaner*. "Les Caraïbes Indiens naturels des Antilles ont accoutumé de couper en pieces leurs prisonniers de guerre & de les mettre sur de manieres de claies, sous lesquelles ils mettent du feu. Ils nomment ces claies *Barbacra*, & le lieu ou les sont, *boucan*, & l'action, *boucaner*; pour dire, rotir & fumer tout ensemble." (Dict. de Trevoux, Paris, 1771).

The cattle-hunters were called by the French, *boucaniers*; and by the English, *buccaneers*. The latter soon became a general term, replacing and including "brethren of the coast," and *flibustiers*. It is often stated that flibustier was derived from the English word freebooter. This is rather far-fetched; though both may have had a common origin in the Dutch word *vribuiter*, which means the same thing. What is more likely, however, is that flibustier and filibuster are derived from the English flyboat,¹⁶ a small, swift sailing vessel said to be first used on the river Vly, in Holland. When the northern seamen invaded the West Indies, the Spaniards called their vessels *flibotes*, and the men, *flibusteros*; French, *flibustiers*.

¹⁴ Some anthropologists believe that the Caribs were not anthropophagi, but that the human remains found in their cooking pots, and the desiccated arms and legs hanging from the rafters of their shacks, were simply the native way of curing and preserving their caciques and relatives. Says Juan Ignacio de Armas, a Cuban writer, in 1884,— "No habia dos razas en las Antillas, sino una sola, de costumbres dulces i pacificas. La fabula de los Caribes fué al principio un error jeográfico; luego una alucinacion; despues una calumnia. Hoi no es mas que una rutina, que hai que borrar cuanto antes de los libros de historia, de jeografia, de ciencias naturales i antropológicas; i lo que es mas consolador, del catálogo de manchas que aún deshonoran la especie humana."

I believe the Carib Indians ate human flesh, and also preserved cadavers in the same fashion they cured meat and fish. From drying fish, to boucaning the flesh of their enemies, and then preserving their dead by the same method, was but a natural transition. Flesh-eaters still rule the world; just as the Caribs overcame the root-eating Arawaks of the West Indies. Cannibalism being no longer fashionable in Ireland, the aggressive Irishman leaves home to satisfy his craving for meat; and as conditions in Ireland improve, emigration lessens.

"When population becomes dense enough to make it profitable to exploit mankind, the cannibal spares his conquered blood-foe, to turn him into a labor-motor, and, by initiating slave-labor, organizes the mechanism of exploitation, afterwards called a state." (Oppenheimer.)

¹⁵ "Ils les mangeant apres les avoir bien boucannée, c'est a dire, rotis bien sec."—Du Tertre, "*Histoire des Antilles*."

¹⁶ Perhaps from *fluyt* (Dutch).

Three hundred eighty-five

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The fires in the boucans were fed with the fat, bones, and trimmings of the meat, which gave the dried product a fine flavor. The meat of the wild hog was also boucaned, and when salt was added, it remained sweet for a long time, and was preferred by the Buccaneers for lengthy cruises. When these interlopers planned an attack against a Spanish settlement, or a cruise to prey upon Spanish merchantmen, they first went to Española or some other island where the Spaniards had introduced cattle, and boucaned a lot of meat. Other supplies they expected to acquire by capture. At one time the Spaniards tried to exterminate the cattle and hogs on Española, in order to prevent the Buccaneers from getting supplies of their favorite meat.

A great advantage which the Buccaneers had over the Spaniards was the friendship and aid of the Indians, and of the runaway negroes. One of the injunctions in the commissions to Columbus and the other discoverers, was to Christianize the Indians; and the Pope, in donating most of the New World to Spain, required, as a consideration, that the natives should be converted to Christianity. This obligation Spain proceeded to discharge with all the zeal and intolerance of the times, and the bigotry of her priesthood. Conversion by sword and fagots was not relished by the Indians. Those who were not captured and enslaved, retired to the mountains and swamps; and to this day there are tribes in Panama, and other Spanish-American States, who have never been conquered by Spaniards or other white men. Besides, there were settlements in remote parts of the islands, and on the main, formed by fugitive slaves, called Cimarrones, by the Spaniards; and Simarons, and later Maroons,¹⁷ by the English. These wild Indians (*indios bravos*), and Maroons were often guides and allies of the Buccaneers; who, in return, supplied them with knives, hatchets, cloth, and gawags. Later on, the Mosquito Indians of Honduras, who were under the special protection of England, usually furnished pilots and fishermen for the Buccaneers.

When an expedition was contemplated, notices were sent out, and a rendezvous appointed. Each man was required to furnish his own arms and powder. The captains held council, and elected one of their number leader or admiral. Articles of agreement and regulations were drawn up and signed. The men swore not to desert, or conceal any booty. The pay of

¹⁷ Distinguish Maroons from Marooners. The latter was a term applied to the American pirates of the 18th century, from their practice of putting their captives ashore on uninhabited islands.

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each officer and man was specified, contingent, of course, upon making captures; the understanding being, "no prey, no pay." Each captain was allowed so much for his vessel; and the surgeon given 200 pieces-of-eight for his stores. Preferential shares were set aside for the maimed and wounded. The loss of a right arm was rewarded with 600 pieces-of-eight, or six slaves; while the left was worth only 500 pieces-of-eight, or five slaves. The right leg was valued at 500 pieces, the left at 400 pieces-of-eight. The compensation for the loss of one eye was the same as for the loss of a finger, 100 pieces-of-eight, or one slave. Any boys aboard received half a share each. Two friends would often swear brotherhood;²⁸ and make the other heir to his share in case of death.

