

## CHAPTER V

### SPANISH RULE ON THE ISTHMUS

PEDRARIAS SUPERSEDED—LOPE DE SOSA APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF CASTILLA DEL ORO—  
PEDRARIAS LEAVES ANTIGUA—FOUNDS PANAMA—ESPINOSA SECURES PARIS'S  
GOLD—DIEGO DE ALBITES—HIS CAREER—HE RE-FOUNDS NOMBRE DE DIOS  
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—FAILS IN SAN SALVADOR—SELLS HIS INTEREST IN PERU—HIS DEATH—  
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THE reports made both by Oviedo, the veedor, who had gone back to Spain in October, 1515, and by Bishop Quevedo, who had also returned, were extremely adverse to Pedrarias, and it was determined by the Council of the Indies to supersede him. King Ferdinand died on January 23, 1516, and to his successor, his young grandson, Carlos I, afterwards destined to achieve great fame as the Emperor Charles V, fell the duty of appointing the new governor. He selected for the onerous post Lope de Sosa, who was then acting governor of the Canary Islands; but apparently de Sosa was in no hurry to take over his new command, for he did not arrive at Antigua until May, 1520.

In the meantime, Pedrarias, uneasy in mind as to what the rumored change might portend for himself, conceived the idea of becoming ruler on the shore of the South

Sea, where he hoped to be independent of the new governor of Castilla del Oro. With this object in view he proposed to his cabildo or council that the capital should be transferred from its then site to a new one on the other side of the isthmus. There were many reasons why this proposal was unlikely to find favor, not the least among them being the fact that in 1515 metropolitan privileges had been granted to Antigua, thus making it the first European city on the American continent, as well as the seat of the first bishopric. To abandon such a settlement and transfer its privileges elsewhere seemed little short of desecration, as well as being wholly impracticable; and the proposal was accordingly rejected.

Thereupon Pedrarias decided to go to Panama on his own account. With all the valuables that could be amassed and as many troops as could be induced to accompany them, the governor and his alcalde



CHAP. 2. §. 2. *Supposed Straights to the South Sea. Ebbing and flowing of the Sea.* 929

For this cause they haue called all that Ocean the South Sea, which lyeth on the other side of the East Indies, although a great part of it be feated to the North, as all the coast of new *Spaine*, *Nuaragna*, *Guatimala* and *Panama*. They say, that he that first discovered this Sea, was called *Blascomunes* of *Bilbo*, the which he did by that part which we now call *Maine Land*, where it growes narrow, and the two Seas approach so neere the one to the other, that there is but fewen leagues of distance: for although they make the way eighteene from *Nombre de Dios* to *Panama*, yet is it with turning to seeke the comoditie of the way, but drawing a direct line, the one Sea shall not be found more distant from the other. Some haue discoursed and propounded to cut through this passage of fewen leagues, and to ioyne one Sea to the other, to make the passage from *Peru* more commodious and easie, for that these eighteene leagues of Land betwixt *Nombre de Dios* and *Panama*, is more painefull and chargeable then 2300. by Sea, whereupon soine would say, it were a meanes to browne the Land, one Sea being lower then another. As in times past we finde it written, that for the same consideration, they gaue ouer the enterprize to winne the red Sea into *Nile*, in the time of King *Sesostrius*, and since, in the Empire of the *Othomans*. But for my part, I hold such discourtes and propositions for vaine, although this inconuenience should not happen, the which I will not hold for assured. I beleue there is no humaine power able to beate and breake downe those strong and impenetrable Mountaines, which God hath placed betwixt the two Seas, and hath made them most hard Rockes, to withstand the furie of two Seas. And although it were possible to men, yet in my opinion they should feare punishment from heauen, in seeking to correct the workes, which the Creator by his great prouidence hath ordained and disposed in the framing of this vniuersall world.

3 Leauing this discourle of opening the Land, and ioyning both Seas together, there is yet

*Terra firma.*  
 Straight of land but eight leagues betwixt North & South Seas.  
*Hexapodus.*  
*Iouiss.*

1. Emperor Charles V, by Titian (Pinacothek, Munich).  
 2. Philip II, by Titian (Prado, Madrid).  
 3. Extract from Acosta's History, in Purchas' Pilgrimes, 1625.



mayor, Espinosa, set out, and having reached the south coast in safety in January, 1519, once more took formal possession of mainland, islands, and ocean. They found that Hernando Ponce de Leon, whom, as will be remembered, Espinosa had left in command at Panama in 1517, had abandoned the post, and that Francisco de Compañon was still at the Pearl Islands, where Balboa had placed him; but this proved no bar to the designs the governor had formed, and accordingly, on August 15, 1519, Pedrarias officially founded the town of Panama, in the name and on behalf of Doña Juana the queen and Don Carlos her son. The surrounding lands he divided among his 400 followers, with permission to till them by means of any Indian slaves they might succeed in capturing.

Espinosa had by no means forgotten the great quantity of gold which the cacique Paris had retaken from Badajoz and had managed to retain, and, as soon as arrangements could be effected for that purpose, he set out in quest of it. Taking with him 150 men, he sailed to the west as far as that chieftain's territory, ascended the river in canoes, and found that Paris had recently died and that his son Cutara had succeeded to his position. The village was attacked and plundered, but no gold was discovered until a search was made around the body of the dead chief, then lying in state, and there gold to the value of 40,000 castellanos was obtained. Espinosa had further luck, for he succeeded in securing from a chieftain named Biruquete a large quantity of maize. With these two valuable commodities in his possession he went back to Panama, where half the treasure was buried, and Pedrarias and Espinosa returned to Antigua with the other half.

By one of those lucky chances which appear so remarkable to the student of history, the new town founded by Pedrarias obtained an importance which at its beginning no one could have foreseen. Among the Spaniards who had accompanied Pedrarias from Spain to Tierra Firme there

was a captain named Diego de Albites, who at one time seemed destined to achieve great reputation as a conquistador. He had been with Captain Guzman in 1515-1516, when that commander had discovered the original fishing village of Panama; he had been prominent in the ravages and lootings committed on that celebrated march; he had been one of those who helped to conduct Guzman's disastrous retreat, through the disturbed Indian country, back to Antigua; he had been in the thick of the fighting in 1516, when Espinosa worsted Paris; he had helped to establish at Panama in 1517 the southern station of the line of posts which was to cross the isthmus; and in the same year he had accompanied Espinosa when he returned, laden with booty but half famished, to Antigua. Albites had thus become a seasoned fighter. A little later he went on a raiding expedition along the north coast from Chagre to Veragua, and displayed so much ability in collecting gold and captives that the cabildo gave him a license to effect settlements in Veragua. Accordingly, in 1519, he sailed from Antigua to carry out his grand scheme of colonization, but when he had reached Punta Manzanillo, his vessel sprang a leak, and he put back to the island of Bastimentos, on which he and his men had just time to land before the ship went down. This disaster put an end to the Veragua scheme, but amends were made in another direction. Ferried across to the mainland in canoes by the natives, Albites and his party, very much against the wish of Pedrarias, who was just then at loggerheads with the Cabildo at Antigua and who looked with anything but favor on a possible rival to Panama, refounded Nombre de Dios, which had lain derelict since its abandonment by the remnant of Nicuesa's force. This foundation proved lasting, and for a long period Nombre de Dios remained the northern terminus of the trans-isthmian trade. Nombre de Dios and Panama are exactly opposite each other, and gradually there was built between them a paved

roadway, known as the Camino Real, over which, after the discovery of Peru, passed the plate-trains northward, and in both directions all other articles of merchandise. Panama thus became an important entrepôt on the Pacific side. In fact, around the towns of Panama and Nombre de Dios centers, to a large extent, the history of Tierra Firme for nearly sixty years.

Fortune thus played into the hands of Pedrarias. It befriended him very materially in another way. It appears that he made many journeys between Panama and Antigua. On one occasion, in May, 1520, when he happened to be at Antigua, Lope de Sosa, the new governor, arrived with 300 men to assume his office. Pedrarias was preparing to receive his successor with due pomp and formality, when word reached him that de Sosa, who had gone to his cabin on board ship to dress before disembarking, had suddenly died. This unexpected event gave Pedrarias a fresh lease of power. He once more proposed the removal of the capital to Panama, but, principally owing to the opposition of Oviedo, who had returned as regidor perpetuo, the proposal was once more rejected, and Pedrarias betook himself to his South Sea settlement, leaving to Oviedo the increasingly difficult task of ruling in Antigua.

Oviedo had magnificent ideas and high ideals, and he started in on his new and arduous duties with a will. He opened mines, built ships, traded with the natives, established peaceful relations with them, and, when they were not amenable to that kind of treatment, he knew how to use punitive measures effectually. His principal difficulty at first was with his fellow-countrymen. He was a reformer, and the colony was not ripe for reforms. Hence his attempts at putting down gambling, blasphemy, the keeping of mistresses, and the trading in Indian children, resulted in dissatisfaction and disaffection. Under so stern a régime the colony weakened, and, as it weakened, its native foes grew stronger and bolder. Finally Pedrarias took a

hand, deposed Oviedo, and appointed the Bachiller Corral to succeed him as head of the Cabildo. Oviedo, in virtue of his commission of regidor perpetuo, then took his seat as an ordinary member of the Council. In such a state of affairs there could not be much unity of purpose in municipal government. Things were assuming an ugly look, and the people of Antigua, alarmed at the prospect, decided to send Oviedo to present their grievances at the court of Spain. Before sailing he brought charges against Pedrarias, and had a narrow escape from being assassinated. A second unsuccessful attempt to kill him brought home the realization that the sooner he left the better it would be for his safety, and he sailed away on July 3, 1523. With his departure the life went out of Antigua. The people gradually abandoned it for Panama and Nombre de Dios. Finally, only one colonist, Diego Ribero, was left, and in September, 1524, he and all his family were slain by the Indians. At the same time the town was burned, and so effectually did it disappear, and so thoroughly did nature assert its sway, that at present no one can with certainty say what was the exact site of Antigua. The natives reassumed control of the district, and from that day to this the white man has been jealously excluded from the eastern part of Darien.

The downfall of Antigua was the uprise of Panama. Founded officially on August 15, 1519, Panama was created a city, and given a coat of arms, and had many privileges conferred on it, by royal decree of September 15, 1521. The Episcopal See was transferred from Antigua to Panama in 1524. In every official as well as practical way Panama became the capital of Tierra Firme. In particular, it became the basis for exploration. It was in Panama that the expeditions for the conquest of Peru were equipped, and it was from Panama that much of the remaining territory of Central America was discovered and settled.

Pascual de Andagoya, who was one of

the first regidores, or aldermen, of Panama, was appointed, in 1522, Inspector General of the Indies. In that capacity he at first turned his attention to the exploration of the country that lay eastward of the Gulf of San Miguel. He had some initial success; but eventually, owing to an illness brought on by the overturning of his canoe and a consequent wetting, he gave up and returned to Panama. He brought back confirmation of the reports that placed a rich nation to the south, and Juan Basuto was empowered to follow up Andagoya's lead; but Basuto died suddenly, and the enterprise was abandoned until Pizarro took it up.

Pedrarias himself gave his attention more to the exploration of the country to the west and north of his capital than to that which lay to the south and east. He sent out an expedition under Espinosa and Pizarro against a chieftain of Veragua, named Urracá, but the powerful cacique and his fierce warriors beat off the invaders, who had to fight hard to make good their retreat. Despite this reverse, however, Espinosa succeeded in founding on the site of an Indian village, which Alonzo Perez de la Rua and Gonzalo de Badajoz had taken and looted in 1515 and which he had himself treated similarly in 1516, the colony of Natá which, though threatened frequently at first by Urracá, managed ultimately to hold its own. Destroyed by the natives in 1529, it was reestablished by Pedrarias under a new name, that of Santiago de los Caballeros, but, as has happened in other cases, it is under the old title that it survived and survives to the present day. Urracá continued to give trouble, but, being decoyed into Natá under promise of safety, he was there seized and sent in irons to Nombre de Dios to be shipped to Spain, but he contrived to escape, and made his way back to his own people, among whom, to his dying day, he remained the uncompromising foe of the hated white men.

Another settlement made in 1521, and still existing, is Alanje, a contraction or

corruption of Santiago al Angel. Known at one time as Chiriqui, this town was the original capital of the province of that name, a distinction now enjoyed by the city of David. The farthest settlement made in Veragua, in the direction of Nicaragua, Alanje was founded by Benito Hurtado and was unmolested for about two years, when the natives, smarting under many wrongs, were goaded into a revolt, which was not put down without much trouble. Alanje appears to have been refounded in 1591 by the *maestre de campo*, Captain Pedro de Montilla Añasco. Hurtado also founded in Chiriqui the little town of Fonseca.

Acting under royal order issued at Barcelona on June 18, 1519, Gil Gonzalez Dávila, *contador* of Hispaniola, who, despite the similarity of surname, was no relative of Pedrarias, undertook, in cooperation with Andrés Niño, a pilot, an expedition, the object of which was to discover the Moluccas or Spice Islands by way of the South Sea. Many obstacles were placed in his way by Pedrarias, and it was not until January 21, 1522, that Gil Gonzalez made a start from Panama. He did not reach the Moluccas, but his sea-forces explored the southern and western shores of the countries now known as Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, Salvador, and perhaps Guatemala. He himself discovered and took possession of Lake Nicaragua, which he called *Mar Dulce*; he gave its name to the Gulf of Fonseca; he converted 32,000 Indians; he returned to Panama on June 25, 1523, with 112,000 pesos of gold; and he did all this without any fighting and without losing a man. What was equally difficult, perhaps, he got his gold safely away from Pedrarias, made for Nombre de Dios, and thence set sail for Hispaniola. From Hispaniola he dispatched his treasurer, Antonio de Cereceda, to Spain with a report to the King and a map delineating the west coast of *Tierra Firme* from Panama to the Gulf of Fonseca. He next proceeded to investigate from the northern side the lands he had discovered,

and while thus engaged he fell in first, at Toreba, with one section of a party of intruders sent out by Pedrarias, and defeated and despoiled them, and then with the second force of troops that Cortés had sent down from Mexico. With these latter he went to Mexico, where he had a narrow escape from execution at the hands of Cortés's enemies, who were then in power. Gil Gonzalez was finally sent to Spain for trial, and, surviving a shipwreck, he reached Seville, and, released on parole, he retired to his home at Ávila, where he died on April 26, 1526.

In the meantime Oviedo was not unmindful of the many grudges he had against Pedrarias. When he left Antigua, he sailed to Cuba and afterwards to Hispaniola, whence he accompanied the governor, Diego Colon, to Seville, arriving there in November, 1523. He then entered his complaints on behalf of Antigua against Pedrarias, whose recall he insistently demanded. It was not by any means all plain sailing, for Pedrarias's wife and the Bachiller Corral were on the spot, and, using every artifice to thwart and baffle the veedor, they involved him in lengthy litigation. He finally gained his ends, however, and Pedro de los Rios was appointed governor of Castilla del Oro in room of Pedrarias.

