

# BURNEY JAMES

HISTORY OF THE  
BUCCANEERS OF  
AMERICA

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## Содержание

CHAPTER I	5
CHAPTER II	8
CHAPTER III	18
CHAPTER IV	21
CHAPTER V	25
CHAPTER VI	32
CHAPTER VII	37
CHAPTER VIII	40
Конец ознакомительного фрагмента.	41

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### CHAPTER I

#### *Considerations on the Rights acquired by the Discovery of Unknown Lands, and on the Claims advanced by the Spaniards*

The accounts given by the Buccaneers who extended their enterprises to the *Pacific Ocean*, are the best authenticated of any which have been published by that class of Adventurers. They are interspersed with nautical and geographical descriptions, corroborative of the events related, and more worth being preserved than the memory of what was performed. The materials for this portion of Buccaneer history, which it was necessary should be included in a History of South Sea Navigations, could not be collected without bringing other parts into view; whence it appeared, that with a moderate increase of labour, and without much enlarging the bulk of narrative, a regular history might be formed of their career, from their first rise, to their suppression; and that such a work would not be without its use.

No practice is more common in literature, than for an author to endeavour to clear the ground before him, by mowing down the labours of his predecessors on the same subject. To do this, where the labour they have bestowed is of good tendency, or even to treat with harshness the commission of error where no bad intention is manifest, is in no small degree illiberal. But all the Buccaneer histories that hitherto have appeared, and the number is not small, are boastful compositions, which have delighted in exaggeration: and, what is most mischievous, they have lavished commendation on acts which demanded reprobation, and have endeavoured to raise miscreants, notorious for their want of humanity, to the rank of heroes, lessening thereby the stain upon robbery, and the abhorrence naturally conceived against cruelty.

There is some excuse for the Buccaneer, who tells his own story. Vanity, and his prejudices, without any intention to deceive, lead him to magnify his own exploits; and the reader naturally makes allowances.

The men whose enterprises are to be related, were natives of different European nations, but chiefly of *Great Britain* and *France*, and most of them seafaring people, who being disappointed, by accidents or the enmity of the Spaniards, in their more sober pursuits in the *West Indies*, and also instigated by thirst for plunder as much as by desire for vengeance, embodied themselves, under different leaders of their own choosing, to make predatory war upon the Spaniards. These men the Spaniards naturally treated as pirates; but some peculiar circumstances which provoked their first enterprises, and a general feeling of enmity against that nation on account of their American conquests, procured them the connivance of the rest of the maritime states of *Europe*, and to be distinguished first by the softened appellations of Freebooters and Adventurers, and afterwards by that of Buccaneers.

*Spain*, or, more strictly speaking, *Castile*, on the merit of a first discovery, claimed an exclusive right to the possession of the whole of *America*, with the exception of the *Brasils*, which were conceded to the Portuguese. These claims, and this division, the Pope sanctioned by an instrument, entitled a Bull of Donation, which was granted at a time when all the maritime powers of *Europe* were under the spiritual dominion of the See of *Rome*. The Spaniards, however, did not flatter themselves that they should be left in the sole and undisputed enjoyment of so large a portion of the newly-discovered countries; but they were principally anxious to preserve wholly to themselves the *West*

*Indies*: and, such was the monopolising spirit of the Castilians, that during the life of the Queen Ysabel of *Castile*, who was regarded as the patroness of Columbus's discovery, it was difficult even for Spaniards, not subjects born of the crown of *Castile*, to gain access to this *New World*, prohibitions being repeatedly published against the admission of all other persons into the ships bound thither. Ferdinand, King of *Arragon*, the husband of Ysabel, had refused to contribute towards the outfit of Columbus's first voyage, having no opinion of the probability that it would produce him an adequate return; and the undertaking being at the expence of *Castile*, the countries discovered were considered as appendages to the crown of *Castile*.

If such jealousy was entertained by the Spaniards of each other, what must not have been their feelings respecting other European nations? 'Whoever,' says Hakluyt, 'is conversant with the Portugal and Spanish writers, shall find that they account all other nations for pirates, rovers, and thieves, which visit any heathen coast that they have sailed by or looked on.'

*Spain* considered the *New World* as what in our law books is called Treasure-trove, of which she became lawfully and exclusively entitled to take possession, as fully as if it had been found without any owner or proprietor. *Spain* has not been singular in her maxims respecting the rights of discoverers. Our books of Voyages abound in instances of the same disregard shewn to the rights of the native inhabitants, the only rightful proprietors, by the navigators of other European nations, who, with a solemnity due only to offices of a religious nature, have continually put in practice the form of taking possession of Countries which to them were new discoveries, their being inhabited or desert making no difference. Not unfrequently has the ceremony been performed in the presence, but not within the understanding, of the wondering natives; and on this formality is grounded a claim to usurp the actual possession, in preference to other Europeans.