When the Buccaneers sailed under commission,²⁹ the Governor or Admiral granting the authority claimed one-tenth of the prizes. It is stated that these agreements were well observed, and the spoils equably distributed. Values were reckoned in the Spanish colonial silver dollar (*peso duro*, or *peso de ocho reales de plata*), called by the English a piece-of-eight, because it contained eight reales. The food of the Buccaneers included boucan, maize, cassava, potatoes, fish, turtle, banana, and tropical fruits.

The Buccaneers were civil to each other, and good order and discipline were observed aboard ship. The English generally held divine service each Sunday, and profanity and gaming were sometimes prohibited in the signed articles.

Captain Watling began his command by ordering the observance of the Sabbath; Richard Sawkins threw overboard the dice he found in use on that day; and Captain Daniel shot one of his crew for irreverent behavior when Pere Labat held mass on his ship. Before engaging in battle, prayers for success were often offered. After taking a town, part would repair to the church to sing a *Te Deum*, while the remainder would loot and outrage the inhabitants.

Sometimes as many as thirty or forty small vessels, comprising one to two thousand men, would gather for an expedition. The Buccaneers usually attacked in small boats; often using canoes. They would so approach a galleon as to run in under her guns without getting in range, while the expert marksmen from among the *boucaniers* would pick off the gunners and the

²⁸ This was called *matelotage*.

²⁹ Except when Spain was at war with the government issuing the commissions, they were not much protection. The Spaniards sometimes hanged buccaneer captains with their commissions tied about their necks.

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man at the wheel. Once alongside, the crew of one boat would wedge the rudder so that the ship could not maneuver, while the rest would quickly board her. The Buccaneers sometimes scuttled their own boats in order to cut off all retreat, and make themselves fight more desperately.

It seems to be a fact that the Buccaneers were uniformly successful, so that individual Spanish ships were driven from the Caribbean Sea. Spanish merchantmen sailed under convoy with the plate-fleets, one of which sailed yearly from Vera Cruz (San Juan de Ulloa), and the other from Puerto Bello. Conditions were very much as they had been in the previous century, when Hawkins, Drake, Frobisher, and other English privateers, preyed upon Spanish commerce, and paralyzed her trade with her colonies.

Plate and merchandise were the chief spoils of the Buccaneers. The loot and prizes were disposed of to the merchants and planters of St. Domingo, Martinique, Jamaica, and Curacao, much to their profit; while the rum-shops and brothels of Petit Goaves and Port Royal were wide open to catch the pieces-of-eight.²⁰ A share frequently amounted to from 1,000 to 5,000 dollars.²¹ Persons of note were held for ransom, while the remainder were set ashore, or put in a discarded ship. When a captured ship was held, she was given to the second in command of the Buccaneers. When a town was taken, the inhabitants

²⁰ "Such of these Pirates are found who will spend two or three thousand pieces-of-eight in one night, not leaving themselves, peradventure, a good shirt to wear on their backs in the morning. My own master would buy, on like occasions, a whole pipe of wine, and placing it in the street, would force every one that passed by to drink with him; threatening also to pistol them, in case they would not do it."—Exquemelin.

²¹ Within the Tropics, by reason of climatic and other conditions, men and women do not hold themselves to as strict account as in the temperate regions of the earth.

When remonstrated with for their reckless and heedless lives, one of the Buccaneers made this ingenuous reply: "Exposed as we are to such a variety of dangers, our life is totally different from that of other men. Why should we, who are alive today, and may be dead tomorrow, think of hoarding up? We reckon only the day we live, but never think upon that which is to come. Our concern is rather to squander life away, than to preserve it."

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were often locked in a church²² while the looting went on. Oftentimes persons were put to the torture to make them disclose hidden treasure.

It is undoubtedly true, that it was the success of the Buccaneers which forced Spain, in 1670, to make a treaty with England. In this "Treaty of America," as it is called, peace was declared between Spain and Great Britain; and the latter should hold all lands and colonies in America then in possession of British subjects. In addition, both Spaniards and Englishmen were forbidden to trade or sail to any places whatsoever under the dominion of the other without particular license. This restriction on trade stirred up the Buccaneers anew, and brought about Morgan's raid on Chagre and Panama.

On account of local conditions, and in spite of treaties between the home governments, there could be "no peace beyond the line," so the saying went. As Sir Walter Raleigh, just before his beheading, wrote to Lord Carew: "To breake peace where there is noe peace, itt cannott bee." By "line" was meant the Tropic of Cancer, which was crossed in reaching the West Indies and the Spanish Main; and not the Equator, as we now understand the term. In those days, greenhorn sailors and passengers received a baptism of sea-water, or paid a forfeit, on crossing both Tropics. Or, it may have referred to that "line of demarcation," drawn by the Pope one hundred leagues west of the Cape de Verd islands.

The Buccaneers were a New World analogue to the Vikings; such as could only develop in an unsettled country, and where great treasure was to be secured by sea and land. Their lives were filled with heroic or savage deeds. Dampier always refers to the Buccaneers, as privateers. Exquemelin calls them pirates. Their one great bond and characteristic was their unvarying enmity to Spain. If we include the 16th century privateers, this loose confederacy against Spain existed for nearly two hundred years. The Buccaneers were utilized, taxed, or hanged by the home governments for reasons of state.

The French people have always regarded with sympathy and

²² When the Buccaneers entered the Spanish churches, the English would shoot at the images, and hack and slash everything with their cutlasses.

"I observed in all the Indian towns under the Spanish Government that the images of the Virgin Mary, and of other saints, with which all their churches are filled, are painted of an Indian complexion, and partly in an Indian dress; but in the towns which are inhabited chiefly by Spaniards the saints conform to the Spanish garb and complexion."—Dampier.