Pedrarias, aware of what was going on, set about to prepare, for a second time, a safe place of retreat. For this purpose the recent discoveries of Gil Gonzalez seemed to offer exactly what was desired. Accordingly, in 1524, Pedrarias dispatched a force under Hernandez de Córdoba, whom he appointed his lieutenant in Nicaragua. With Córdoba went the captains Gabriel de Rojas, Francisco Compañon, and Hernando de Soto. It was de Soto whom Gil Gonzalez defeated at Toreba, taking from him 130,000 castellanos. Córdoba founded the cities of Granada and Leon and explored the Mar Dulce, and then conceived the idea of shaking off his allegiance to Pedrarias and becoming independent governor of Nicaragua. To this proceeding

Compañon and de Soto objected, and there ensued between the rival commanders a battle of which Córdoba had the better, and de Soto with only ten followers retreated to Natá, whence he sent in haste to his chief a report of the happenings in Nicaragua. By this time Cortés, having finished his celebrated southward march, was at Trujillo in Honduras, and to him Córdoba offered Nicaragua on condition that he himself should continue to hold the command as Cortés's lieutenant. The negotiations were not completed when Cortés was suddenly recalled to Mexico by the posture of affairs there, and he took his departure from Trujillo on April 25, 1526, leaving Saavedra as his deputy in Honduras.

De Soto's report decided Pedrarias as to the action he should take. He knew that he would soon be relieved as governor of Castilla del Oro by Pedro de los Rios, and the time seemed opportune to make sure of his hold on the territory which his rebellious subordinate was trying to wrest from him. Panama and Natá were practically stripped of men, because nearly all had accompanied Pizarro and Almagro on their first voyage to Peru, but Pedrarias levied what forces he could on Acla and Nombre de Dios, and also impressed a number of Indians into his service. With the troops thus secured Pedrarias sailed from Panama in January, 1526. To insure undivided possession of Nicaragua to himself, his first act was to cause Córdoba to be decapitated. Eager for even more territory, he then proceeded to lay hands on Honduras. Here he encountered Cortés's lieutenant, Saavedra, and there took place an indecisive contest; but the natives, rising to the occasion and taking advantage of the feuds among the white men, revolted en masse and drove back both bands of invaders.

In August of that year, 1526, Pedro de los Rios arrived as governor, and sequestered Pedrarias's property, on hearing which the latter returned to Panama, where he arrived on February 3, 1527, to meet

whatever charges might be preferred against him. Charges and claims were made, but the wily old official had left many of his enemies behind in Nicaragua, and besides was an adept in manipulating evidence, and he came off with flying colors, and his property was given back to him. Not only that, but, Gil Gonzalez being now dead, Pedrarias was officially appointed *de jure*, as he was already *de facto*, governor of Nicaragua. A rival candidate for that office appeared in the person of Diego Lopez de Salcedo, who in 1525 had been appointed governor of Honduras by Charles V. Salcedo drove Saavedra from Trujillo, and then proceeded to annex Nicaragua. He was received by the settlers at Leon, and took the oath of office as governor on May 7, 1527. His position was challenged by Pedro de los Rios, who claimed Nicaragua as portion of his own province of Castilla del Oro, but he was unable to make headway against Salcedo, who, backed by the colonists of Leon, gave him three days to quit that portion of the country. Salcedo, however, soon became unpopular, and there was in Leon a faction which favored Pedrarias, so that when the latter appeared at the settlement in March, 1528, Salcedo was deposed and imprisoned, and Pedrarias ruled in his stead.

One of the great characteristics of Pedrarias was his indomitable energy, which advancing years seemed in no way to abate. In his new bailiwick he at once entered upon a most active career of colonization, trading in native slaves, and extension of his territory. Two of his officers, Martin Estete and Gabriel de Rojas, with 150 men, he dispatched to explore the San Juan River, and they marched down its left bank to the shores of the Caribbean Sea, and then started to explore the coast northward. In the course of their investigations they discovered mines near Cape Gracias á Dios and founded a colony in the vicinity to work them. They also sent the natives they captured to Pedrarias at Leon, and he in turn sent them by the shipload to be sold in the slave-mart which he had

previously set going in Panama. Some few of the strongest ones he kept for the cruel sport of making them fight with the dreaded dogs. The issue of such contests was never in doubt, for when a native had repulsed the young dogs with his stick and begun to think he might save his life, old and fierce animals were set upon him and pulled him down and ate him. The result of this slave-making and slave-baiting policy was to deplete the population—a depletion which was still further hastened by a self-denying ordinance among the native women, who decided not to bring into the world children destined for treatment so barbarous and uses so vile.

With his schemes of territorial aggrandizement Pedrarias was not quite so successful. He did indeed manage to take some territory in Honduras from Salcedo, but when he sent Estete and Rojas to make a settlement in the country now known as Salvador, they fell foul of Pedro de Alvarado, who was holding that region for Cortés, and who quickly drove the newcomers out.

One great sorrow Pedrarias was spared. In consideration of his favor while ruling in Panama, he had, in 1524, been assigned a fourth interest in the expedition to Peru, but this he sold, in 1527, to Diego de Almagro and his associates for 1,000 pesos de oro, and so cut himself and his heirs out of the enormous profits which would have accrued from the third and successful voyage which Pizarro made from Panama in January, 1531. He did not live long enough to see or hear of the shiploads of silver and gold that came up to Panama from the mines of Peru to be carried thence by pack trains over the Camino Real to Nombre de Dios for conveyance to Spain. Had this occurred during his lifetime, it would surely have broken his avaricious heart.

He had, however, troubles enough to contend with. He held sway, indeed, in Nicaragua until his death, but his closing years were vexed with charges of speculation and abuse of authority, in the midst of



which the end came. When he was at least eighty-eight years old, Pedrarias died on March 6, 1531, and was buried with considerable pomp in the church at Leon. He left behind him a terrible reputation. If Oviedo's statement is correct, Pedrarias, during his eighteen years' residence in Central America, was responsible for the death of 2,000,000 Indians, and thus fully deserved the title of *Furor Domini*, or wrath of the Lord, which was given him by one of the old Spanish monks.

## CHAPTER VI

### TURMOIL IN THE COLONIES

GROWTH OF PANAMA—FOUNDATION OF CARTAGENA—REESTABLISHMENT OF SAN SEBASTIAN—EASTERN BOUNDARY OF CASTILLA DEL ORO FIXED—ATTEMPTS TO COLONIZE VERAGUA—CONCEPCION FOUNDED BY FELIPE GUTIERREZ—SAD PLIGHT OF THE COLONISTS—ABANDONMENT OF CONCEPCION—VERAGUA BECOMES CROWN LAND—ITS RAPID SETTLEMENT—CONFLICT BETWEEN NICARAGUA AND CASTILLA DEL ORO FOR TERRITORY—ATTEMPT TO COLONIZE NUEVA CARTAGO OR COSTA RICA—ITS FAILURE—DEATH OF DIEGO GUTIERREZ—BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS—HIS CAREER—HIS WRITINGS CAUSE CHARLES V TO PROMULGATE THE NEW LAWS—CONSEQUENT DISSATISFACTION IN AMERICA—HIGH-HANDED PROCEEDINGS OF VELA—GONZALO PIZARRO REVOLTS—DEFEAT AND DEATH OF VELA—GONZALO PIZARRO SEIZES TIERRA FIRME—BACHICAO SACKS PANAMA—HINOJOSA TAKES PANAMA AND NOMBRE DE DIOS—VERDUGO RETAKES NOMBRE DE DIOS—HE IS DRIVEN OUT—ARRIVAL OF GASCA—HE GAINS OVER MEJIA AND HINOJOSA—GOES TO PERU—DEFEATS AND KILLS GONZALO PIZARRO—REVOLT IN NICARAGUA—ASSASSINATION OF BISHOP VALDIVIESO—HERNANDO CONTRERAS PROCLAIMED "CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF LIBERTY"—GASCA RETURNS TO PANAMA—CONVOYS HIS TREASURE TO NOMBRE DE DIOS—THE REVOLUTIONISTS TAKE PANAMA—COUNTER-REVOLUTION—DEFEAT OF BERMEJO AND SALGUERO—DEATH OF HERNANDO CONTRERAS—END OF THE REBELLION.

**P**EDRO DE LOS RIOS held the governorship of Castilla del Oro until 1529, when he was compulsorily retired, fined, and forbidden to return to the Indies. His successor was Antonio de la Gama, who held office until 1534, when his place was taken by Captain Francisco de Barrionuevo. To Barrionuevo succeeded Pedro Vazquez, and to Vazquez, Doctor Robles. During all these changes Panama continued to grow as a place of importance. Until 1533 the law-courts of Castilla del Oro were subsidiary to the Royal Audience of Hispaniola, but in that year an Audiencia Real, or Royal Audience, was established at Panama, with jurisdiction not only locally but over the whole province and even for a time over Peru. Ecclesiastically Panama also flourished. Tomás de Berlanga, who was bishop from 1530 to nearly 1540, laid out the site for a cathedral, the convent of La Merced, and other religious houses. The church of Panama held ecclesiastical jurisdiction over

the province of Nicaragua until 1531, in which year Diego Alvarez Osorio, precentor of Panama Cathedral, was consecrated first bishop of Nicaragua. Soon, too, the isthmus acquired a new importance as the highway for the treasure from Peru on its way to Spain.

Hitherto Castilla del Oro was brought into relations of a more or less hostile character with the countries to the north and west. It was now to come into conflict with the territory to the south and east. In 1532 Pedro de Heredia, having obtained a grant of the land lying between the Atrato and the Magdalena rivers, established the city of Cartagena, which in time became the capital of the Spanish Main and was destined to play an important part in the history of the Spanish occupation of America. A successful attempt on the part of Heredia's brother, Alonso, to rebuild on a somewhat different site the abandoned colony of San Sebastian led to a conflict between the two governments, and ultimately to the

delimitation of the eastern boundary of Castilla del Oro. By agreement made at Cartagena between Barrionuevo and Heredia, the Atrato River was fixed as the line of demarcation between the two provinces.

The northern portion of Veragua was still uncolonized. As early as 1514 King Ferdinand had offered Veragua to Bartolomé Colon for settlement, but, on account of the poor state of his health, the Adelantado declined the offer. On the death of Christopher Columbus's son and heir, Diego Colon, in 1526, Diego's son Luis, then six years of age, succeeded, as was thought, to the grants, titles, and dignities of his father and grandfather; but these being denied him, he went to law, in 1538, with the crown for the restoration of his prerogatives and privileges. The lawsuit was protracted, and finally, in 1540, a compromise was effected, by which Luis Colon surrendered his claim to the viceroyalty, and received in lieu thereof the titles of Duke of Veragua, Marquis of Jamaica, and Perpetual Admiral of the Indies.

Somewhat earlier and during Luis's minority, Diego Colon's widow, Doña Maria de Toledo, who is often spoken of as *vi-reina* or vice-queen of the Indies, having asked from, and been refused by, the Royal Audiencia of Hispaniola permission to colonize Veragua, determined to carry out her project without license from the king's representatives, trusting to the event to justify her action. Aided by an ecclesiastic named Juan de Sosa, she fitted out a force of 400 men, which she placed under the command of Felipe Gutierrez, with Pedro de Encinasola as his chief captain. Sailing from Santo Domingo in September, 1535, they landed in Veragua, and founded the town of Concepcion. But the constant rains, the debilitating climate, and the scarcity of provisions made awful havoc among the colonists, and two hundred of them soon died. Conditions were appalling. The corpses lay around unburied tainting the air. The survivors with great dif-

ficulty dug their own graves, in which they lay down when they found their end approaching. Forty men, reduced to desperation, set out for Nombre de Dios, but many of them died on the way. A small force of fourteen, sent out by Gutierrez to bring in recruits and supplies, fell in with the remnant of the forty, and, finding that they could not continue their route on account of the hostile attitude of the natives, the combined party fortified themselves in a camp with scarcely a hope that they would ever be relieved. Gutierrez at length abandoned Concepcion, and, with the few colonists that still remained, sailed for Nombre de Dios. Arrived there, he got some inkling of the plight of the two parties that had left Concepcion before he did, and a vessel well supplied with food and arms was sent in quest of them. They were at last found, and the survivors, to the number of twenty-seven, were brought back to Nombre de Dios. That was the end of Gutierrez's attempt to colonize Veragua. Seeking wealth and fame elsewhere, he went to Panama and from Panama to Peru, where he rose to be a governor, but was ultimately executed by Gonzalo Pizarro.

In January, 1537, Veragua was officially declared to be a dukedom of preëminent domain, and its dimensions were settled at 625 square leagues of land, extending 25 leagues westwardly to Bahia Corabora and 25 leagues in the direction of the South Sea. This was the duchy given to Luis Colon in 1540. In December, 1556, Luis, in consideration of a yearly grant of 7,000 ducats, gave up his claim to Veragua, which then became crown land. Thenceforward its settlement advanced with fair rapidity, until, by 1575, there were several townships dotted here and there over its surface, the gold mines being the general center of attraction.

Pedrarias was succeeded in the governorship of Nicaragua by Francisco de Castañeda, and he by Pedrarias's son-in-law, Rodrigo de Contreras, who had married Doña Maria, the lady who was at one time

betrothed to Balboa. Contreras was anxious to open up communication with the Caribbean coast by way of the San Juan River, but Bartolomé de las Casas, the Protector of the Indies, who was at that time in Leon, opposed and prevented the scheme, on the ground that its execution would lead to the enslavement and ultimate extermination of the natives. When Las Casas left Leon, however, the governor proceeded to carry out his original plan, and for that purpose, in 1539, sent forth Captains Diego Machuca and Alonso Calero with two vessels on the river and two hundred men who marched along the bank. They reached the Caribbean in safety and then sailed for Nombre de Dios. There Doctor Robles, the then governor of Castilla del Oro, arrested them, and sent out an expedition of his own under Francisco Gonzalez de Badajoz to take possession of the lower portion of the San Juan and the territory adjoining. For a time these invaders were successful, especially in the matter of collecting gold, but in about six months Contreras drove them out, and a like fate befell a second party sent by Robles under Andrés Garavito, so that the attempted encroachments on Nicaraguan territory by the governors of Castilla del Oro were unsuccessful.

Lying between the two provinces there was still, however, some unexplored and debatable land, corresponding in great part to the modern Costa Rica. To this section the name Nueva Cartago was given, and of Nueva Cartago Diego Gutierrez, a brother of Felipe's, was appointed governor in 1540. When Diego went to take possession of his province, he experienced particularly bad luck in the way of illness and desertions, but nevertheless he managed to sail in a small barque with a few followers from Nombre de Dios to the mouth of the San Juan River, whence he made his way to Granada in Nicaragua. There Contreras told him that Nicaragua extended to the confines of Veragua, and that there was no territory in between for further occupation. Gutierrez was, however, insistent on his rights, and after protracted

negotiations he was allowed to sail with sixty men and two vessels for the mouth of the River Surre. Here he was deserted by all his men except six, but relief was obtained on the arrival of Captain Bariento, who brought, in a brigantine, a few men and some very much needed provisions. Gutierrez thereupon sent his nephew, Alonso de Pisa, to Nombre de Dios for more recruits and more provisions, giving him all the gold he had collected to enable him to procure them. De Pisa arrived at Nombre de Dios early in 1545, and having secured twenty-seven men and some supplies, he returned to Costa Rica, but met with such terrible weather that he was actually seventy-two days overdue. He at length reached his uncle's camp, and the latter sent the ship back for still more colonists, and, when they had arrived, set out with a force of about eighty men to explore his province. When he had reached the western section, he was set upon by the Indians, and he and all his party save six were killed. The six survivors were rescued by Alonso de Pisa, who appeared on the scene with a small force, and all made their way to the San Juan River and thence to Nombre de Dios. Thus ended the first attempt to colonize Costa Rica.