Nothing can be more opposed to common sense, than that strangers should pretend to acquire by discovery, a title to countries they find with inhabitants; as if in those very inhabitants the right of prior discovery was not inherent. On some occasions, however, Europeans have thought it expedient to acknowledge the rights of the natives, as when, in disputing each other's claims, a title by gift from the natives has been pretended.

In uninhabited lands, a right of occupancy results from the discovery; but actual and *bonâ fide* possession is requisite to perfect appropriation. If real possession be not taken, or if taken shall not be retained, the right acquired by the mere discovery is not indefinite and a perpetual bar of exclusion to all others; for that would amount to discovery giving a right equivalent to annihilation. Moveable effects may be hoarded and kept out of use, or be destroyed, and it will not always be easy to prove whether with injury or benefit to mankind: but the necessities of human life will not admit, unless under the strong hand of power, that a right should be pretended to keep extensive and fertile countries waste and secluded from their use, without other reason than the will of a proprietor or claimant.

Particular local circumstances have created objections to the occupancy of territory: for instance, between the confines of the Russian and Chinese Empires, large tracts of country are left waste, it being held, that their being occupied by the subjects of either Empire would affect the security of the other. Several similar instances might be mentioned.

There is in many cases difficulty to settle what constitutes occupancy. On a small Island, any first settlement is acknowledged an occupancy of the whole; and sometimes, the occupancy of a single Island of a group is supposed to comprehend an exclusive title to the possession of the remainder of the group. In the *West Indies*, the Spaniards regarded their making settlements on a few Islands, to be an actual taking possession of the whole, as far as European pretensions were concerned.

The first discovery of Columbus set in activity the curiosity and speculative dispositions of all the European maritime Powers. King Henry the VIIth, of *England*, as soon as he was certified of the existence of countries in the Western hemisphere, sent ships thither, whereby *Newfoundland*, and parts of the continent of *North America*, were first discovered. *South America* was also visited very early, both by the English and the French; 'which nations,' the Historian of *Brasil* remarks, 'had

neglected to ask a share of the undiscovered World, when Pope Alexander the VIth partitioned it, who would as willingly have drawn two lines as one; and, because they derived no advantage from that partition, refused to admit its validity.' The *West Indies*, however, which doubtless was the part most coveted by all, seem to have been considered as more particularly the discovery and right of the Spaniards; and, either from respect to their pretensions, or from the opinion entertained of their force in those parts, they remained many years undisturbed by intruders in the *West Indian Seas*. But their homeward-bound ships, and also those of the Portuguese from the *East Indies*, did not escape being molested by pirates; sometimes by those of their own, as well as of other nations.

## CHAPTER II

### *Review of the Dominion of the Spaniards in Hayti or Hispaniola*

1492-3. Hayti, or Hispaniola, the first Settlement of the Spaniards in America. The first settlement formed by the Castilians in their newly discovered world, was on the Island by the native inhabitants named *Hayti*; but to which the Spaniards gave the name of *Española* or *Hispaniola*. And in process of time it came to pass, that this same Island became the great place of resort, and nursery, of the European adventurers, who have been so conspicuous under the denomination of the Buccaneers of *America*.

The native inhabitants found in *Hayti*, have been described a people of gentle, compassionate dispositions, of too frail a constitution, both of body and mind, either to resist oppression, or to support themselves under its weight; and to the indolence, luxury, and avarice of the discoverers, their freedom and happiness in the first instance, and finally their existence, fell a sacrifice.

Queen Ysabel, the patroness of the discovery, believed it her duty, and was earnestly disposed, to be their protectress; but she wanted resolution to second her inclination. The Island abounded in gold mines. The natives were tasked to work them, heavier and heavier by degrees; and it was the great misfortune of Columbus, after achieving an enterprise, the glory of which was not exceeded by any action of his contemporaries, to make an ungrateful use of the success Heaven had favoured him with, and to be the foremost in the destruction of the nations his discovery first made known to *Europe*.

Review of the Dominion of the Spaniards in Hispaniola. The population of *Hayti*, according to the lowest estimation made, amounted to a million of souls. The first visit of Columbus was passed in a continual reciprocation of kind offices between them and the Spaniards. One of the Spanish ships was wrecked upon the coast, and the natives gave every assistance in their power towards saving the crew, and their effects to them. When Columbus departed to return to *Europe*, he left behind him thirty-eight Spaniards, with the consent of the Chief or Sovereign of the part of the Island where he had been so hospitably received. He had erected a fort for their security, and the declared purpose of their remaining was to protect the Chief against all his enemies. Several of the native Islanders voluntarily embarked in the ships to go to *Spain*, among whom was a relation of the *Hayti* Chief; and with them were taken gold, and various samples of the productions of the *New World*.