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admiration the daring exploits of their pioneers in the West Indies. Says the Abbé Raynal, writing in 1781—

“England, France, and Holland, had sent, at different times, considerable fleets into the New World. The intemperance of the climate, the want of subsistence, the dejection of the troops, rendered the vast concerted schemes unsuccessful. Neither of these nations acquired any national glory, nor made any considerable progress by them. Upon the very scene of their disgrace, and on the very spot where they were so shamefully repulsed, a small number of adventurers, who had no other resources to enable them to carry on a war, but what the war itself afforded them, succeeded in the most difficult enterprises. They supplied the want of numbers and of power, by their activity, their vigilance, and bravery. An unbounded passion for liberty and independence, excited and kept up in them that energy of soul that enables one to undertake and execute every thing; it produced that vigor, that superiority in action, which the most approved military discipline, the most powerful combinations of strength, the best regulated governments, the most honorable and most striking rewards and marks of distinction, will never be able to excite.” * * *

“Accordingly, the history of past times does not offer, nor will that of future times ever produce, an example of such an association; which is almost as marvellous as the discovery of the New World. Nothing but this event could have given rise to it, by collecting together, in those distant regions, all the men of the highest impetuosity, and energy of soul that had ever appeared in our States.” *Vol. V., p. 78.*

One of the first Buccaneers we find mention of was Pierre Le Grand (Peter the Great), a native of Dieppe. With only twenty-eight men in an open boat, he captured the largest and richest galleon of the plate-fleet, commanded by the Spanish vice-admiral. With sword in one hand and pistol in the other, the Buccaneers boarded her in the dusk of the evening, and seized the gun-room and cabin. The captain, looking up from his game of cards, saw a pistol leveled at his breast, and exclaimed: “Jesus bless us! Are these devils, or what are they?” Retaining certain persons for ransom, the Buccaneer chief set the Spanish crew ashore on Cape Tiburon, the southwestern extremity of Haiti. Peter’s head was as big as his body, for he sailed his rich prize straight away to France; and never went abuccaneering again.

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Men of respectable lineage, on joining the Buccaneers, frequently dropped their real name and adopted some sobriquet. Another filibustier, known to history as Alexandre, Bras-de-Fer (Iron Arm), duplicated the exploit of Pierre Le Grand, and took a large Spanish ship of war. Still another Frenchman, a gentleman of Languedoc, by the name of Montbars, became so embittered against the Spaniards that he voyaged to the West Indies and asked the privilege of joining the Buccaneers,²³ saying—"I will head you, not as your commander, but as the foremost to expose myself to danger." He was so zealous and proficient in slaying Spaniards as to acquire the surname of "The Exterminator."

As Spanish commerce was driven from the Main, and the plate-fleets and *Galeones* ventured only in strong convoys, the Buccaneers directed their energies to the Spanish settlements. The first free-booter to begin invasion by land was Lewis Scott, who looted San Francisco, in Campeche. In 1654, French and English Buccaneers ascended in canoes a river of the Mosquito shore, just south of Capt Gracias á Dios, marched overland to Nueva Segovia, which they plundered, and then returned down the river. Captain John Davis went up to Lake Nicaragua, and sacked Granada and Leon of plate and jewels. On his return from this expedition, Davis was made Admiral of seven or eight vessels, and took and looted St. Augustine in Florida, in face of the garrison of two hundred Spanish soldiers. Captain Mansfield,²⁴ too, invaded Nicaragua, captured Granada, and reached, it is said, the shore of the South Sea.

In 1683, twelve hundred French filibustiers, led by Van Horn, Grammont, and Laurent de Graaf, sailed in six vessels for Vera Cruz (San Juan de Ulloa). By raising Spanish colors, they got in the harbor without opposition,, shut the people in the churches, took a lot of plunder and slaves, and escaped without any fighting.

The worst and most inhuman of the Buccaneer captains was Francois Lolonnois, a native of France from near the sands of

²³ Raveneau de Lussan went into buccaneering to obtain means to pay his debts.

²⁴ At one time Mansfield landed at Port Matina, and marched against Cartago, the old capital of Costa Rica. At Turialba he was opposed by the Governor; when the Virgin appeared with a host of heavenly warriors, and scared off the Buccaneers. This is very interesting; and, if true, we cannot blame the Buccaneers for retreating. For years after, the people of Cartago performed yearly pilgrimage to the Virgin's shrine at Ujarraz.

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Olonne, from which he took his name. Lolonnois came out to the Caribbee islands as a bondsman, and became an engagé. After his time was up, he went to Haiti, and served so well as a common mariner that the Governor of Tortuga, M. de la Place,²⁵ gave him a ship. On one of his first raids, in Campeche, Lolonnois was wounded by the Spaniards, and left for dead on the field. It is related that he tore out the hearts of his victims and devoured them; and drank the blood as it dripped from his sabre. He cut off the heads of ninety Spaniards with his own hand, and flung the crews of four vessels into the sea. Lolonnois, with another commander, Michel le Basque (often written, Michael de Basco), led a party of 650 men to the Gulf of Venezuela. The fort guarding the entrance to Lake Maracaibo was taken, and 250 men put to the sword. The Buccaneers then proceeded to loot the city of Maracaibo on the west shore, and the town of Gibraltar at the southern extremity of the lake. By plunder and torture, Lolonnois gathered 400,000 crowns on this expedition.

Lolonnois has been called the third chief of the filibusters, his predecessors being Roc-de-la-Roche, and Bras-de-Fer. Shortly after the Maracaibo venture, Lolonnois was captured by the Darien Indians, cut in quarters, roasted and eaten; and, the French chronicler adds, "Que Dieu lui fasse paix et veuille avoir son ame, puisque les sauvages ont eu son corps."

French writers, including Pére Charlevoix, a Jesuit father, usually speak of him with praise. Exquemelin, himself a Buccaneer, probably gives a truer estimate of Lolonnois when he writes: "Thus ends the history of the life and miserable death of that infernal wretch L'Ollonais, who, full of horrid, execrable and enormous deeds, and also debtor to so much innocent blood, died by cruel and butcherly hands, such as his own were in the course of his life."