For some years a remarkable man, in the person of Bartolomé de las Casas, had been taking an active interest in the troubled affairs of the Spanish dominions of the west. Born at Seville in 1474, he, with his father, had accompanied Columbus on his third voyage in 1498, returning to Spain in 1500. In 1502 he went with Governor Ovando to Hispaniola, and there, in 1510, he was admitted to the priesthood, being the first man so ordained in the colonies. From Hispaniola he went, in 1511, to Cuba, where he in vain endeavored to prevent the massacre of Indians at Caonas in 1513 or 1514. A large village near Xagua being assigned to him and a friend named Rentería, with a "repartimiento," or allotment of Indians, he at first made the most of his opportunity to grow rich, but, convinced, after some

time, of the injustice and other evils of the repartimiento system, he began to preach against it, gave up his own slaves, and went to Spain to plead the cause of the oppressed natives. He succeeded so well that in 1516 Cardinal Ximenez sent out a commission of three Hieronymites to reform abuses, Las Casas himself being assigned to them as adviser, with the title of "Protector of the Indies." Not much progress, however, was made, and in the following year he returned to Spain, where, in order to liberate the Indians, he advocated an emigration scheme which would give every colonist the right to hold twelve negro slaves. This scheme proved a failure, and Las Casas, thoroughly disappointed and disgusted, returned to Hispaniola, where he joined the Dominican Order in 1522, devoting the next eight years of his life to extreme seclusion and to classical and scholastic studies. He then visited Mexico, Nicaragua, and Guatemala, and in 1537 was instrumental in peaceably converting to Christianity the inhabitants of Tuzulután or Tierra de Guerra. In 1539 he was again in Europe, where he stayed for over four years. He paid several visits to Charles V in Germany, and, in 1542, handed to the emperor the manuscript of his famous disquisition on *The Destruction of the Indies (Breuissima Relacion de la Destruccion de las Indias)*. Stimulated by this frank and convincing document, Charles appointed a royal commission of theologians and jurists to devise a better system for the government of his western possessions. This body drew up a code of regulations, which was promulgated at Madrid in 1543 and became known as the *New Laws*. Under this régime no more Indians could be enslaved, good title should be shown to slaves already held, and even of those the number that could be kept in captivity was strictly limited. The new code also abolished the audiencia of Panama, and established two new tribunals, one at Lima, for South America, and the other—the audiencia de los Confines—at Comayagua, with jurisdiction

over Chiapas, Yucatan, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Tierra Firme or Castilla del Oro.

As might be expected, the new laws caused a furore all the way from Peru to Mexico. Men had grown so much into the habit of enslaving Indians and making a profit out of them that they deemed the recent legislation an unjust invasion of their rights and privileges, and they were prepared to go to extreme lengths in resistance. At this juncture, and when, after the series of struggles and executions which had steeped the soil of Peru in Spanish as well as in native blood, Vaca de Castro, the governor, was in command and on the verge of establishing stable government, Charles V sent out Vasco Nuñez Vela as viceroy, with instructions to carry out all needful reforms. When Vela, attended by the judges of a new Audiencia and an imposing retinue, arrived at Nombre de Dios in January, 1544, he at once proceeded to put his powers into force by seizing as a product of slave labor a quantity of gold and other goods, which the owners had acquired in Peru and which they were then about to ship for Spain. At Panama he acted similarly by ordering the release and return of several hundred slaves captured in Peru. He thus made it plain that he had come to administer the laws and not to compromise on them. When he reached Lima he imprisoned Vaca de Castro, and acted generally in a high-handed manner, which roused the gorge of everybody. When his proceedings became so impolitic as to be intolerable, Vela was actually deposed by the Audiencia he had brought out. He was ultimately defeated and slain by Gonzalo Pizarro at the battle of Añaquito, January 18, 1546.

In 1544, Gonzalo Pizarro, who was in revolt against the viceroy, was the dominant spirit in Peru, and, thinking to strengthen his position there, he evolved a scheme for becoming master of Tierra Firme by seizing Panama and Nombre de Dios, and thus controlling the direct line

of travel to Peru. To accomplish this purpose, he dispatched a considerable fleet and force under Hernando Bachicao to seize Panama. The people of Panama, however, being forewarned by Vaca de Castro, who had contrived to escape from Peru, determined to resist, and raised a force of 700 men to repel the invaders. A message reached Bachicao at the Pearl Islands that he was not to land his troops in Tierra Firme, to which the captain gave the evasive reply that his sole intention was to put passengers ashore and revictual his fleet. On this pretext he was allowed to enter the city, and immediately, and with scarcely any resistance, he seized all the arms and ammunition that were stored in the arsenal. The city itself he gave over to loot, and those of its citizens who were in any way obnoxious he put to death. Thus was inaugurated that series of pillagings and proscriptions of which Panama was destined to be so often the victim. But Bachicao had overshot the mark, and his violence led to his recall as soon as Pizarro learned of his performances.

Pizarro was, however, not a whit the less determined on securing possession of the two towns and the territory they commanded. A second expedition was equipped and sent out under the command of Pedro de Hinojosa. In October, 1545, Hinojosa dropped anchor in front of Panama with eleven ships. Once more the citizens determined on resistance; but just as a battle was imminent, the priests, clad in garments of mourning, came between the two little armies and implored of them not to shed each other's blood. An armistice of a day was thereupon arranged. Hinojosa took advantage of this breathing space to make representations that he had come not to wage war but to make restitution; that Pizarro was master in Peru, and meant to command the gateway to it; and that only in the event of the people of Panama not submitting would there be war. This announcement gave the Panamans food for thought, and an agreement was ultimately drawn up by

which Hinojosa with thirty men was to be free to enter Panama and to stay for forty-five days, on condition that he send away the remainder of his forces and his ships to Taboga, or the Pearl Islands. Hinojosa was well versed in the arts of gaining over men's minds, and he made such good use of his time that, before the forty-five days had passed, he had got nearly everybody on his side, including even two agents of Vela, and amid all sorts of demonstrations of enthusiasm he was allowed to enter Panama formally at the head of his forces. He acted with great discretion, kept his troops in strict control, and still further enhanced his high reputation among the citizens by throwing the aegis of his protection over the peaceable conduct of their commercial pursuits. From Panama Hinojosa sent his son-in-law, Hernando Mejía de Guzman, and Pedro de Cabrera to take Nombre de Dios, and, this being done without trouble, Pizarro was in control of the highway to Peru.

But this state of affairs was not destined to continue long. One Melchior Verdugo, who was on the side of Vela, seized one of Bachicao's ships, and, sailing to Nicaragua, went down the San Juan River to the Caribbean Sea, and, thence proceeding to Nombre de Dios, landed in the night, entered the town, and surrounded with his followers the house in which Mejía and Cabrera lay. The two leaders, thus entrapped, made a gallant fight, succeeded in cutting their way through the hostile forces, and hastened to Panama, leaving Verdugo in possession of the northern settlement. Verdugo by a series of oppressive acts made himself very unpopular, and Hinojosa, on the invitation of the mayor of Nombre de Dios, appeared on the scene, and after a short skirmish drove the intruders to their ships.

In the meantime, the report of the rebellious proceedings in Peru was causing considerable annoyance and even grave anxiety at the court of Spain. A revolt was too serious a matter to be neglected, and it must be promptly put down. To

bring about a satisfactory settlement, it was decided to send out a new president of the Royal Audience, with extraordinary powers. The man selected for this delicate and difficult mission was Pedro de la Gasca, a clergyman and a counsellor of the Inquisition. With a small following, which included the Mariscal Alonso de Alvarado and the Adelantado Pascual de Andagoya, Gasca started from San Lúcar on May 26, 1546. At Santa Marta, where he put in, he was dumfounded by the news of Pizarro's victory at Añaquito and of the death of the viceroy Vela on that fatal field. When he reached Nombre de Dios he found Mejía in possession and holding the town for Pizarro. Gasca thus found himself in an extremely awkward predicament; but, being an able man, he rose to the occasion. He announced that his purposes were peaceful and that he had royal authority not only to condone offences but also to revoke the more objectionable features of the New Laws. This was to do away at one stroke with all reasons for a continuation of the rebellion; and accordingly Mejía went over to the side of the new president. Hinojosa, in Panama, was more difficult to handle; but eventually he, too, succumbed to the address of Gasca, to whom he handed over his fleet. Strengthened here and in other quarters, Gasca with more than 1,000 men arrived at Tumbes on June 13, 1547, defeated and killed Pizarro at the battle of Xaquixaguana, April 8, 1548, and thus put an end to what at one time threatened to be a formidable revolt.

Another rebellion was engineered a few years later in Nicaragua. Rodrigo de Contreras had been deprived not only of his governorship but also of his property in Nicaragua, mainly on the representations of Bishop Valdivieso of Leon, and when he went to Spain (1548) to seek justice, his appeal was rejected, and he was forbidden to return to the province over which he had once ruled. A scheme formed by his two sons, Hernando and Pedro, for the recovery of their father's property by force,

was given a more ambitious turn by some malcontents who had been banished from Peru by Gasca for attempting an insurrection there after the defeat and death of Gonzalo Pizarro. The principal advisers of the two young men were Juan Bermejo and Rodrigo Salguero. The plan, simple in conception and bold in spirit, though likely to prove difficult in execution, was to seize first Castilla del Oro and then Peru, and, this accomplished, to proclaim Hernando king of the subjected territory.

To carry out a scheme so magnificent a beginning was made in Granada, where the popularity of the brothers Contreras speedily secured them a number of followers. The scene of operations was then shifted to Leon, where, at an entertainment given by Hernando, the decisions of the Audiencia depriving the colonists of lands and encomiendas were denounced, and a claim on Peru was put forward by Hernando based on some imaginary rights descended to him from his grandfather Pedrarias. It was not difficult to persuade men suffering from a sense of wrong to undertake a course of action which, if successful, would give them both revenge and wealth.

The first act of the conspirators in this weird but sternly tragic drama was to poniard Bishop Valdivieso to death in his own house and in the presence of his mother; the next to rush to the public square and proclaim Hernando captain-general of liberty; and the third to sack the treasury building and divide its contents among themselves. They then dispersed to various points to seek new recruits and take steps to prevent any premature announcement of their proceedings or plans. To Bermejo was assigned the task of returning to Granada in order to destroy the ships on Lake Nicaragua, so that no word of the outbreak could be conveyed to Nombre de Dios. He had only about thirty men, and when he came near Granada he was met by an opposing force of superior numbers under Captain Luis

Carillo. An engagement took place, the result of which was decided by the desertion of several of the loyalists to the revolutionary standard. Carillo himself was killed, as well as many of his troops, and Bermejo then entered the city, destroyed the ships, and took young Pedro de Contreras with him to join the other insurgents on the west coast.

Here they learned that Gasca was about to return to Spain with a large quantity of silver and gold. Their plans were straightway formed to get possession of this treasure, to kill Gasca and the governor of Castilla del Oro, to burn Nombre de Dios, Panama, and Natá, to lay waste Tierra Firme so that any army sent against them from Spain should find no means of subsistence, and then with a force of about 600 men levied on the Isthmus to sail for Peru and there set up Hernando as king.

It was a magnificent conception; but it required a master genius to carry it out, and there was none such among the rebels, while opposed to them was a man of real ability. Gasca had arrived at Panama on March 12, 1550, with silver and gold to the value of 11,000,000 castellanos. The responsibility for so much treasure made him anxious and suspicious, and, although the fleet had not yet arrived at Nombre de Dios, he thought it part of prudence to get his bullion away from Panama as quickly as possible. Accordingly, he sent 1,200 mule loads of gold and silver to Cruces on the Chagre to be shipped thence to the North Sea, where it could, he thought, more securely await the coming of the fleet. He and the governor went along to see that the trans-Isthmian transportation was safely effected. Two of the intended victims were thus out of the way when on April 20, 1550, Hernando and Bermejo and their followers appeared at Panama. They entered the city without opposition, shouting "Death to the Traitor!" and "Long live Prince Contreras, captain general of liberty!" seized the royal treasury, and secured all available arms and ammunition. The bishop and

the officials had their lives scared on talking an oath to join the cause of the revolution. In the meantime, Pedro secured the ships lying at anchor in the harbor, and Salguero hurried off with a small detachment of mounted galleons to overtake Gasca and capture the treasure. Hernando, leaving Bermejo to hold Panama, also went after Gasca in more leisurely fashion.

Then Bermejo did an extremely foolish thing. Believing that Hernando's force was not strong enough to cope with Gasca, he left Panama to the care of Pedro and the ships, and set out to join his leader. No sooner had he gone than a counter revolution was started, and excited crowds gathered, shouting, "Long live the King!" and "Death to Tyrants!" Pedro and his ships were attacked, and he had much ado to keep the enraged populace at bay. Arrived at Chagre, Bermejo heard of the altered situation at Panama, and, dispatching couriers in hot haste to Salguero and Hernando, he turned on his tracks and made a forced march back to Panama, covering the fourteen leagues in one day. He had been previously insistent on putting the bishop and officials to death, instead of sparing their lives and binding them by oath to the revolution, and he was now inflamed with a double thirst for their blood. Although his men were quite used up from their long and toilsome march, he insisted on attacking the city on the very night of his arrival. But, to his cost, he found that conditions had indeed changed. The streets were barricaded, and from the house-tops the citizens poured so well directed a series of volleys that the invading army was beaten off. Vowing vengeance and promising to set the town on fire the next night and to slaughter everyone over twelve years of age, he retired for the time being. His threats, reported in Panama, nerved the inhabitants to a supreme effort in self-defense. Instead of waiting to be attacked, they next day placed the women and children in the cathedral, and, sallying forth, carried the fight to the enemy. Astounded at this move, Bermejo fell back to a hill in the vicinity, where he



was joined by Salguero, who had found some treasure at Cruces and then hastened back to the support of his fellow-conspirator. In front of Panama there took place a desperate encounter, the result of which was the complete defeat of the rebels. More than ninety fell dead on the field, including Bermejo and Salguero. The rest were taken prisoners, and, without benefit of clergy, were stabbed to death in the jail to a man. Pedro de Contreras then made off with two ships, abandoning his other vessels. Pursuit was given, and Pedro and his men were driven to land at Punta de Higuera, where those who were not captured died of starvation or were killed by the natives. Another party of rebels under Landa, a lieutenant of Contreras, was also taken. The prisoners were all put to death, except twelve, and these met with a still worse fate in being sent to work in the galleys in Spain.

Hernando himself, who was waiting at Capira for Gasca to arrive with the bulk of the treasure at Nombre de Dios by the sea

route from the Chagres River, had hastened to the assistance of Bermejo and Salguero; but having learned at Chagre the result of the battle of Panama, he disbanded his force, and bade every man make his way as best he could to the coast of the South Sea in the hope of being picked up by Pedro. The leader and a few of his friends did reach the Pacific, and put out to sea in a canoe, but a violent storm forced them back to the shore, where they were dispersed. In fording a river Hernando, weakened by hunger and fatigue, was drowned. His body, when found, was identified by an ornament which he wore around his neck, and the head which it was intended should wear a crown was cut off and exposed to the public gaze in an iron cage on the Plaza at Panama. His attempt was probably a mad one; it certainly was not based on justice or right; but the exercise of a little more judgment might have made it, if not a success, at least a formidable menace to the power of the Spanish monarchy in America.