The alleged portrait of Lolonnois, depicted in the books, fully confirms this estimate of his character.

The ablest and most popular of the Buccaneers in the Caribbean Sea was Edward Mansfield (Mansveldt), who was their leader or Admiral. He had them so well organized that he conceived the idea of founding an independent Buccaneer state, with laws and a flag of their own. To establish a headquarters, he collected a force of 15 vessels and 500 men, and, in 1664, drove the Spanish garrison out of Santa Catarina²⁶ (St.

²⁵ Another account says it was "Capitaine Roc, Seigneur de la Roche," who gave Lolonnois the boat.

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Catherine, or Old Providence), a small island off the Mosquito coast. On this expedition, Henry Morgan was second in command. Mansfield garrisoned the fort with 100 Buccaneers, under command of Le Sieur Simon, and returned to Jamaica for more recruits. Governor Modyford of Jamaica, usually friendly to the Buccaneers, opposed this scheme, as it removed their trade from Jamaica, and he would lose his share for issuing commissions. Failing to receive encouragement here, Mansfield sailed for Tortuga, in order to interest the filibustiers in his plan. During the passage he was suddenly taken ill, and shortly afterwards died. Another account says that Mansfield was captured by the Spaniards, and hanged in Havana. It was not long before Santa Catarina was besieged by a large Spanish force. Le Sieur Simon, hearing of Mansfield's death, and receiving no reinforcements, was obliged to surrender the island.

On the death of Mansfield, Morgan was regarded as the chief of the English Buccaneers. His exploits were so important and so interesting to English readers, that they will be narrated in a separate chapter.

²⁸ Often written Santa Catalina.

Puerto Bello, in recent years, has occupied such an inconspicuous position that it is well to recall its importance in the early days, and the many interesting events which have occurred there. This place was not only the entry-port to the Isthmus, and to the city of Panama, but to all the west coast of South America, and even for a share of the trade with the Philippine Islands.

The ancient city of Puerto Bello, like the present town, was situated at the head of the bay of the same name, at the base of the mountains which surround the entire port in the form of a horse-shoe. The town consisted of one principal street extending along the shore, with smaller streets crossing it, running from the skirt of the hill to the beach. In its prime, in the time of the galleons and fair, Puerto Bello contained 130 houses, a custom house, hospital, governor's house, great church, and convents, as before related; as well as the four suburbs, Triana, Merced, Guinea, and the Shambles. At Ulloa's visit, in 1735, he noted scarcely 30 white families in the place. Numerous streams of fresh water poured down from the hillsides, forming pools in which the people bathed every morning at eleven o'clock. It was thought that the water caused dysentery.

Though the climate of Puerto Bello was better than that of Nombre de Dios, yet it was hot, humid, and sickly. "It destroys the vigor of nature, and often untimely cuts the thread of life." Horses and asses refused to breed, horned cattle lost their flesh, and hens brought from Cartagena and Panama declined to lay eggs. Child-birth was held to be uniformly fatal to both mother and infant, for which reason pregnant women moved to Cruces or Panama. Spanish galleons and other European ships, remaining any time at Puerto Bello, lost a half, or at least a third, of their men; and, on this account, the duration of the

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annual fair was reduced from 60 to 40 days. After the busy period of the *Feria*, or fair, and the ships and traders had departed, came the *Tiempo Muerto*, or dead time, when silence and tranquility resumed their former sway.

Tigers prowled about the streets at night, carrying off fowls, pigs, and sometimes even human beings. Venomous snakes were abundant, and the myriads of toads in the plazas and streets exceeded belief. The winds from the northeast were called *brisas*, and those from the southwest were known as *vendables*. Rain fell in torrents, accompanied by lightning and thunder, the noise being prolonged by reverberations from the sides of the surrounding mountains. The howlings of monkeys added to the din and tumult, especially when a man-of-war fired the morning and evening gun.

To the northwest of the city was a small bay, called *La Caldera*, or the kettle, having four and a half fathoms of water, sheltered from every wind, and excellent for careening vessels. To the northeast of the town emptied the Cascajal (pebbles) river, which was salt for a league and a half from its mouth, and contained alligators.

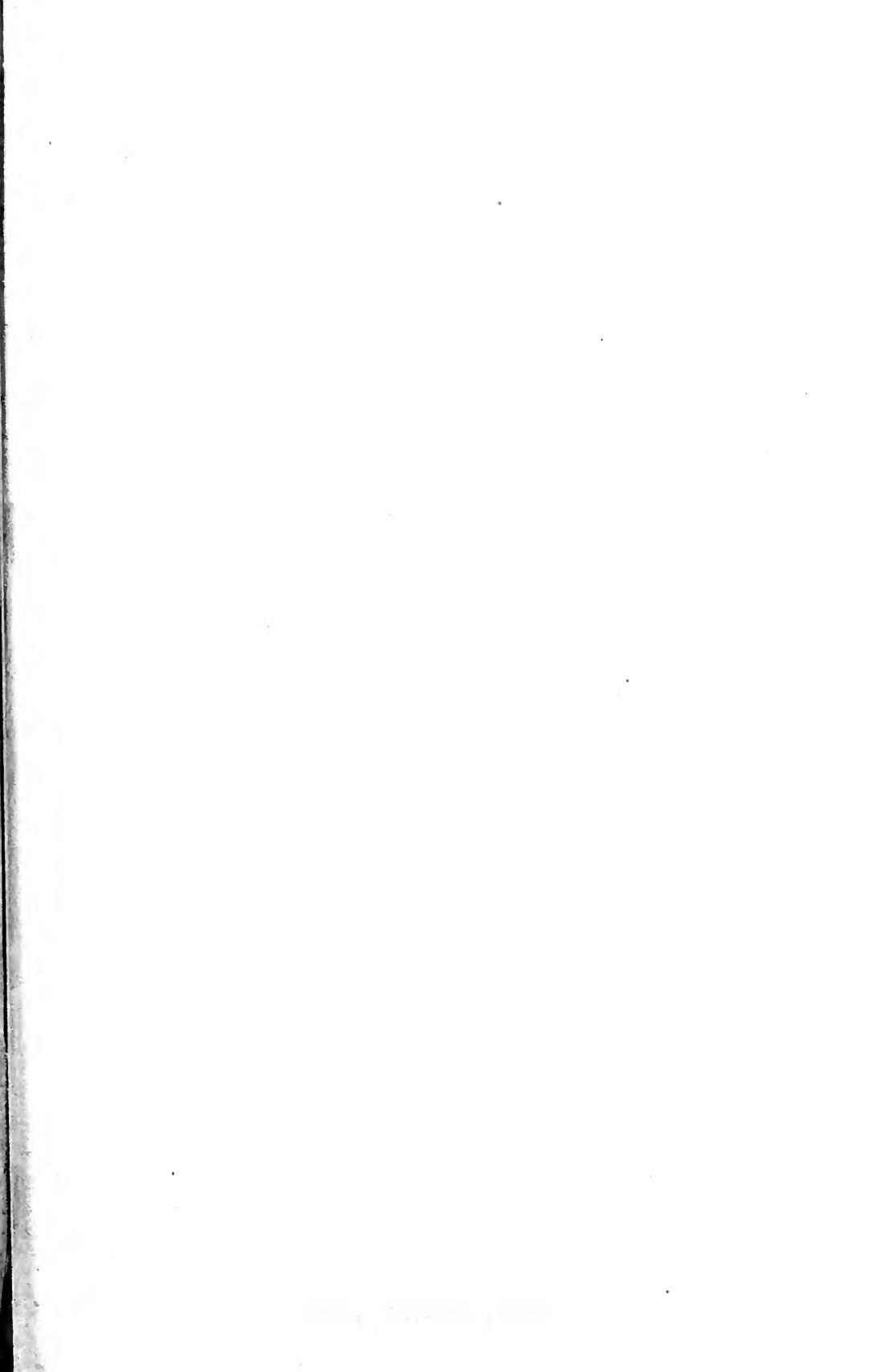
One of the mountains surrounding the harbor, from San Felipe on the north, around to the opposite point on the south, was the peak called *Monte Capira*, which stood at the extremity of the port, in the direction of the road to Panama. This mount was looked upon as a barometer for foretelling changes in the weather and seasons. The summit was always covered with dense and dark clouds, called its *capilla* (cap or hood), from which was corruptly formed the name Capira. When these clouds increased in blackness and descended lower than usual, it was a sure sign of a storm, and the people would say, "Calarse el gorro Capira"—Capira is putting on his night-cap. On the other hand, when the cap of clouds became lighter and ascended higher, it as certainly indicated the approach of fair weather.

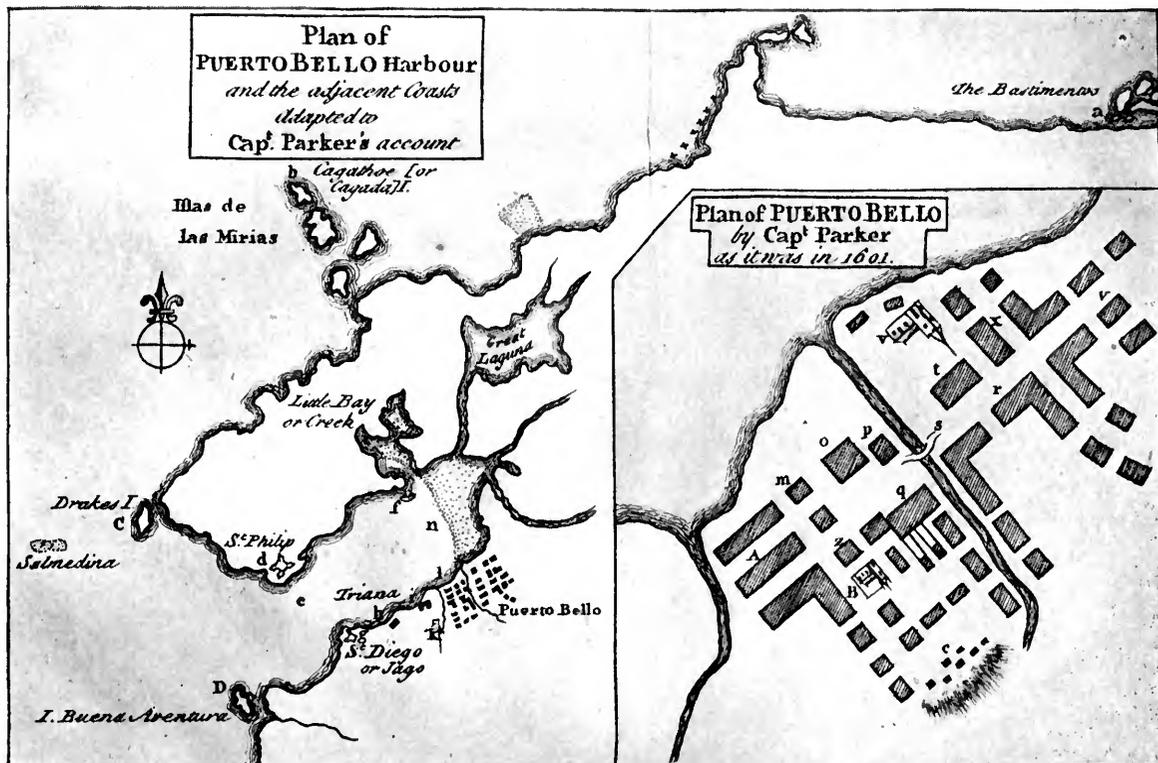
On the north point of the harbor's mouth, a kilometer in width, stood the fort called San Felipe Todo de Hierro, which ships had to approach within half-shot, on account of the rocks on the opposite point. On the south side of the port, southwest of the city, on the declivity of a hill, stood the castle called St. Jago de la Gloria, which was considered to be both larger and stronger than San Felipe, the Iron Fort. At the extremity of a point or causeway, half a furlong in length, facing the middle of the town, was a third fort, called San Jerónimo, seen by every visitor of the present day. At different periods, still other castles and batteries were erected.