French expedition to Brazil as early as 1503, and the Bretons under John Denys are said to have explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1506. In 1524 Giovanni Verrazano, a Florentine, undertook the first official expedition to America on behalf of the court of France. He sailed from Dieppe in January with four ships, but he had only one, the *Dauphine*, when he reached the North American shore. He followed the coast from Cape Romain in South Carolina, or thereabouts, as far as Newfoundland, and frequently landed. He returned to Dieppe in the following July. In 1534 and 1535 Jacques Cartier discovered Canada, explored the estuary of the St. Lawrence, and gave its name to Montreal. In 1562 a Huguenot colony, financed and protected by Admiral Coligny, made an unsuccessful attempt to settle on the coast of South Carolina. A second Huguenot colony settled in 1564 in Florida, but was totally wiped out by the Spaniards under Pedro Menendez. A bloody revenge was taken for the cruelties of Menendez by Captain de Gourgues in 1567, but he accomplished nothing more, and, not daring to attack the fort of St. Augustine, which had been erected in 1565, he sailed away, leaving Spain still supreme in America.

But if the English government was supine, that was not the case with the English mariner merchants. With that instinct for commerce which has always been their characteristic, and that spirit of adventure which they so conspicuously showed during the sixteenth century, they soon began to do a surreptitious trade with the West Indies. Already in 1499 Ojeda reported that he found Englishmen cruising on the Pearl Coast, and as early as 1518 there is record that an English vessel, with a cargo of wrought iron and vessels of pewter and tin, arrived at Santo Domingo and, being repulsed from there by order of the governor, proceeded to Porto Rico, where those on board were allowed to barter their cargo for provisions. A few years later, as has been discovered, a secret agent for English

merchants was resident in the West Indies, a fact which would go to prove that a trade was being done. In 1565 Captain Parker arrived off the coast of Darien to trade with the natives, an action so deeply resented by the Spaniards that they sent an armed flotilla to drive him away. Parker, however, refused to budge, and in a battle that ensued he beat off his assailants and captured one of their ships.

Nor were men of other nationalities long behindhand. French pirates and Dutch Zee-roovers, as well as English slavers and smugglers, are known to have cruised about among the West Indies early in the sixteenth century. Corsairs from France actually burned the Spanish settlement of Havana in 1555, and slaughtered all the inhabitants. These various nomadic bands ultimately developed into the notorious Buccaneers of the seventeenth century.

Among the celebrated Englishmen of that period who helped to thwart the policy of Spain and to humble her arms at sea, the first, in point of time, whose name we meet is Sir John Hawkins. To him is generally assigned the credit—such as it is—of being the first English slave trader to enter the Caribbean Sea. A Plymouth man and a sailor by profession, he came to know that negroes from the Guinea coast were profitable commodities to sell in the West Indies, and he made three voyages thither with cargoes of living freight for that purpose in 1562, 1564, and 1567. On the last of these expeditions he was accompanied by his kinsman, Francis Drake, who had already been to the Spanish Main on a similar mission with Captain John Lovell in 1565. Hawkins's squadron, which consisted of six vessels all told, sailed from Plymouth on October 2, 1567, and, having secured four or five hundred slaves on the African coast, proceeded to the Caribbean Sea and coasted along the northern shore of North America, the commander selling his slaves at each port of call. At Rio Hacha he was prevented from trading and, construing this prohibition as a violation of a treaty made between Charles V and Henry VIII and



PIRATES AND BUCCANEERS

1. Sir John Hawkins.

3. François L'Olonnois—From Esquemeling, 1684.

2. Sir Francis Drake.

4. Bartholomew Portugues—From Esquemeling, 1684.



then still existing, Hawkins attacked and captured the town (1568), and was then allowed to sell some two hundred of his slaves secretly and at night. Debarred from Cartagena, the English seamen made their way through contrary winds to San Juan de Ulloa (Vera Cruz). There they were attacked by a fleet of thirteen armed Spanish vessels under Álvarez de Bazan, and so severely defeated that only two vessels, the *Minion* of 100 tons, on which was Hawkins, and the *Judith* of 50 tons, on which was Drake, succeeded in making their way back to England in January, 1569.

Hawkins appears to have sought no opportunity of revenge until it came ready to his hand, when, as Rear-Admiral on the *Victory*, he helped to defeat the Invincible Armada in 1588. Not so with Drake. In 1570 and 1571 he made two westerly voyages mainly for purposes of exploration. On both he not only traded with the inhabitants but also studied the coast of Darien, and found out all he could about the route taken by the treasure trains in crossing the isthmus from Panama to Nombre de Dios. In May, 1572, he once more sailed from Plymouth with two ships, the *Pasha* of 70 tons, and the *Swan* of 25 tons, with a company of 73 men and boys, included in whom were his brothers John and Charles Drake and John Oxenham. In July he dropped anchor in a hidden harbor in the Gulf of Darien, which he had discovered on an earlier voyage, and to which he had given the name of Port Pheasant. Here he was joined by Captain James Rause of the Isle of Wight, who along with his own English barque brought in two Spanish vessels he had recently captured. About two weeks later the whole party sailed for the Isle of Pines. Here Drake left Rause with a small party to guard the ships, and taking 73 men, in three pinnaces and a shallop, he set out himself to capture Nombre de Dios. This feat he accomplished after a sharp hand-to-hand fight on the morning of July 29, 1572, but, as the dislodged garrison was returning and succor

was arriving from Panama, and as Drake was sorely wounded, the English freebooters had to beat a hasty retreat and so secured but little loot. The necessity for flight must have been very urgent, for they saw, and left behind them, silver in bars to the value of a million pounds sterling, and had actually reached the door of the King's Treasure House, where, as they well knew, were stored in large quantities pearls, jewels, and gold. They got safely away, however, in their pinnaces and in a Spanish merchant vessel which they took in the harbor, and went back to the Isle of Pines.

Rause then returned to England, and Drake sailed to the vicinity of Cartagena, where he made prize of some Spanish ships. While lying before Cartagena he seems to have developed the plan of capturing on land the treasure-train as it conveyed across the isthmus the silver and gold from Peru. It was then the middle of August and the rainy season was on, preventing overland transportation of bullion, so that a delay of some months was necessary before the venturesome scheme could be tried. In the meantime the great pirate privateer, whose very name, metamorphosed into El Draque, was already causing terror along the coast, put into a harbor in the Gulf of Darien, to which his men gave the name of Port Plenty because of the abundant stores they took with them and also because of the bounteous supplies of fish, deer, and wild hog which they there found.

The active spirit of the commander would not, however, allow him to be still. Leaving his brother in charge of the shore camp at Port Plenty, he sailed along the coast in two pinnaces, effected more than one landing, captured six vessels well stored with provisions, and, in sight of two armed frigates which declined to engage him, burned and sank two ships which had been sent out of Cartagena without cargoes. On his return to the camp in November, he found that his brother John had been killed in an attempt to board a Spanish frigate from the *Lion* pinnace without sufficient offensive equipment. He was to suffer still

further losses, for when the dry season came in January his men were attacked by a calenture, and twenty-eight of them, including his remaining brother, died.

Word soon came in from friendly Cimarrones that the galleons for conveying the plate to Spain had arrived at Nombre de Dios, and that the overland pack train might accordingly be expected to start from Panama without much delay. This was the opportunity for which Drake was waiting. Early in February, 1573, leaving all the sick and a few men in health as a guard for the camp and vessels, he started with only eighteen companions on his bold enterprise. He was joined on the way by thirty Cimarrones under their chief, Pedro. On the seventh day's march they came to a high tree on a mountain top, and, ascending it by means of steps cut in the trunk, Drake saw both the North and the South seas at the same time, being thus the first Englishman to set eyes on the Pacific Ocean. Three days later from a point of vantage he was looking down the main street of Old Panama at the plate fleet, which had arrived from Peru. Through a Cimarrone spy he learned that the mule train, bearing provisions, silver, gold, and jewels, was to start that night. Thereupon he fell back towards Cruces, and, dividing his men into two groups, stationed one on one side of the Camino Real and the other on the other side, with about fifty yards between them, so as to attack the mule train in front and rear at the same time and thus secure all the treasure. His scheme, which was so daring in its simplicity, miscarried through an accident. His men had put on their shirts over their armor so as the more easily to recognize one another in case of a fight, and one of them, Robert Pike by name, having imbibed too freely of brandy and being impelled by drunken curiosity, stood up when he heard a horseman coming from Cruces. This strange apparition in white so frightened the unknown rider, that he clapped spurs to his animal, and quickly got out of harm's way, and galloping towards Panama warned those in charge of

the treasure of danger ahead. When the train did arrive at the place of ambush, it was captured without even the show of resistance; but there was neither silver, gold, nor jewels—nothing but provisions. The treasurer of Lima had met craft with craft. Dreading to remain any longer with so small a force, as he knew the next train to come along would be heavily guarded, Drake broke up his ambush and, utilizing the captured mules, made a dash on Cruces, which, after a smart skirmish, he captured and held for one night. Not finding any loot of value, he took his departure the next morning, and in about a week reached his camp and ships.

Drake next turned his attention towards the capture of a frigate which he learned was soon to leave Veragua with a million of gold on board. Taking only one ship, the *Minion*, he was guided thither by a Genoese pilot of a vessel which he had recently taken; but as soon as they reached the entrance of the harbor by night, two signal guns were fired and were answered by two other guns from the direction of the town, which lay five leagues up the harbor. Judging that the whole coast line was on the alert, Drake, baffled once more, drew off and returned to his camp, where he had the minor satisfaction of finding John Oxenham in possession of a captured frigate, which contained plenty of corn and some hogs and poultry. Here he was joined by about seventy French corsairs, whom he gladly welcomed, as they greatly strengthened his force for his next undertaking.

The Cimarrone spies had brought in the pleasing intelligence that three pack trains of bullion, with 190 mules each carrying three hundred pounds, was to arrive at Nombre de Dios on the 1st of April. Sailing on March 30 from his rendezvous point with fifteen Englishmen, twenty Frenchmen, and a number of Cimarrones, Drake landed not far from that town. He then cut in through the jungle until he struck the Camino Real about a mile on the Panama side of Nombre de Dios. The next night, March 31, he stationed his men in

concealment along the road until the mule team came in sight. They then fired a volley of gunshot and arrows, which brought the mules to a stop, and after a short but vigorous defense the guards fled. The freebooters went leisurely through the spoils, and took all the treasure they could with safety carry. To their great regret they were obliged to leave behind about fifteen tons of bar silver. After some exciting adventures they at length reached their ships, and having made a fair division of the booty with the Frenchmen, the Englishmen sailed for home. They arrived in Plymouth, after an absence of nearly fifteen months, on Sunday, August 9, 1573. When the ships reached the wharf, divine service was going on, but nearly all the congregation flocked out of the church to see the daring navigator who had brought what his fellow townsmen considered his great adventure to so successful a termination.

For over four years Drake, being otherwise occupied, was unable to give any attention to the Spanish Main. But one of his companions, John Oxenham, thought he would emulate the deeds of his commander. In 1575 Oxenham set sail for the coast of Darien, having one ship of 120 tons and 70 men. From the Cimarrones, who were still friendly to the English, he learned that, taught by experience, the Spaniards now sent a strong guard of soldiers with the treasure-train on its overland route. Oxenham thereupon abandoned his first idea of robbing the train, and decided to cross the isthmus and seek his fortune in the South Sea. He ran his vessel ashore and buried most of his ordnance, and after a toilsome march from the Caribbean coast into the interior, he and his companions at length reached a river which flowed into the Pacific. Down this they floated on a large pinnace which they had hastily constructed, and so sailed through the Bay of San Miguel and out into the Gulf of Panama—the first Englishmen to cross the isthmus and enter the South Sea. In a few days they were fortunate enough to make prize of two barques, one from Quito with bread and wine and

60,000 pesos of gold, and the other from Lima containing 100,000 pesos of bar-silver. They then made for the Pearl Islands, but finding only a few pearls there, they hastened back to the bay of San Miguel, and proceeded to recross the isthmus with their spoils, using the riverway as far as they could. A discussion took place about the division of the gains, and Oxenham, beaching the pinnace, buried the treasure, and set out to find Cimarrones to help him to carry it to where his ship lay on the north coast.

The delay thus caused proved fatal. No sooner had the Englishmen left the Pearl Islands than a messenger was dispatched in all haste to apprise the governor of Panama of the facts. The governor acted with promptitude, and within two days sent out four vessels with 100 soldiers and numerous Indians, under the command of Juan de Ortega, with instructions to seek, find, and punish the marauders who had had the audacity to carry on their depredations in the South Sea, still regarded as the inviolable property of Spain. Ortega successfully tracked them to where the pinnace had been left, and then followed the land trail, came on the buried treasure, unearthed it, and proceeded to carry it back to Panama. Oxenham, having in the meantime heard of the pursuit, turned back to regain the coveted treasure. A fight took place which resulted very decisively in favor of the Spaniards, who beat off the attackers and not only held the treasure, but killed eleven of their assailants and took seven of them prisoners. On their arrival at Panama the prisoners were forced to tell all they knew, and especially about the location of Oxenham's ship on the Caribbean shore. Word was at once sent to Nombre de Dios, and when Oxenham and the survivors of his party reached the spot, they found their ship, cannon, and stores removed. They were thus caught in a perfect trap. They wandered about among the natives for awhile and endeavored to build canoes to escape in, but eventually were made prisoners by the



Spaniards. Brought to Panama and questioned as to whether he had a commission from the English queen or any other ruler, Oxenham replied that he was acting entirely on his own account and fighting for his own hand. He and his men were thereupon condemned to death, and most of them were executed at Panama. Oxenham himself, with his officers and some boys, was sent to Lima to be interrogated by the viceroy, and there all, save the boys, were put to death. Thus the first English crossing of the isthmus and entry into the Pacific Ocean had a most disastrous ending.

Drake never forgot the view he had obtained of the South Sea from the tree-top on the isthmus, nor a vow that he had made to explore that strange ocean one day in an English ship. As soon as he was free to undertake such an expedition, he got together a squadron of five ships, and with them started from Plymouth on December 13, 1577, on what was ultimately to prove to be his celebrated voyage of circumnavigation of the globe. His exploits on the *Golden Hind* in the Pacific Ocean, and his performances ashore whenever he touched land, read like tales of romance, instead of a narrative of sober facts; but they do not belong to this history. Suffice it to say that El Draque terrorized the whole western coast line of Spanish America, captured ships at Valparaiso and Callao, robbed a llama-train, boarded the treasure galleon nicknamed the *Cacafuego* and plundered her of 26 tons of silver, 80 pounds of gold, 13 chests of money, and numerous jewels, took possession of the country now known as California for the English queen and called it New Albion, sailed for home by way of the Philippines, the Moluccas, the Celebes, Java, the Cape of Good Hope, and Sierra Leone, and finally dropped anchor in Plymouth Harbor on Monday, September 26, 1580, having been absent three years all but three months, and being the first Englishman, and the second of any country, to circumnavigate the globe. In recognition of this remarkable performance, he was knighted in April, 1581, by Queen

Elizabeth at Deptford on the deck of his own ship, the *Golden Hind*.