Among the English privateers frequenting the Caribbean sea, in the sixteenth century, was Master *Andrew Barker* of Bristol. Like Hawkins and Drake, he had suffered losses at the hands of the Spaniards, being accused before the Inquisition, and his goods confiscated. "In recompense of which injurie (for that no suite prevaileth against the inquisition of Spaine)," he sailed from Plymouth, in the year 1576, in two ships, the *Ragged Staff* and the *Bear*, to prey upon the Spaniards in the West Indies.

Making some trifling captures, Barker arrived at Cape Vela, and then sailed to the bay of Tolu, about 18 leagues southwest from Cartagena. Here the English took a frigate and secured gold and silver to the value of 500 pounds, as well as some stones called emeralds, whereof one very large one, set in gold, was found tied secretly about the thigh

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From T. Gardner, *West Indies*, 1741.

PLAN OF PORTOBELLO, IN 1602.

Probably not in 1601, as above stated.

EXPLANATION OF THE PRECEDING PLAN

a.—The Baitimentos [about 6 Leagues from Puerto Bello] between which and the Shore Captain Parker failed with his Veffels in the night. The Paffage is very dangerous by reafon of the many Shoals.

b.—An Ifland called Cagathoe [or Cagada.]

c.—The Place where the Ships rode: There Sir Francis Drake's Coffin was thrown overboard. [Hence it is called Drake's Island.]

d.—The Eaftermoft Fort, called St. Philip's, with 35 Pieces of Brafs Ordnance and 50 Soldiers, who have a lodging near it.

e.—The Place where he anchored when the Fort hailed him.

f.—A Houfe built on a Frigat, and a fmall Bay hard by.

g.—The Weftermoft Fort, called St. Diago's [or Jago's] with 30 Soldiers and 5 Canon, 4 of which were carry'd over to the great Fort. They were bringing the 5th towards the Town to play againft the Englifh as they paffed to and from their Boats: but Parker fent Captain Gyles, who took it from them with the lofs of one Man only.

h.—Another Fort or Platform, wherein were no Ordnance.

i.—A Town called Triana, where the Captain landed with his two Shallops, having with him but 28 or 30 Men, with whom he marched to the great Town after caufing Triana to be burnt.

k.—A Fort which they were then building on a Hill, with a River clofe by it; which coming from the Mountains falls into the great River [or Harbour] this Fort will command both the Town and River [as did Gloria Caftle which ftood in the fame Place.]

l.—The Key where the two Pinnaces landed the reft of the Men at the great Town, an Hour after the Captain landed.

m.—A great Storehoufe (with Dwellings in it) full of large Timber for building Ships.

n.—The Place where two Friggats rode, which were taken: one of them had three Guns, which they turned upon the Enemy marching againft them from the Weftern Fort.

o.—The King's Houfe; where were two Pieces of Brafs mounted on Field Carriages, and 253 Soldiers belonging to the Houfe and Town; befides a Company of Town's-Men, who ufually keep their Court of Guard in the King's Houfe, which is full of Treafure when the Galleons arrive, but at no other time elfe. Here Lieutenant Barnet was fhot on the Side of his Head and through his Ear, and Captain Gyles, coming to fecond him was fhot over the Breaft and through his Arm.

p.—The Market Place or Court of Guard.

q.—Certain very handfome Houfes, where dwelt the Serjeant Major, with other Chief Commanders. Here the Englifh kept their Court of Guard.

r.—A Row of Houfes where divers Merchants dwelt.

s.—The Bridge, with a great River running under it, which defcends from the Mountains and falls into the River [or Harbour.]

t.—The Alcay's Houfe or Prifon, who fled with a fair Gold Chain about his Neck.

v.—Saint Mary's Church.

x.—The Street where Pedro Melendus [Pedro Melendes] advanced with 60 Soldiers againft Captain Parker who had but 8 or 9 with him.

y.—The Way leading to Pennemau [or Panama] full of Artificers; which was barricaded and defended by Gyles.

z.—The Houfe where Pedro Melendus dwelt.

A.—A Street full of all forts of Artificers; with two others Streets or Ways leading to the Weftermoft Forts.

B.—Another Church and Street of Artificers.

C.—The Out-Houfes of the Negroes, which were burned.

D.—The Place [Being the Ifland of Buena Aventura] where Captain Parker, after quitting Puerto Bello, rode with the Frigats, Pinnaces and Shallops, till Captain Rawlins joined him with two Ships from the other Ifland, [or Drake's Ifland.]

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of a friar. Some Spanish men-of-war came after them, and the privateers departed for Nombre de Dios and the river of Chagre. At the latter place, Barker landed ten of his men, who travelled for three or four days up into the woods, seeking the Simerons for guides and allies in some venture by land. The party did not find the negroes, and returned safely to the ships, yet most of them, with divers others of the expedition, presently fell sick; and within 14 days, eight or nine of the Englishmen died of a disease called there the Calentura, "which is a hote and vehement fever." Between the mouth of the Chagres and Veragua, Captain Barker captured another frigate, the crew of which was set on shore. In this vessel was found some gold, and among her guns were four cast pieces of ordnance, which the Spaniards had taken the year before from the ship which John Oxenham hid on the coast of Darien. Captain Barker carried these guns back to the Scilly Isles, near Cornwall.