In 1585 Drake was commissioned as an admiral and set out with a fleet to attack Spain once more in her western colonies. He captured and sacked Santo Domingo in Hispaniola (1586) and held it to ransom for 25,000 ducats, and then served Cartagena in similar style, the ransom here being 30,000 ducats. He then intended to take Nombre de Dios a second time, and thence cross the isthmus to Panama to strike another stroke for the treasure, but was deterred by the great mortality among his men from calenture. Instead, he sailed for Cuba; thence to Florida, where he captured the fort of San Juan de Pinos and burned St. Augustine; thence to Roanoke, where he took on board the 103 survivors of Sir Walter Raleigh's colony; and thence for Plymouth, where he arrived on July 28, 1586, bringing with him as spoils specie to the value of 60,000 pounds sterling and 240 pieces of ordnance.

Between April and June of the following year (1587), with a fleet of 21 ships, Drake sailed into the harbor of Cadiz, drove the armed galleys under the guns of the castle, looted and destroyed more than a hundred ships in the harbor and a hundred more which he subsequently met, and took and brought into Plymouth a Portuguese carrack, the *St. Philip*, heavily laden with treasures from the East. As vice-admiral Drake was second in command to the lord high admiral of England, Lord Howard of Effingham, in the series of engagements in which, aided materially by their allies the winds, the English defeated the Invincible Armada in 1588. Next year he was still busy fighting in Europe; and in the four following years he was performing duties incidental to civil life.

But the lure of the West was always upon him. Ashore or afloat, he had the consuming desire to make another dash at Nombre de Dios and thence to make a trans-isthmian march to sack Panama. To compass this end he had got together by August, 1595, a fleet of 26 vessels. But

Queen Elizabeth, having heard that a plate-ship with treasure to equip another Armada was in difficulties in Porto Rico, ordered the fleet to proceed thither in search of her. Near Porto Rico old Sir John Hawkins, who was vice-admiral on this expedition, died and was buried at sea. The Spaniards, having learned in the meantime that Drake was on the way, took off the treasure and carried it ashore and then sank the great galleon in the mouth of the harbor of San Juan. These were excellent tactics, and they foiled Drake. He succeeded indeed in making his way into the harbor, where he burned six ships; but he was unable to accomplish his chief purpose, and so he stood away for the Spanish Main. He sacked and burned La Hacha, Rancheria, Santa Marta, and other towns and villages. He then took *Nombre de Dios*, and sent out a force of 750 soldiers under Sir Thomas Baskerville to follow the *Camino Real* to Panama. The Spaniards, however, were well prepared. Obstructions were erected along the road at every point of vantage, and the little army was raked by gunshots from parties lying in ambush in the jungle. Thus hampered at every step, Baskerville got no more than half way to Panama when he thought it part of discretion to turn back. When he and his men arrived, footsore and half starved, *Nombre de Dios* was given over to the flames, and all the vessels in the harbor, as well as those which had been beached, were burned.

The English then steered for Porto Bello, and on the way Drake fell sick. From Porto Bello they proceeded to San Juan de Nicaragua, but were driven back by a storm. Drake became delirious and talked incoherently. Then he got up, put on his uniform, called clearly for his arms, lay down thus accoutred, and died within an hour. The ships continued their course to Porto Bello and there came to anchor. Next day, January 29, 1596, the admiral's body was placed in a coffin of lead, carried a league to sea, and there committed to the waves. Sir Thomas Baskerville then assumed the command and steered for Eng-

land. Off the Isle of Pines near Cuba he fell in with twenty Spanish ships and after a sharp action repulsed them. The expedition, which had so unfortunate an ending in the loss of its great leader, reached England in safety the following May.

Drake was about fifty-six years of age at the time of his death. He appears to have been brown-haired, fair-complexioned, and under medium height, but broad-chested and strong-limbed. He stands boldly out as one of the historic figures of the spacious times of the great Elizabeth. His ethics, if judged by modern standards, would doubtless not pass muster; but they were the ethics of the time. Those who find that there is a glamour of romance about the raids and harrings of the Scottish border—and who does not?—or who are willing to overlook the seamy side of Dick Turpin's character for the sake of his daring if mythical ride to York, will assuredly find that the glory of Drake's career more than compensates for its questionable incidents of smuggling, and piracy, and highway robbery. Nor must we forget that he had some very commendable traits of character. He laid it down as an inflexible rule, both to his own men and to the Cimaroons who were his allies, that they must never harm a woman and never attack a man who was not carrying weapons against them. And something of old-time chivalry is found in his relations with the dignitaries of the cities he sacked, for we find him courteously treating them and even hospitably entertaining them whenever opportunity permitted. He was, besides, in his pirate days, scrupulously fair in his dealings with his fellow-thieves. Although his positive achievements in foreign parts are not to be compared to those of the Conquistadores, who carved out for Spain colonies of greater riches and extent than all the kingdoms and empires that Europe then knew, yet he rendered signal services to his country. He showed how weak Spain was in her distant colonies, and proved to onlooking Europe that by sea as well as by land England was growing

to be one of the great powers. Both by his daredevil exploits as a plain pirate and his more rational performances as an admiral of the fleet, he made Englishmen feared and respected. In each character he left a proud name which is enshrined in song and story and which his countrymen will never willingly let die.

## CHAPTER VIII

### PANAMA'S EARLY GROWTH AND DECLINE

GROWTH AND PROSPERITY OF PANAMA—ITS SIZE AND POPULATION—ITS DECLINE—THE CIMARRONES: THEIR RAVAGES—EXPEDITIONS AGAINST THEM—THE AUDIENCIA OF PANAMA ABOLISHED—RESTORED—THE AUDIENCIA DE LOS CONFINES—PANAMA SUBJECTED TO PERU—TRANSFERRED TO NEW GRANADA—RIVAL ROUTES THROUGH CENTRAL AMERICA—ABANDONMENT OF NOMBRE DE DIOS—SETTLEMENT FOUNDED AT PORTO BELLO—DISAPPEARANCE OF EARLY COLONIES.

THROUGH all vicissitudes Panama continued for many years not only to hold its own but to grow in population and wealth. Situated in the very center of the colonial possessions of Spain, its position as the terminus of the Camino Real and as the Pacific port of entry for gold, silver, pearls, and general merchandise from South, Central, and North America, from the neighboring islands, and from China, the Moluccas, and the Philippines, as well as the port of distribution for commodities brought from Europe, made it the great emporium between East and West, and gave it an importance such as no other American city for a long time possessed. Its warerooms were piled high with natural products and the products of industry from every quarter of the world; its merchants vied with those of any other country in wealth and display. A veritable golden age of prosperity had come to the former obscure village.

The size and population of the city of Panama, however, have been probably greatly exaggerated. In 1529, ten years after its foundation, it had 600 householders, and, despite an unhealthy climate, and the spread of infectious diseases, the number continued for many years to increase. But we are told that in 1610, its population was scarcely one-third of what it had been in 1585. At the later date Panama had, all told, eleven streets, three squares, and 484 houses, besides a cathedral, a hospital, seven religious institutions, and ten official buildings. A de-

structive fire which occurred in 1644 burned down 97 houses, and, following this event, Juan de Vega Bazan, the governor, wrote to King Philip IV.: "Panama has now but a small population, and this decreasing more and more every day." Yet Esquemelin, who accompanied Morgan's buccaneers when they sacked the city in 1671, says that it then contained "two thousand houses of magnificent and prodigious building," inhabited by vastly rich merchants, and five thousand houses more, occupied by persons of lesser quality and tradesmen. It is difficult to doubt or dispute the statements of an eyewitness; but the increase here indicated seems quite incredible, and all subsequent investigation would go to show that Old Panama never contained seven thousand houses and a corresponding population. If we set the number of inhabitants down at 10,000 in its palmiest days, it is likely that we shall not be far wrong.

The era of greatest prosperity of Panama was probably from about the middle to the end of the sixteenth century. Early in the seventeenth century it entered on a period of decline. The causes of the falling off were many. The mines of Tierra Firme, which reached their greatest output about 1570, were thenceforward but indifferently worked, the pearl fisheries were exhausted and lay idle, trade in the necessaries of life was in the hands of monopolists, who rigged the market to suit their own purposes and increase their gains. The imports of treasure from the three Americas began

also to diminish, for the yield was not maintained, and, besides, Cartagena had in some measure superseded the isthmian cities as a port of call and an entrepôt of commerce between the new world and the old, especially in the matter of pearls and of Central American products, which latter were conveyed thither by way of the Desaguadero River and the Caribbean Sea. In addition, the colonial policy of the mother-country was short-sighted in the extreme. The trade between Panama and China and the Philippines was highly lucrative, but because it led to a decrease of trade in the Castilian kingdom, it was absolutely forbidden by royal decrees of 1578, 1593, 1595, 1599, and 1609. Even the trade in native products was hampered by fiscal regulations which had regard more to the prosperity of Spain than to that of her colonies. Striking evidences of the falling-off of commerce are shown by two facts: first, that the revenues of the casa, or custom-house, of Cruces, which had been formerly rented out at 10,000 pesos a year, were let in 1610 for 2,000; and secondly, that the number of merchant vessels reaching the isthmus, which had fluctuated from 71 in 1585 to 69 in 1596 and reached its highest point of 94 in 1589, had by 1606 dwindled to 17.

A revival of the pearl industry and of gold-mining in the isthmus did indeed take place near the close of the seventeenth century, and the latter business was then so brisk that more gold was sent to Panama from Veragua and especially from Darien than from all the other mines in Spain's colonial possessions; but the depredations of corsairs and others had become so frequent and destructive that, from 1748 onward, intercourse between the home country and her American colonies was generally by way of Cape Horn, and the sending of fleets to the isthmus was abandoned. Before the end of the eighteenth century the mines were again exhausted, agriculture and manufactures were neglected, and the trade of Panama had gone down almost to the vanishing point.

Another cause of disturbance of business

and its consequent decline in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the condition brought about by the importation of negro slaves. This policy had been inaugurated in 1508 and had been recommended by Las Casas, although he afterwards repented of it, and as early as 1517 it had been authorized by royal order. In the years following large numbers of negroes were imported from the Portuguese settlements on the African coast, and a lucrative trade in those unfortunate human beings was done alike by those who received the necessary license and by those who were engaged illicitly in such enterprises. So important was this traffic considered that in the treaty of Utrecht which, in 1713, brought to an end England's share in the War of the Spanish Succession, a special *assiento* was included, which gave to Englishmen for 30 years the exclusive right to supply the Spanish colonies with negro slaves, as well as the privilege of sending every year to Porto Bello one vessel of 500 tons burden laden with European merchandise. This *assiento* was made over to the South Sea Company in 1720: it was finally abrogated in 1750, a compensation of £100,000 being paid by Spain to the company in consideration of its cancellation.

Now, from the earliest times, many of those negroes, driven thereto by bad treatment, escaped and took refuge in the jungle, the forests, and the mountain defiles, where, in ever-increasing numbers, they led a roving life, and frequently made common cause with the native Indians against their common oppressor. They continually attacked both the treasure train on its way from Panama to Nombre de Dios and passengers en route to or from either city. They despoiled mining-camps, set fire to houses, destroyed plantations, carried off women, stole merchandise, and slew settlers. In all their attacks they gave no quarter, for they expected none themselves. In process of time they became organized into regular companies, and, under the name of *Cimarrones* (by Englishmen frequently called *Cimaroons*), became a far-spread

source of terror to Spanish officials, merchants, and colonists.

By 1554 the menace to life and property had grown so great that the viceroy of Peru, Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, Marques de Canete, then on his way to his province, commissioned Pedro de Ursua, founder of the city of Pamplona, to raise troops and proceed against the offending marauders. With about 200 men Ursua started from Nombre de Dios on his difficult mission. The Cimarrones, to the number of 600, were under a man of their own race, Bayona by name, whom they had elected king. For two years the guerilla warfare was drawn out, but at length Ursua succeeded in capturing Bayona, who was sent as a prisoner to Spain, and in forcing those of his followers who were still left to sue for peace. In 1570 the Cimarrones founded a town of their own, Santiago del Principe. In 1574, on submitting and guaranteeing to lead a peaceful life, they were by royal decree declared to be free men. The peace thus secured was of short duration, however, and depredations on the part of the Cimarrones became so frequent that the Spanish king determined to exterminate them. In 1578 Pedro de Ortega Valencia was sent against them at the head of a well-equipped force; but he did not fully succeed in his attempt. The Cimarrones, acting in conjunction with the buccaneers, opened a road in 1596 from Santiago del Principe to the River Chagre, with the object of more easily seizing treasure and merchandise on the Camino Real. Despite every expedition sent against them and every attempt to wipe them out, they remained for years a constant threat to Spanish interests, and the allies of every invader who wished to devastate the Spanish settlements or to humble the Spanish power.

The Audiencia Real, which, as we have seen, was established at Panama in 1533, was abolished in 1543, and Panama was made subject to the Audiencia de los Confines, which was located first at Comayagua, then at Gracias á Dios, and finally at San-

tiago de Guatemala. Later, however, Panama was given an audiencia of its own, for we find that early in 1560 a royal decree was issued, by which the government of Tierra Firme was vested in the president of the audiencia resident in Panama. This proceeding stimulated Guatemala to long-continued resistance, which finally succumbed only in face of subsequent imperative mandates. In 1564 the Audiencia de los Confines was removed to Panama, a fact which caused great demonstrations of enthusiasm throughout the isthmus. Its jurisdiction extended as far north as the Gulf of Fonseca on one ocean and the mouth of the River Ulua on the other, but did not include Gracias á Dios or San Gil de Buenavista, which, with their districts and the provinces of Guatemala, Chiapas, Soconusco, and Vera Paz, were handed over to the audiencia of New Spain or Mexico. This was an inequitable arrangement for Guatemala and the other provinces, and, after many petitions on the subject, the audiencia was in 1569 once more transferred to Santiago.

By royal decree of February 26, 1571, confirmed subsequently in 1614, 1620, and 1628, Tierra Firme was brought under the domination of the viceroy of Peru in all that appertained to government, war, and finance, but not in civil matters, which were left, as before, in the control of the audiencia of Panama. This condition of affairs lasted until 1718, in which year the three provinces of which the isthmus then consisted—Castilla del Oro, Veragua, and Darien—were transferred to New Granada, the seat of government of which was at Santa Fé de Bogotá. With New Granada, or part of it, Tierra Firme continued to be associated, with one or two short intervals, until it declared its independence in 1903, and set up government on its own account as the Republic of Panama. In 1794 an Audiencia Real y Chancilleria was established at Panama, having for its jurisdiction the provinces of Castilla del Oro and Veragua, and touching east, south, and west, respectively, on the territories subject to

the *audiencia* of New Granada, of Quito, and of Guatemala.

The route between Panama and Nombre de Dios was not allowed to retain its supremacy unchallenged. Although the distance between the two cities was only eighteen leagues, the cost of the journey was proportionately very high. Besides, the climate of Nombre de Dios was extremely unhealthy; it was liable to be flooded in the rainy season, and in the dry season it suffered from the want of fresh water; the harbor was bad and shipwrecks there were frequent; and town and harbor lay exposed as an easy prey to pirates. For these reasons many merchants were found to favor the removal of the Atlantic port of entry and disembarkation to one of the harbors on the Honduras coast, whence the overland journey to the Pacific, though nearly three times as long, could be performed at a more reasonable rate of charge. An inquiry into this matter, undertaken at the instance of the king by Juan Garcia de Hermsillo in 1554, resulted in a report, made in 1556, in which Trujillo in Honduras was advocated as the port of call, whence goods and passengers could be conveniently carried across country to Realejo on the Gulf of Fonseca, and there reshipped for transportation to Peru and elsewhere. Further investigation was carried on between 1556 and 1558, and a recommendation of the transfer proposed by Hermsillo was the result. Petitions in this sense were,

naturally enough, adopted by the *cabildo*, or town-council, of Santiago in 1559, 1561, and 1562. A memorial from Felipe de Aniñon, who had lived long in the Indies, recommending the abandonment of Nombre de Dios and Panama, in favor of Puerto de Caballos and Fonseca, respectively, contained some cogent reasoning, and carried great weight with the Council of the Indies and the king.