In November, 1601, Captain *William Parker* set out from Plymouth with two ships, a pinnace, and two shallops, carrying a force of 378 men. He crossed over to Tierra Firme, touching first at Margarita; and then to the Rancheria, or pearl-fishery, on the island of Cubagua, a little to the southwest, which he captured after a fight with the governor of Cumana. Parker received pearls to the value of 500 pounds as ransom for his prisoners, and sailed away to the west. Off Cabo de la Vela, he took a large Portuguese slaver, with 370 negroes for Cartagena, which was released for 500 pounds. Continuing westward, and not being able to double the isles of Las Cabezas, the ships were driven into the Ensenada, or gulf of Aclé. Parker stood to the west again, and put into those islands, whence he sailed with 150 men, in two pinnaces and two shallops, to the islands of Bastimentos, which were peopled and fruitful. Here taking six or seven negroes for guides, Capt. Parker "prefrently entered the Mouth of the River of *Puerto Bello* the 7th of February, about Two o'clock in the Morning, the Moon thining very bright."

The English were hailed by the strong and stately castle of Saint Philip, and answering in Spanish that they were from Cartagena, were told to anchor, which they did. But an hour later, Parker took about 30 men in the two shallops, and started up the river (as the privateers generally called the bay or port of *Puerto Bello*). They were soon hailed and ordered to stop by the smaller fort, San Jago, which stood opposite to the great castle. The Captain proceeded, and landed at the first part of the town, called Triana, which he set on fire. Parker then marched over a little brook into the "great and rich Town of *Puerto Bello*," and attacked the king's treasure-house.

At this time, Captains Fugars and Lawrimer arrived in the pinnaces with 120 English, and joined in the fight. Pedro Melendes, the Governor of the town, advanced at the head of his soldiers, and was shot through his target and both arms at the first volley. Among the English, Captain Giles and Lieutenant Barnet were wounded. The Spaniards were forced to retire to the treasure-house, where they held out till almost day. Melendes was wounded in eight more places, and at length taken prisoner by Captain Ward, who was shot through both thighs. In consideration of his brave resistance, Parker directed his surgeon to dress the wounds of the Governor, and released him without ransom; more generous treatment than his great uncle Pedro Melendes

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had accorded to John Ribault, Laudoniere, and the French in Florida, of whom he cruelly murdered all that fell into his hands.

Captain Parker got 10,000 ducats in the treasury. Had he arrived seven days sooner, he would have secured 120,000 ducats. The English men were given the spoil of the town, which amounted to no small value in plate, money, and merchandise. The next day, February 8th, 1602, Parker posted guards, and built a barricade at the end of the streets leading to Panama, where Captain Giles was often attacked by the Spaniards who had fled from the town, always repulsing them with loss. The new town of Puerto Bello already possessed two goodly churches quite finished, and three small forts on the town-side of the harbor, in addition to the great St. Philip on the north shore. Parker did no injury to the main town, nor did he attempt to take the forts. At night, February 8th, he sailed out the port, all the forts firing, including 28 great shot from St. Philip. The boats were not struck, but a musket-ball from the western (or southern) shore struck Captain Parker in the elbow and came out at the wrist. He rode behind the isle of Buena Aventura, which lay between his pinnaces and fort St. Jago, until Captain Rawlings, the Vice-Admiral, came up with the two ships, which had been waiting eastward of the castle of St. Philip "under the Rock where Sir Francis Drake's coffin was thrown over-board."

The next day, February 9th, Parker sailed back towards the east, and put in the good bay of Sambo, twelve leagues east of Cartagena. Don Pedro de Coronna, Governor of that city, pulled his beard, and swore he would give a mule-load of silver to have but a sight of Parker and his company. He sent out two galleys, a brigantine, and two or three frigates to attack the English, "but they did not think proper to do it." Parker took in water, captured some more prizes, and then went to Jamaica. A little later he sailed through the gulf of Bahama, and reached the Azores, where he left his Vice-Admiral and two pinnaces to seek further prizes. Captain Parker departed for home, and arrived at Plymouth on the 6th of May, 1602.

In 1678-9 (as they wrote it in those days) the famous Buccaneer, Captain *Coxon* (or *Croxen*) sailed from Port Royal in 5 ships, with Captains Essex, Allison, Rose, and Sharp, and upwards of 300 men. They had a commission, costing 10 pieces-of-eight, from the Governor of Jamaica to cruise for three months only, but by the help of a little forgery (common on those occasions) they made shift to enlarge the time to three years. They came to the islands of Pinos, and then to Fuerte island. About the middle of the San Blas group, Coxon met a French man-of-war, commanded by Captain La Sound, and together they ranged up and down the coast of the Isthmus, but found no Spanish vessels to capture.

Coxon and La Sound then resolved to attack Puerto Bello, hoping to meet with as rich plunder as did Henry Morgan, ten years before. Leaving the fleet at some of the islands, 200 men proceeded in 14 or 15 canoes, and landed on the west side of Port Scrivan, 16 or 17 leagues east of Puerto Bello. This occasioned a wearisome march by land, but was better than going to the Bastimentos or other place nearer the town, thereby avoiding the scouts and look-outs which the Spaniards always kept in their neighborhood.

The Buccaneers were three nights on the way, hiding by day, and were not discovered until within an hour's march of Puerto Bello, when

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spied by a negro, who ran ahead to give the alarm. The privateers followed in such haste that they secured possession of the town before the Spaniards could form to oppose them. But few lives were lost. No attempt was made on the forts, the garrisons, as usual, not venturing out to attack the enemy. The Buccaneers looted the houses, and remained two days, expecting all the time to be assailed by the Spaniards, and fearing that their retreat might be cut off. Before departing, the booty was divided, amounting to about 40 pounds a man, including those left to guard the ships; besides what extraordinary shares were drawn by their officers, owners, surgeons, carpenters, and those losing limbs or killed in the expedition.