At length, on the report of the royal surveyor, Jean Baptiste Antonelli, a change was effected, but by it Panama remained undisturbed, and the Atlantic port of entry was not removed from Tierra Firme, because another site was selected in that territory. "If it might please your majesty," wrote Antonelli, "it were good that the city of Nombre de Dios be brought and builded in this harbor." By "this harbor" was meant that of the village of Porto Bello, which was situated about five leagues west of Nombre de Dios. Porto Bello had the advantage of a commodious harbor with good anchorage, and could readily be fortified against attack from the sea. There, accordingly, in 1597 was founded a new settlement, which in time became one of the most important as well as one of the most famous cities on the Atlantic coast.

Belen, San Sebastian, Antigua, and Nombre de Dios, the earliest settlements, had thus either wholly or partly disappeared; another was Acla, which by 1580 was no longer existent.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE BUCCANEERS

FORTIFICATIONS OF TIERRA FIRME—PARKER TAKES PORTO BELLO—THE BUCCANEERS—FATE OF L'OLONNOIS—MANSVELT'S ATTACK ON NATÁ AND CARTAGO—MORGAN'S CAREER—SACK OF PORTO BELLO—CAPTURE OF FORT SAN LORENZO—MORGAN'S TRANS-ISTHMIAN MARCH—CAPTURE OF PANAMA—DESTRUCTION OF PANAMA BY FIRE—MORGAN CHEATS HIS COMRADES—HE ESCAPES WITH THE SPOILS—HIS SUBSEQUENT CAREER—FOUNDATION OF NEW PANAMA—ITS FORTIFICATIONS—PORTO BELLO AGAIN TAKEN BY PIRATES—THE EMPEROR OF DARIEN—KING GOLDEN-CAP—CAPTURE OF SANTA MARIA—BATTLE IN PANAMA BAY—PANAMA BLOCKADED—SAWKINS ATTACKS PUEBLO NUEVO—HIS DEATH—RAIDS OF CAPTAIN SHARP—WATLING ATTACKS ARICA—HIS DEATH—SACK OF ESPARZA—SHARP TAKES THE SAN PEDRO—SHARP'S RETURN TO ENGLAND—HIS TRIAL AND ACQUITTAL—DAMPIER RECROSSES THE ISTHMUS—SURGEON WAFER'S EXPERIENCES—DAMPIER JOINS ANOTHER BUCCANEER PARTY—THE BUCCANEERS OUTSIDE PANAMA—THEY FAIL TO TAKE THE TREASURE FLEET—DAMPIER'S SUBSEQUENT CAREER—CAPTAIN TOWNLEY'S DEPREDATIONS—GROGNIET AND TOWNLEY ATTACK NICARAGUA—TOWNLEY CAPTURES VILLA DE LOS SANTOS—SECURES IMMENSE BOOTY—THE BUCCANEERS AMBUSCADED—DEATH OF TOWNLEY—DEPREDATIONS IN VERAGUA—FURTHER RAIDS OF THE BUCCANEERS—THEIR OVERLAND MARCH TO THE ATLANTIC—GARCIA DEFEATS PETITPIED—GARCIA TURNS TRAITOR—HIS EXPLOITS—HIS DEATH—CAUSES OF THE COLLAPSE OF THE BUCCANEERS.

THE ravages of Drake and the invasions of other adventurers had proved conclusively that the coast guards established in 1529 by the governor of Santo Domingo, with instructions to seize every ship that did not fly the flag of Spain and to enslave its crew, were ridiculously inadequate to the grave emergencies which had since arisen. It was evidently necessary for Spain to adopt more vigorous measures to secure her distant colonies from outside attack. We accordingly find that in 1580 three men-of-war were stationed on the coast of the isthmus as a protection against pirates and raiders, and eleven years later a larger fleet still was sent for the same purpose to the West Indies. But this was not enough; land defenses were essential. Therefore Cruces and other points on Tierra Firme were fortified. In 1595 the fort of San Lorenzo was erected at the mouth of the Chagre. Standing on a high rock which made it inaccessible from

the south, it was protected on its northern side by the river which there widened. Four bastions with big guns swept the landward approaches, and two others commanded the outlet of the river, which a sunken reef and sand bar made still more difficult of entry. The fortress was surrounded with palisades filled in with earth. A drawbridge, which spanned a yawning chasm in the rock thirty feet deep, was the sole method of approach to its one and only entrance. San Lorenzo was undoubtedly a strong citadel.

Still stronger were the defenses of Porto Bello. We have seen that one of the reasons for the removal of the settlement of Nombre de Dios to Porto Bello was the fact that the latter place could be much more easily rendered secure against attack from the sea. In the same year (1597) in which the removal took place artificers were sent out from Spain to erect without delay the necessary defensive works, and by them



Porto Bello was stoutly fortified. The fortress of San Felipe, with thirty-five great pieces of brass ordnance and a garrison of fifty soldiers, protected the entrance to the harbor; directly opposite it was a smaller fort named Santiago, with five pieces of ordnance and thirty soldiers; in Triana, an eastern suburb, there was another fortified castle; and similar forts commanded all the approaches by land and sea. In the city itself the King's Treasure House was solidly built, and was always guarded by a numerous and well armed force. All these defenses were soon to be put to a severe test.

In November, 1601, Captain William Parker, with 200 men and two ships, two shallops, and a pinnace, sailed from Plymouth, and, after an adventurous voyage, during which he had several successful piratical engagements, he arrived off the island of Bastimentos. Here he embarked 150 of his men in his vessels of light draught, and entered the river on which Porto Bello lies in the early morning hours of February 7, 1602. The moonlight showed the little flotilla plainly to the sentries on Fort San Felipe, and those watchers of the night immediately challenged to know whence the new arrivals came. The reply, given purposely in Spanish with intent to deceive, was that they had come from Cartagena. The ruse was successful, and the strangers were ordered to anchor, an order with which they at once complied. Later, when the excitement caused by his coming had somewhat subsided, Parker contrived to slip past both San Felipe and Santiago, and landing at the suburb of Triana, he immediately set that town on fire and made straight for Porto Bello itself. Here he found the governor, a brave man named Melendez, at the head of a squadron of troops ready to receive him. A short fight ensued, which resulted in favor of Parker, and the governor and his party had to take refuge in the houses, where they stood a siege of four or five hours, and then surrendered. The governor, who was badly wounded, and several leading citizens were

made prisoners. The raiders found in the treasure-house booty to the value of 10,000 ducats, and elsewhere in the town large quantities of plate, merchandise, and money were secured. Beyond burning a few negro huts as a warning, the pirates did no damage to the town, and having fairly divided the booty and released the prisoners without ransom, Parker and his men, on two Spanish ships that they found in the harbor, sailed down the river and, determinedly returning the fire of the forts, got safely away.

More formidable and more bloodthirsty were the next foemen by whom Tierra Firme was threatened. All the bands of sea-rovers or pirates, English, French, and Dutch, who followed in the wake of the Spaniards, made the various harbors of Santo Domingo favorite places of call, because wild cattle were plentiful in every part of the island and ships could there be revictualled at very little expense. The places where the flesh of the cattle was dried were called "boucans," and from this word was derived the term boucanier or buccaneer, the name by which those raiders of the seventeenth century are now universally known. About 1630 the little island of Tortuga became the headquarters of the buccaneers. In 1640 they amounted to 300 men, and then for the first time selected a leader. The Spaniards, whose dominions they devastated, naturally looked upon them as enemies, but by the other European powers they were secretly regarded, and sometimes openly treated as allies and friends. In fact, when Cromwell's British troops captured Jamaica in 1655, they were materially helped by a large force of buccaneers.

The buccaneers were generally men of ferocious mien and mind. In their early history a few of them stand out in a proud preëminence of wickedness and crime, such as Montbar, Pierre le Grand, and Bartolomé Portuguez; but the most dreaded cut-throat of them all, an arch-fiend in cruelty and ferocity, was Francois L'Olonnois. Luckily, for the purposes of this narrative, we have not to chronicle the performances

of L'Olonnois further than to say that, after a revolting career, it was in Darien that he met his end. In or about 1665 he was obliged to go ashore in search of provisions, and he and all his party save one fell into the hands of the natives and were roasted alive. As the English translator of Esquemelin puts it, "The Indians tore him in pieces alive, throwing his body limb by limb into the Fire, and his Ashes into the Air, that no trace or memory might remain of such an infamous inhuman Creature."

Another celebrated buccaneer was Mansvelt. About the year 1664 Mansvelt planned to sack Natá by reaching it overland from the Caribbean. He first captured the island of Santa Catarina, where he planted a buccaneer settlement and left it in charge of one St. Simon, a Frenchman. He then proceeded to his attack on Natá, but found such extensive preparations made by the president of the audiencia of Panama to defend it that he had to give up his attempt as impracticable. He then turned his attention to Cartago, the capital of Costa Rica, but here again he was foiled. On his return he found his colony on Santa Catarina flourishing and every preparation made to retain permanent possession. Successive appeals to the governors of Jamaica and Tortuga to aid him in a further attack on Cartago proved unavailing, and Mansvelt died soon after. In August the president of Panama recovered with but little difficulty Santa Catarina from the buccaneers.

Second in command to Mansvelt in his attempted raid was Henry Morgan, whose name, to English-speaking people at least, is perhaps better known than that of any other buccaneer. Morgan was Welsh by birth and belonged to a respectable family in comfortable circumstances. Embarking while still a mere lad on board a ship bound for Barbados, he was sold as a slave by the ship's master when the vessel touched port. Having contrived to escape, he made his way to Jamaica, where he joined a party of raiders who were about to start for the Spanish West Indies. With the gains of

this and other similar expeditions, he was enabled to purchase part ownership of a vessel, of which he was elected captain, and in which he made a paying trip to the coast of Campeche. It was on his return that he was appointed vice-admiral of Mansvelt's fleet. On Mansvelt's death, Morgan was elected captain-general of the buccaneers, a position which gave him control of twelve ships and seven hundred men. A raid on Puerto Principe in Cuba not proving financially profitable, Morgan turned his attention to Tierra Firme, on the coast of which he appeared with nine ships and four hundred and sixty fighting men in June, 1668. A night attack was then planned on Porto Bello. Having first taken and blown up the castle of Triana with its defenders, he advanced on the town itself, of which, after some desperate hand-to-hand fighting, he had gained complete possession by evening of the following day. The scenes that ensued are beyond description. Having secured their prisoners, who were nearly all wounded, in a building in which they had neither food, water, nor attendance, the victors gave themselves over to every species of rioting and debauchery. Matron and maid and religious recluse were alike the victims of the pirates' cruel lust. The following day was devoted to the plunder of the churches and the houses and to the taking of more prisoners. The town was held to ransom for 100,000 pesos. A force of 1,500 men, sent to the rescue by the president of Panama, was defeated and routed by 100 picked men sent against them by Morgan and posted in a narrow defile through which the relieving army had to pass. For fifteen days Morgan held Porto Bello, and then, having received the stipulated ransom and taken the best guns of the fortresses and spiked the remainder, he and his men took their departure. At Cuba, to which they steered, a distribution of spoils took place. The coin, bullion, and jewels were valued at 260,000 pesos and there were besides large quantities of silk, linen, cloth, and other merchandise.

This notable exploit added so much to Morgan's reputation that crowds of recruits, French as well as English, began to swarm to his standard, and soon he had at his command a flotilla of fifteen vessels and 960 daredevil fighters. With these he made forays on Maracaibo and Gibraltar in the modern Venezuela, retiring therefrom with plunder to the amount of 250,000 pesos, in addition to merchandise and slaves.

Morgan's next and last, as well as his greatest, pirateering exploit was the sack of Panama. For this expedition his ranks were swelled with recruits from Jamaica, and when he assembled his forces at Cape Tiburon, he had thirty-seven ships and 2,000 combatants. Each vessel carried cannon varying in number from four to thirty pieces. Morgan took the title of admiral, flew the royal standard of England on his flag-ship, and proceeded to make war in regular fashion on Spain in her new world dependencies. His first attempt was to capture Santa Catarina once more, and without much difficulty he succeeded in gaining possession of it and of a well fortified adjacent islet on December 21, 1670. Thence he dispatched Captain Bradley with five ships and 400 men, and instructed him to capture Fort San Lorenzo at the mouth of the Chagre. This was a difficult task, for, as we have already seen, San Lorenzo was admirably planned for defense, and just then it was garrisoned by 314 well armed veterans and a number of skilled Indian archers. But there was no resisting the onslaught of the buccaneers. After a fierce fight, in which luck greatly favored the attacking party, the fortress fell. The fatalities on both sides were numerous. Of the garrison of San Lorenzo only thirty were still living when Bradley made his last and successful advance to storm the walls.

As soon as Morgan learned of Bradley's success he came up with the remainder of his ships and men, and leaving a force of 500 to guard the castle and 150 to guard the fleet, he started overland for Panama with some 1300 adventurers. The way was

long and toilsome, and great were the sufferings of the buccaneers from the inclemency of the weather as well as from hunger and fatigue. At one time they had to be content with a diet of dried hides; at another they were glad to kill some dogs and cats to eat. At length after a terrible nine days' march they came in sight of the city of their quest. Next day the Spanish forces to the number of 400 horse and 2,400 foot, with some few pieces of artillery, were drawn up to oppose them on a plain in front of the city. The ensuing battle was fast and furious, and in two hours victory rested with Morgan and his men. The city was then easily taken. The loot found was not very great, being confined principally to a few gold and silver utensils, concealed in wells, and to silks and cloths, of which there was a considerable quantity, but most of the citizens had fled to the adjacent islands taking with them everything that could be conveniently carried. No sooner were the buccaneers in possession than several of the largest houses were seen to be in flames, and, despite all efforts on the part of both the raiders and the inhabitants to check the progress of the fire, practically the whole city was burned down before midnight. Disappointed in the booty secured, Morgan determined to remain at Panama in order to search the surrounding country, sea, and islands, and bring in whatever valuables could be found and as many prisoners as could be taken with a view to their subsequent ransom. After holding his ground for four weeks he started on February 24, 1671, for San Lorenzo, with six hundred prisoners and 175 pack-animals carrying the spoils. When it came to a division of the booty, there was much heart-burning, for each man received but 200 pesos, whereas a portion of 2,000 or 3,000 pesos had been expected. They strongly suspected that Morgan had by some trick managed to secure a grossly disproportionate amount of the more valuable articles for himself, and the commander, doubtless well aware of the correctness of the surmise and fear-

ing for his own safety and for the security of his ill-gotten gains, stole away by night with only three or four vessels and made for Jamaica, where he duly arrived. He there engaged in the formation of plans for other piratical adventures, but the political situation had changed, peace had been made between England and Spain in 1670, the treaty of Madrid, which recognized the English possession of Jamaica and other territory in the western hemisphere, had been signed, and a new governor had been sent to that island with instructions to see that the provisions of the treaty were strictly enforced. Morgan's pirateering plans were thus perforce brought to a premature end; but the new state of affairs probably suited his purpose just as well. Taking advantage of the promulgation of a general pardon and indemnity for all past offences, he went to England, where he was knighted, appointed a lord of the admiralty, and finally deputy governor of Jamaica. In this latter capacity he used a strong hand in putting down such raids as those in which he had himself once taken so active a part.

Those of his followers, to the number of 700 or 800, whom he had left in the lurch at San Lorenzo soon found themselves in a pitiable plight. Their only resource to save themselves from absolute starvation was to pillage the shores of Castilla del Oro, and having done this pretty thoroughly, they returned to Port Royal in Jamaica, with very little to show for their celebrated sack of the wealthy city on the Pacific shore.

When the court of Spain learned of the destruction of Panama, orders were at once issued to have a new city built in a situation where it could be strongly fortified. The site selected was on a peninsula at the foot of the hill of Ancon about two leagues to the west of the old one, and here a city almost in the form of a square was planned. The foundations were laid in 1573. A deep moat, with entrances through three massive gates, separated the city from the mainland. A wall ten feet wide and varying in height from twenty to forty feet, and provided with

forts and watch towers at frequent intervals, was carried clear around the city. On the side of the sea coral reefs running out for fully half a mile prevented the near approach of any large vessel even at high tide. It is related that so long were the walls in building that on one occasion the Spanish king, being asked why he looked so earnestly toward the west out of a window in one of the upper rooms in his palace at Madrid, replied that he was trying to see the walls of New Panama, which, he added, were so expensive that they ought to be high enough to be visible from Europe; and when the Council of the Indies had audited the accounts, they issued the sarcastic inquiry whether the fortifications were of silver or of gold. Whatever their cost, the fortifications were good and enduring and served their purpose well, for during Spanish occupation Panama was never sacked again.

Despite treaties of peace and international agreements, it was not to be expected that lawless men like the buccaneers would suddenly abandon their favorite enterprises. Nor did they. In 1679 Porto Bello fell again a prey to pirates, who despoiled it of several thousand pesos' worth of booty. These same desperadoes then joined themselves to a still larger force, and made a league with the natives of the Samballas or San Blas islands and the Darien Indians for the purpose of once more attacking Panama. Under the guidance of the cacique Andrés, whom they styled the emperor of Darien, they sailed with seven ships and 366 men from Golden Island, and on April 5, 1680, landed on Darien under the supreme command of Captain Bartholomew Sharp. Accompanied by their allies under Andrés, they first marched on Santa María, because that was the place where was stored the gold from the adjacent mines for subsequent transportation to Panama. On the way they were joined by another friendly cacique, and further on they came to an Indian village where resided Andrés's son, Antonio, who, from his usual head-gear, received from the freebooters the sobriquet

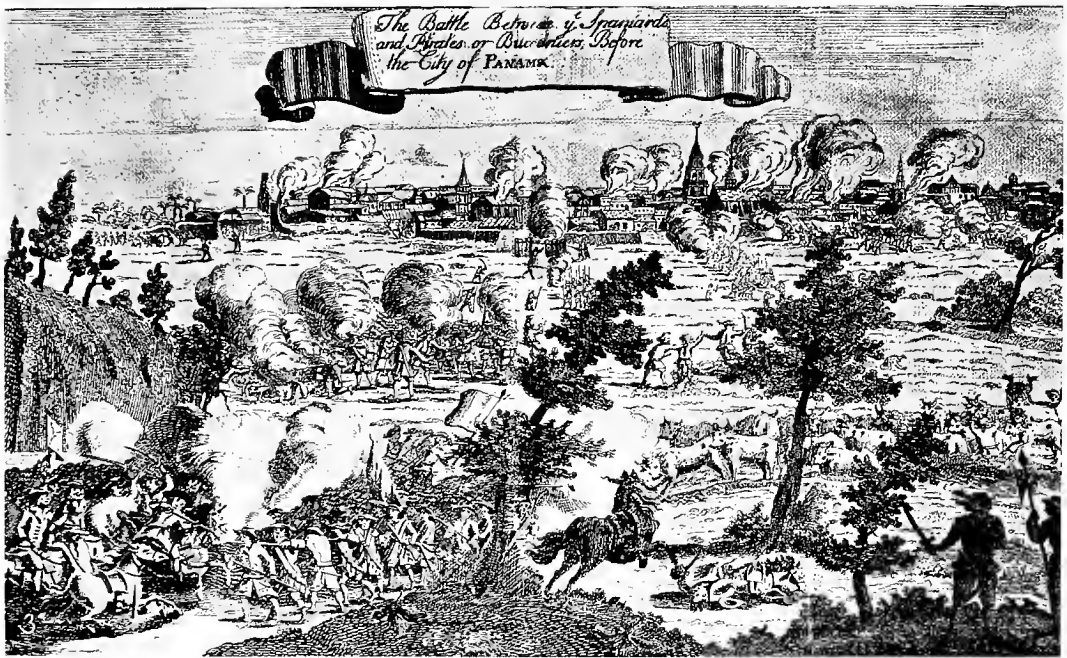
of King Golden-Cap, and who joined them with 150 of his followers. They arrived at Santa María at dawn on April 15 and after a short struggle, which the buccaneers mostly carried on with their cutlasses, scarcely using their firearms at all, overmastered the garrison of 260, and took possession of the place. Unfortunately for them a shipment of gold to the weight of 300 pounds had been made to Panama a few days before, so that very little booty was forthcoming. They held the town for two days and then gave it over to the flames.

From this point there was some hesitation about advancing, and in order to secure unanimous action Captain Coxon was elected to the supreme command. Then in thirty-five canoes and a piragua they proceeded by way of the Santa María River to the Gulf of San Miguel. One section of the pirates, to the number of sixty-eight, in a piragua and some canoes was attacked on reaching the Bay of Panama on April 23 by three Spanish men-of-war, and a hot fight lasting from sunrise to noon resulted in the defeat of the Spaniards and the capture of two of their warships. The victors then made for the Island of Perico, where they found five ships lying at anchor and abandoned. Two of these they burned, one they used as a hospital for their wounded, and the other two they appropriated for other purposes. They also burned the warships which they had taken in the battle. Captain Sharp, who had gone to the Pearl Islands for water and there captured a brigantine, to which he transferred his crew, was delayed by contrary winds and therefore was absent from the action, but he joined his comrades two days later.

The freebooters remained for about ten days before Panama, during which time Coxon with about fifty men set sail with the intention of going back to the North Sea. He was accompanied by Andrés and Antonio and the other Darien chief. Those left behind sailed on May 2 under Captain Sawkins, who had been appointed to succeed Coxon, to the island of Taboga, es-

tablished a successful blockade of Panama, and made prize of several vessels. From Taboga they went to Otoque and thence to Quibo, the modern Coquimbo, off the coast of Veragua. From Quibo Sawkins with sixty men made an attack on Pueblo Nuevo, but lost his life while heading a charge, and the attempt on the settlement proved a failure. Following this Sawkins's men, to the number of about seventy, and the remaining Indians left for the purpose of recrossing the Isthmus.

Sharp was now once more in command, and with the 146 men still remaining undertook a cruise southward. They plundered many towns, captured many Spanish vessels, and secured immense booty. Another dispute having arisen as to whether they should return or continue southward, Sharp was again deposed and John Watling put in his place. Sailing northward once more, they made an unsuccessful attack on Arica, which cost Watling his life. It was then proposed that Sharp should be again appointed to command, but on this question there was a great division of opinion, and it was finally agreed to put the matter to a vote and to allow the minority, if dissatisfied, to take the long boat and canoes and go where they chose. The majority was found to be on the side of Sharp, and the minority, to the number of forty-seven, under William Dampier made their way to the isthmus, intending to return overland to the Atlantic. Sharp continued his northward course, but did not try to molest Panama. He sacked and burned Esparza, where he took many prisoners, and then turning southward once more, he captured the San Pedro treasure ship with 37,000 pesos, and plundered, burned, and destroyed all along the coast of South America. Rounding Cape Horn safely he arrived at the Island of Antigua on February 1, 1682. There the crew dispersed, and those who could manage it took ship for England. Arrived there, Sharp and some of his followers were, at the instance of the Spanish ambassador, put on trial for piracy. Their defence was that they had for their



RAIDS OF THE BUCCANEERS

1. Sir Henry Morgan.

2. Sacking of Porto Bello. — From Esquemeling, 1700.

3. Morgan's attack on Panama. — From Esquemeling, 1700.



acts the authority of commissions from the independent caciques of Darien, who, as they strongly urged, were by no means subjects of Spain. Either on this plea successfully sustained or in default of evidence sufficient to convict, they secured a verdict of acquittal.

Dampier and his forty-six comrades, who had seceded from Sharp's party at Arica, succeeded after incredible toil and hardships in crossing the isthmus in twenty-three days with the loss of only one man. Rowing over from the mouth of the Concepcion River to La Sound Key, one of the Samballas group of islands, they were there taken aboard a French privateer, and their wanderings were thus brought to a temporary end.

A surgeon, Lionel Wafer, who was one of Dampier's party, was wounded by an explosion of gunpowder, and with four others remained behind in an Indian village, where they were kindly treated and Wafer was carefully nursed back to health. They remained for several months among the Indians, but eventually rejoined some of their comrades in the West Indies. Wafer learned the language of the natives and noted their occupations and customs, as well as the physical features of the country, and gave to the world the record of his experience and observations in his interesting "New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America," which was published at London in 1699.

Dampier had evidently an adventurous and roving disposition, for we find him in August, 1683, engaging in a buccaneering expedition under Captains Cook and Eaton, which, on reaching the western coast of South America, was swelled by new arrivals, French and English, at different points. On the death of Cook off Cape Blanco in Costa Rica Captain John Davis received the command. The history of this expedition is very interesting, but for the purposes of the present narrative only one or two points in connection therewith seem to require notice.

The first was the engagement of the buc-

caneers with the Spanish treasure fleet outside Panama on May 28, 1685, and their failure to take it owing to a clever stratagem adopted by the Spanish admiral. The expedition having, like the one last described, subsequently split into different sections, Dampier went with Captain Swan to Mexico and thence across the Pacific to the Ladrone Islands and the Philippines. Here there was a mutiny, and Swan, with some forty of his men, was put ashore on the island of Mindanao, where he was eventually murdered by the natives. Dampier landed at the Nicobar Islands and did not return to England until 1691. He afterwards engaged in other voyages of a more orthodox character, and survived until about 1712. He published at London in three volumes, 1697-1709, a fascinating account of his wanderings with Cook, Davis, and Swan, under the title of "A New Voyage Around the World."

The second matter of interest referred to above has to do with the depredations on Tierra Firme of Captain Townley and a combined force of French and English pirates under his command. Townley, who had joined the main expedition on March 3, 1685, had at first accompanied Swan when the division of forces was effected, but parted company with him off the Mexican coast, and had then fallen in with the French captain Grognet and joined him in April and May, 1686, in attacks on Granada, Realejo, and Chinandega, all of which places they took without securing much booty. On the 9th of May the commanders separated, and Townley and his band of Frenchmen and Englishmen made on their own account a descent on Villa de los Santos on the Rio Cubita, where they secured loot in money and merchandise to the value of over 1,500,000 pesos, besides taking 300 prisoners. On their return to the shore with their spoils, they were ambuscaded several times by the Spaniards and suffered many losses in killed and wounded, and had the further mortification of seeing their booty recaptured. Finally negotiations were entered into, and



the prisoners were ransomed. The buccaneers then proceeded to the Pearl Islands, and for two months terrorized the whole Bay of Panama, capturing numerous vessels with great slaughter, and descending on the land almost at will. In one naval engagement Townley was mortally wounded and died on September 8, 1686. His followers devoted themselves for the remainder of the year to depredations on the coast of Veragua and in the adjacent islands and bays. Joined once more by Grognet early in 1687, they harassed the shores of South and Central America and Mexico, and then, having acquired great wealth, they decided to return to the Atlantic Ocean, enjoy their riches, and take their ease. Starting out 280 strong on January 2, 1688, they made a famous march overland from Segovia to Cape Gracias á Dios, encountering and overcoming on the way great dangers alike from man and nature; reached the Atlantic on March 9; and succeeded in gaining the French and English settlements in the West Indies, where they were finally dispersed. One of them, Raveneau de Lussan, published at Paris in 1689 his account of the events of the expedition under the simple title of "Journal d'un Voyage."

The last piratical affair of importance with which we are called upon to deal occurred in 1726, when the mestizo, Luis Garcia, was commissioned by the governor of Panama to employ Indians for the purpose of wiping out the French filibusters, whose devastations on the coast of Tierra Firme were still continued. The result was the victory of Garcia, the death of Petitpied the leader of the French, and the break-up of his marauding band. Encouraged by his success, Garcia himself then turned traitor to the Spaniards, and persuading some of

the caciques of Darien to throw off Spanish allegiance and form a government of their own, he began an insurrectionary campaign, in which at first he made ready progress, marching from the River Yavisa to Santa María, killing and despoiling as he went. Santa María itself was also taken and burned. These proceedings naturally aroused considerable alarm, and the president of Panama sent out a body of picked men to suppress the revolt. At the same time he offered to reward any one who would bring in the body of Garcia, dead or alive. This proved to be an excellent tactical move, for the mestizo perished at last ignominiously at the hands of a negro. With the death of the leader the insurrection was suppressed.

The trend of political affairs in Europe: the Peace of Ryswick in 1697; the ascent of the Spanish throne by Philip V., the first of the Bourbon dynasty, in 1700; the War of the Spanish Succession from 1702 to 1713; and the Treaty of Utrecht in the last mentioned year: all tended to disintegrate the buccaneers. In particular, the feelings of antipathy between the French and the English nations, which the great twelve years' war with its varying fortunes did so much to arouse and maintain, hastened the snapping of the bond of union that had hitherto linked French filibuster and English privateer in one common cause under the common name of buccaneers. But, in addition to all that, the policy of the buccaneers, being based primarily on destruction, did not contain in itself the elements of permanency, and was bound sooner or later to bring their great but loose-jointed organization to an end. The pressure of outside affairs served only to hasten its inevitable collapse.

## CHAPTER X

### THE DARIEN SCHEME

WILLIAM PATERSON—HIS EARLY LIFE—PROPOSES THE DARIEN SCHEME—FOUNDS THE BANK OF ENGLAND—REVIVES THE DARIEN SCHEME IN SCOTLAND—OPPOSITION IN ENGLAND—ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORT IN SCOTLAND—THE FIRST EXPEDITION—FOUNDING OF NEW EDINBURGH—ACTION OF THE SPANIARDS—ACTION OF KING WILLIAM III—FAILURE OF THE FIRST EXPEDITION—ABANDONMENT OF NEW EDINBURGH—THE SECOND EXPEDITION—ITS FAILURE—THE THIRD EXPEDITION—THE SCOTS DEFEAT THE SPANIARDS—SIEGE OF NEW EDINBURGH—ITS CAPITULATION AND SURRENDER—END OF THE DARIEN SCHEME—AFTER-CAREER OF PATERSON—HIS DEATH—HIS CHARACTER.