A Spanish report states that, in this same year, 1679, Juan Guartem, Eduardo Blomar, and Bartolomé Charpes, passed up the Mandinga river, crossed over to the Pacific slope, and plundered and burnt the town of Chepo. These freebooters were tried for their crimes by the Viceroy, and burned in effigy at Santa Fé de Bogata, while the very lively originals were yet ravaging the coasts on both sides of the Isthmus.

Edward Vernon, after whom was named Mount Vernon, the home of Washington, when a member of the English Parliament, arose in that body and declared that he could take Puerto Bello "with fix Ships only." The British government took him at his word, and gave him a commission as Admiral, and a fleet, to sail against the Spaniards in the West Indies. On July 20th, 1739, Vernon left England with nine men-of-war and one sloop. At Jamaica, the Governor let him have 240 land troops, and on November 5th, 1739, Admiral Vernon sailed from Port Royal with seven ships, bound for the Isthmus. His vessels were the *Burford*, 70 guns and 500 men, Capt. Thomas Watson, under the Admiral; the *Hampton Court*, 70 guns and 495 men, Capt. Digby Dent, under Commodore Charles Brown; the *Princess Louisa*, 60 guns and 400 men, Capt. Thomas Waterhouse; the *Stratford*, 60 guns and 400 men, Capt. Thomas Trevor; the *Worcester*, 60 guns and 400 men, Capt. Perry Main; the *Norwich*, 50 guns and 300 men, Capt. Richard Herbert and also the *Sherness*, which Vernon ordered to cruise off Cartagena, "difdaining to appear before Puerto Bello with one ship more than he had engaged to take it with."

Owing to contrary winds, the fleet did not arrive in sight of Puerto Bello until the 20th, when they anchored six leagues off shore for the night. At break of day, November 21st, 1739, Vernon's ships advanced in line of battle, piloted by James Rentone, captain of a merchant vessel, chasing some *guarda-costas* into the harbor. The Spaniards felt so confident of their superiority, that they feared the English would not enter the port, and showed a flag of defiance from the Iron Castle (San Felipe).

Admiral Vernon led his fleet in the *Hampton Court*, with the blue flag at the fore and the bloody flag at the main, the channel compelling him to approach within half-shot of the Iron Fort, which at this time mounted 100 guns, and was garrisoned with 300 soldiers. The wind died away, and the Admiral anchored opposite the fort, and in about twenty-five minutes fired above 400 balls against San Felipe. The *Norwich* now came up, and in twenty-eight minutes the *Worcester*, followed by the *Burford*. The English cannonade began to drive the Spaniards from their guns, and Vernon ordered Mr. Broderick, with 40

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sailors and a company of marines, to land in the very front of the Lower Battery, comprising 22 guns. The *Burford* was nearest to the fort, and subject to a terrific fire from the Spaniards, but her guns commanded the lower shore battery, and covered the landing parties. As Captain Downing led a company to assault the Iron Fort, he commanded the sailors to halt, and go up in regular order. "Never let us halt before we are lame," replied one of the sailors, with a great oath, and pushed on with the rest, climbed the first battery, struck the Spanish colors, and clapt up an English Jack in their room.

The Spanish gun-boats driven into the port, not being able to make any defence themselves, sent their men to the Iron Fort, to help man the guns. But the garrison was now running away, and soon showed a white flag. The *Stratford* now came in; but Vernon took the Iron Fort (San Felipe) with only four ships, in two hours. The Comandante of the fort, with 5 of his officers, and 35 men, made a last stand in a strong room, but surrendered when Mr. Broderick fired a gun or two through the door.

During the fight with the Iron Fort, the Spanish forts on the other side of the harbor also kept firing at the British. The *Hampton Court* tried her lower tier at them, and in a few minutes was so fortunate as to strike down the flag-staff of Gloria Castle, and carrying it over into the town, the ball passed through several houses, including that of the governor. The English guns sunk a sloop near Fort Geronimo. Night put an end to the fight, so far.

The next morning the English held a council on board the Commodore, and as there was no wind, it was resolved to warp up nearer the forts at night; but the Spaniards showed a white flag over Gloria, and sent off a boat bearing proposals of surrender, signed by Governor Don Francisco Martinez de Retez, and Don Francisco de Abaroa, commander of the *guarda-costas*. Vernon let the garrisons march out with the honors of war, but retained all the cannon, and the ships in the harbor, the last being the very war-vessels which had injured the English merchants, and brought about the war. Captain Newton, with his company of 120 Jamaica soldiers, was sent ashore to hold the forts. Ten thousand dollars were found, which Vernon ordered to be distributed among his men. The crews of the Spanish ships left their posts on the night of the 21st, and fell to plundering the town, so the people appealed to the victors for protection.

Admiral Vernon was joined by the remainder of his fleet, and started in to blow up the forts. He sent a message to the President of Panama, demanding that the English factors of the South Sea Company there confined be released: and Mr. Humphrey and Dr. Wright, with their servants, were delivered up.

After several weeks stay at Puerto Bello, Vernon returned to Jamaica, to refit his ships for the attack on Chagre. Early in the following year, the Admiral departed from Port Royal with 6 men-of-war, 2 bomb-ketches, 2 fire-ships, and 3 tenders. After dropping 350 bombs into Cartagena, and stopping again at Puerto Bello, Vernon arrived off the mouth of the Chagres river. In the afternoon of March 22nd, 1740, Admiral Vernon began to bombard the castle of *San Lorenzo*, and kept firing leisurely till 11 o'clock on Monday the 24th, when the Spaniards hung out a flag. Captain Knowles went ashore, and returned with Don Juan Carlos Gutierrez Zevallos [Ceballos], captain of foot, and Castellan.

Three hundred ninety-eight.