THE possibilities of Panama, or at least a portion of it, as a great commercial entrepôt for the trade of the East and the West appealed forcibly to William Paterson, who, in a wholly dispassionate view, must be allowed to have possessed one of the keenest financial minds of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Paterson was born in April, 1658, on the farm of Skipmyre, in the parish of Tine-wald, in Dunfriesshire, Scotland. He lived there until he was about seventeen years old, when religious persecution combined with natural ambition to drive him forth to seek his fortune. His mercantile beginnings were necessarily humble, and we find that he carried a peddler's pack through a considerable portion of England. He finally drifted to Bristol, then a port of great importance, and thence he shipped for America. His principal place of abode in the New World appears to have been the Bahamas. His career there is shrouded in mystery, for what he did no one can exactly tell. He is said by some to have been a preacher, by others a missionary, and by others again, a buccaneer. It is probable enough that he was something of all. From the buccaneers, in any case, as well as from personal inspection, he derived that information regarding the geography and conditions of Tierra Firme from which he evolved the vast design which is known to history as the Darien Scheme.

Returning to England, Paterson endeavored to interest the ministry in his plans, but both James II and his advisers gave him the deaf ear. He then (1687) passed over to the continent, but met with no greater success in Hamburg, Amsterdam, or Berlin. Yielding for the time, he returned to London, engaged in business, and very quickly amassed a fortune. He always had big things in his mind. Thus we find him, about 1690-1692, associated with two others in forming the Hampstead Water Company; and neither then nor since have promoters of waterworks engaged in their operations for philanthropy alone.

But a bigger enterprise still was soon hatched in Paterson's fertile brain. He saw that not only the mercantile community but also the government itself were in sore need of better banking accommodations than then prevailed. In any sudden emergency a public loan could not be negotiated, even on the gilt-edged security of the land-tax, at less than eight per cent. interest, and then only after much delay and urgent entreaty; but the rate was more usually ten or twelve than eight. To change conditions so irksome, Paterson had already proposed the foundation of a national bank in 1691; but the "interests" of that day, accustomed to fatten on usurious profits and enraged at anything that threatened their monopoly, were powerful enough to have the matter postponed. Paterson, however, knowing how valuable his plan was and being of a

determined and persevering nature, brought his proposal before the cabinet again in 1693, and, despite a strong and even stormy opposition, it was ratified by parliament, and by charter granted under the Acts 5 and 6, William III., C. 20, the Bank of England came into existence on July 27, 1694.

As is the case with all great financial undertakings, the underlying idea of the Bank of England was extremely simple. The company advanced to the government £1,200,000 in consideration of receiving an annuity of £100,000 made up of eight per cent. by way of interest and £4,000 for expenses of management. The beneficial effects of this institution were speedily apparent, and went forward so rapidly that during the reign of George I the normal national rate of interest was only three per cent., and the government seldom had to pay more than four.

Paterson was one of the original directors of the Bank, but in less than a year he came forward with another great scheme for an "Orphan Bank," and as his fellow-directors were afraid of the competition which the proposed new institution might cause, and as in any case they were rather fearful of the able Scotsman whose brain teemed with one financial plan after another, friction ensued, and the founder of the Bank of England had to retire from its board.

At this juncture Paterson was attracted to the possibilities which seemed to be offered to a man of financial genius by his native land. The Scottish people were naturally anxious to share in the superabundant trade which at that time was rapidly enriching England. Already in 1693 the Scottish parliament, with an eye to the promotion of commerce, had passed an act under which letters patent were to be granted to all who would set up new manufactures, establish new settlements, or carry on any new trade. Taking advantage of the opening thus offered, some Englishmen, who had been trying to cut into the trade of the East India Company and had been defeated by that company in

the English parliament, entered into negotiations with some Scottish merchants, who undertook to procure from their own parliament a special act for the foundation of a new colony.

This was just the opportunity that Paterson needed. He proceeded to Edinburgh, where he paraded his knowledge of America, and hinted not obscurely that he possessed a great secret, that, in fact, he knew in those distant parts a country in which there were no Spaniards, in which there were rich gold mines in plenty, and which was ideally situated for trade with all parts of the world. He did not at first name this mysterious and happy territory, but suggested that the West Indies ought to be included in the scope of the proposed bill. The result was that in 1695 an act of the Scottish parliament established the "Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies." To this act William III, then in camp in Flanders, hastily gave the royal assent. Then Paterson named his promised land. It was in the Isthmus of Darien that he proposed settlements should be established both on the Atlantic and the Pacific coast, which settlements, he prophesied, should "hold the keys of the commerce of the world." To English adventurers the whole plan was so alluring that in nine days they subscribed £300,000, or half the capital stock. The scheme, indeed, was conceived on new and generous lines. Trade was to be free, ships of every nation were to have the privilege of putting into the harbors of the projected settlements, and no distinction of race or religion was to be made.

Immediately the English parliament was up in arms. The House of Lords invited the House of Commons to a conference, and a joint address was drawn up and presented to the king. This address stated that the Scottish Company was likely to cause much damage to English trade, which stood the chance of being diverted to Scotland, and that in particular the setting up of Scottish plantations in America would prove of great detriment to English com-

merce in tobacco, cotton, sugar, wool, and masts. The Commons even went so far as to pass a resolution declaring that the directors of the new company were guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors, and clamored for their impeachment. All this stirred the phlegmatic William to action, and he dismissed from office the lord high commissioner of Scotland and the two Scottish secretaries of state, and gave it to be understood that when he signed the act he had been deceived as to its true intent. This action on the part of the king gave satisfaction in England, and quieted the East India Company, which was at the bottom of the opposition. Another very practical result was that the English subscriptions were withdrawn, and a similar amount subscribed in Hamburg was, under threat from England, also cancelled.

In Scotland, on the other hand, a wave of indignation spread over the whole country at an opposition which was avowedly based on trade jealousy, and money poured in from all quarters, from the Highlands as well as from the Lowlands, in aid of a scheme which promised to promote Scottish trade, to minister to Scottish glory, and to bring confusion and dismay to the monopolists across the border. Duchesses and provosts were among the subscribers; maids paid in their dowries and widows sold their jointures to swell the company's funds with the proceeds. Altogether a sum of £400,000 was speedily forthcoming.

With part of the money an expedition was equipped. Five large vessels, freighted with merchandise, military stores, and provisions, were got ready. There was no lack of volunteers. The aristocracy sent their younger sons in the firm belief that they were thus putting them on the high road to prosperity; feudal lords and landowners stripped their estates to send out their vassals and tenantry; and many army officers, who found their former occupation taken from them by the Treaty of Ryswick concluded in 1697, volunteered for service in the El Dorado of the west. Altogether 1,200 persons embarked, and hundreds of

others, mostly soldiers and sailors, were with difficulty restrained from stowing themselves away in the ships. Practically the whole population of Edinburgh poured down to Leith to witness the departure of the national argosy on July 26, 1698, and amid the blessings and prayers of the nation the ships weighed anchor and stood out to sea.

For some reason, which is not now very plain, Paterson had at first no place of honor or command, but nevertheless he and his wife and her maid, as well as a few other women, were among those who embarked. At Madeira, however, where the ships touched on August 29, Paterson was appointed on the Council to which the directors of the company had entrusted the direction of the affairs of the proposed colony. The expedition had more than average good luck, for on the voyage only forty-four of the intending colonists died. After sundry calls on the way the fleet at length anchored off Golden Island. They landed on the mainland on November 3, took possession, and started a settlement, to which they gave the name of New Edinburgh. A little fort erected to command the harbor with a battery of sixteen guns they called Fort St. Andrew. The country was named Caledonia, and the harbor and surrounding water became known as Caledonia Bay. Friendly relations were at once established with the neighboring native chieftains, and treaties of friendship, union, and perpetual confederation were entered into with them.

These proceedings naturally aroused the ire of the Spaniards. The Spanish ambassador at London committed to writing a formal protest, and the governor of Panama and Cartagena took the more practical step of gathering land and sea forces to expel the interlopers. Partly to conciliate Spain, and partly to placate his English subjects at home and in the New World, King William III issued orders to the governors of Virginia, New York, New England, Jamaica, and Barbados, directing them to refuse food or other assistance to the Darien colonists, and to make proclamation pro-

hibiting their people from holding any communication with them.

Against the effects of these prohibitions and proclamations the Scottish colonists might in time have made headway, and with the aid of the Indians they might have been able to repel the attacks of the Spanish settlers; but other causes were at work to bring about their downfall. About three hundred of them belonged to the gentleman class, and were as unfitted for manual labor as they were unaccustomed to it and scornful of it. The others, hardy sons of a northern clime and willing enough to work, were unable to cope with the temperature of the tropics. The councillors were incompetent and were continually quarrelling among themselves. No word of any sort reached them from the directors of the company in Scotland; and that was discouraging. Their Indian allies, remembering the exploits of the buccaneers, were disappointed and disgusted on finding that so large a force did not proceed at once to attack the common foe, and were continually bringing in alarming reports of the threatening movements of the Spaniards. Scarcity of provisions led to disease, and disease brought on death, among the victims being Paterson's wife. Utterly discouraged and dismayed, alike by their experience and their prospects, the colonists, having lost more than a quarter of their original number, finally determined to abandon their ill-starred enterprise, and sailed for New York, en route for Scotland, on June 20, 1699. The last man to embark was Paterson, and, as he was suffering from a fever, he had to be carried on board, protesting vehemently all the time against the too hasty evacuation of New Edinburgh. On the way 400 died, and the survivors made their way back to Scotland in one out of the five ships on which a few months earlier they had set sail from Leith with such high hopes.

Paterson's protests had been unavailing; but they were justified. It was a pity that the Scottish colonists did not hold out a little longer than they did, for at the very

moment they abandoned their settlement relief was on the way. Towards the end of December, 1698, the first report from the colony had been despatched home in charge of Alexander Hamilton, and as it brought the welcome intelligence that the colony was established, that no disaster had been incurred, and that few deaths had taken place, it was received with great satisfaction, thanksgiving services were held in the churches, and the populace manifested its joy by bonfires and the ringing of bells. A vessel with supplies was equipped and sent out, but it was wrecked on the Scottish shore. Two other ships with 300 recruits and plentiful supplies were next hurried off in May, and reached Darien safely in August, only to find New Edinburgh deserted and their fellow countrymen departed.

This second expedition had exceptional good luck on the way out, for only one man died, but after they arrived, disaster came upon them rapidly. Despite the absence of the large number of colonists whom they expected to find, they had decided to remain in possession, in the expectation of succor from another relief party which they knew was being prepared at home; but of their two ships that one which contained most of their supplies was accidentally destroyed by fire. This calamity decided them in turn to abandon Darien, and they sailed for Jamaica, where many of them sickened and died. Twelve venturesome spirits remained behind at New Edinburgh to await the arrival of the third expedition.

That expedition, the largest of them all, was speedily on the way. It consisted of four ships, with 1,300 persons and an ample supply of provisions. It left Scotland on September 24, 1699, and after losing 160 lives on the journey, reached Caledonia Bay on November 30. There they found a member of the first colonizing party in the person of Captain Thomas Drummond, who had returned in a sloop from New York to take a hand in the resettlement of Darien. The twelve sturdy leftovers from the second expedition were also located, liv-

ing peaceably among the Indians. The new colonists landed, cleared the ground, built new huts, and renewed friendly relations with the natives. But the new councillors were no improvement on the first, plots were formed against them, and dissension prevailed. Disease and death were rife, and always there was danger from the enraged Spaniards. Drummond, whose acts bespeak him a man of spirit, offered to take 150 volunteers and some Indians and proceed to attack the Spaniards in Porto Bello. But the dominant mind in the council was that of James Byres, a fanatic who held that it was unlawful for Christians, under the New Testament dispensation, to make any war, and accordingly the council, far from listening to Drummond's courageous proposal, had its author arrested and put in chains on some trumped-up charge of concocting a plot to seize the vessels and sail away.

Matters were thus on a precarious footing when Captain Alexander Campbell, who had been appointed by the directors governor or commander of Caledonia by land and sea, arrived at New Edinburgh in February, 1700, with a sloop full of provisions. Campbell first released Drummond from his chains, and then set out with 200 Scotsmen and forty Indians to do battle with the Spaniards, whom his native scouts reported to be coming. The opposing forces met at a place called variously Yoratuba and Topocanté. The Spaniards, with mulattos, creoles, and negroes to the total of 300 or 400, under the command of Miguel de Cordóñez, had barricaded themselves on a hill, but the Scots carried the palisades with a rush, and, after a hot engagement, the Spaniards fled.

This initial success seemed to be of good augury for the new governor's administration; but the danger sprang from an unexpected quarter. On February 25, eleven Spanish sail appeared in the offing and drove in the boats belonging to the settlement. Troops also came up overland from Panama and Santa María. The result was that the Darien colonists were closely be-

leagured by land and sea. To add to their miseries there was great sickness among them and many deaths ensued, and both provisions and ammunition ran low. They were thus from every point of view in a pitiable plight, and they were therefore very glad when the Spanish general, Don Juan Pimienta, governor of Cartagena and Panama, sent them word on March 30 that he wished to treat with them. A capitulation decidedly favorable to the Scots was arranged. They were given fourteen days to take their departure from Panama, and it was expressly agreed that they were to be allowed to retain their arms and to go forth with drums beating and colors flying. The arrival of another Scottish sloop, the *Speedy Return*, in no wise altered these arrangements, and on April 11, 1700, the discomfited and dispirited colonists sailed away from New Edinburgh. They were so weakened that the Spaniards had to assist them in hoisting the sails, especially on the big sixty-gun ship the *Rising Sun*. Campbell and Drummond eventually got back to Scotland in their respective sloops, but disaster befell the other vessels, and all of them were wrecked; and of the original 1,300 persons whom they brought out only 360 survived, to be absorbed, for the most part, among the various English settlements in the West Indies.

A final effort to sustain the Scottish colony was made by the sloop, the *Margaret of Dundee*, which left Scotland on March 9, 1700, and arrived in Caledonia Bay on June 16; but her captain, one Patrick MacDowall, finding the Spaniards in possession of town and fort, fired a few shots by way of defiance, ran up his colors, and sheered off to Jamaica.

Thus ended in death, disaster, and defeat the Scottish attempt to settle Darien. Its originator, Paterson, lost his reason on the way home, but he soon recovered, and his fertile brain was forthwith at work on new schemes. His first care was to try to prevent the final abandonment of the Darien colony, and his next to try to have it revived; but circumstances were too strong

for him and he had to accept the inevitable. He then became an ardent advocate of a parliamentary union between England and Scotland, and when, in 1707, that union was effected, he was elected a member of the united parliament for the Dumfriesburghs. One of the last acts of the Scottish parliament was to recommend him to Queen Anne for compensation for his services, losses, and sufferings. After long delays, a grant of £18,241 was made to him by way of indemnity by the British parliament in 1715. He lived in London from 1701, and died there January 22, 1719.

Paterson's writings on finance, the union between England and Scotland, colonial enterprise, trade, administration, and sundry social and political questions, amounting to twenty-two publications in all, show

him to have had a wonderful grasp of affairs, and in most respects to have been a long way in advance of his time. He suffered, too, as many original minds have suffered before and since, from the purloining of his ideas, and the credit of many of his proposals was given to others. Very appropriately therefore there is affixed to the only picture of him that has come down to us the inscription, "*Sic vos non vobis.*" The crowning calamity to his posthumous fame is that his name is principally associated with a great colonization project which failed, but which, if his monitions had been regarded and if it had not been hampered and baffled by English trade jealousy, might easily have realized his dream of putting into British hands at an early date the keys of the commerce of the world.