Columbus, on his return, was received by the Court of *Spain* with the honours due to his heroic achievement, indeed with honours little short of adoration: he was declared Admiral, Governor, and Viceroy of the Countries that he had discovered, and also of those which he should afterwards discover; he was ordered to assume the style and title of nobility; and was furnished with a larger fleet to prosecute farther the discovery, and to make conquest of the new lands. The Instructions for his second expedition contained the following direction: 'Forasmuch as you, Christopher Columbus, are going by our command, with our vessels and our men, to discover and subdue certain Islands and Continent, our will is, that you shall be our Admiral, Viceroy, and Governor in them.' This was the first step in the iniquitous usurpations which the more cultivated nations of the world have practised upon their weaker brethren, the natives of *America*.

1493. Government of Columbus. Thus provided and instructed, Columbus sailed on his second voyage. On arriving at *Hayti*, the first news he learnt was, that the natives had demolished the fort which he had built, and destroyed the garrison, who, it appeared, had given great provocation, by their rapacity and licentious conduct. War did not immediately follow. Columbus accepted presents of gold from the Chief; he landed a number of colonists, and built a town on the North side of *Hayti*, which he named after the patroness, *Ysabel*, and fortified. 1494. A second fort was soon

built; new Spaniards arrived; and the natives began to understand that it was the intention of their visitors to stay, and be lords of the country. The Chiefs held meetings, to confer on the means to rid themselves of such unwelcome guests, and there was appearance of preparation making to that end. The Spaniards had as yet no farther asserted dominion, than in taking land for their town and forts, and helping themselves to provisions when the natives neglected to bring supplies voluntarily. The histories of these transactions affect a tone of apprehension on account of the extreme danger in which the Spaniards were, from the multitude of the heathen inhabitants; but all the facts shew that they perfectly understood the helpless character of the natives. A Spanish officer, named Pedro Margarit, was blamed, not altogether reasonably, for disorderly conduct to the natives, which happened in the following manner. He was ordered, with a large body of troops, to make a progress through the Island in different parts, and was strictly enjoined to restrain his men from committing any violence against the natives, or from giving them any cause for complaint. But the troops were sent on their journey without provisions, and the natives were not disposed to furnish them. The troops recurred to violence, which they did not limit to the obtaining food. If Columbus could spare a detachment strong enough to make such a visitation through the land, he could have entertained no doubt of his ability to subdue it. But before he risked engaging in open war with the natives, he thought it prudent to weaken their means of resisting by what he called stratagem. *Hayti* was divided into five provinces, or small kingdoms, under the separate dominion of as many Princes or Caciques. One of these, Coanabo, the Cacique of *Maguana*, Columbus believed to be more resolute, and more dangerous to his purpose, than any other of the chiefs. To Coanabo, therefore, he sent an Officer, to propose an accommodation on terms which appeared so reasonable, that the Indian Chief assented to them. Afterwards, relying on the good faith of the Spaniards, not, as some authors have meanly represented, through credulous and childish simplicity, but with the natural confidence which generally prevails, and which ought to prevail, among mankind in their mutual engagements, he gave opportunity for Columbus to get possession of his person, who caused him to be seized, and embarked in a ship then ready to sail for *Spain*. The ship foundered in the passage. 1495. The story of Coanabo, and the contempt with which he treated Columbus for his treachery, form one of the most striking circumstances in the history of the perfidious dealings of the Spaniards in *America*. Dogs used in Battle against the Indians. On the seizure of this Chief, the Islanders rose in arms. Columbus took the field with two hundred foot armed with musketry and cross-bows, with twenty troopers mounted on horses, and with twenty large dogs<sup>1</sup>!

It is not to be urged in exculpation of the Spaniards, that the natives were the aggressors, by their killing the garrison left at *Hayti*. Columbus had terminated his first visit in friendship; and, without the knowledge that any breach had happened between the Spaniards left behind, and the natives, sentence of subjugation had been pronounced against them. This was not to avenge injury, for the Spaniards knew not of any committed. Columbus was commissioned to execute this sentence, and for that end, besides a force of armed men, he took with him from *Spain* a number of blood-hounds, to prosecute a most unrighteous purpose by the most inhuman means.

Many things are justifiable in defence, which in offensive war are regarded by the generality of mankind with detestation. All are agreed in the use of dogs, as faithful guards to our persons as well as to our dwellings; but to hunt men with dogs seems to have been till then unheard of, and is nothing less offensive to humanity than cannibalism or feasting on our enemies. Neither jagged shot, poisoned darts, springing of mines, nor any species of destruction, can be objected to, if this is allowed in honourable war, or admitted not to be a disgraceful practice in any war.

It was scarcely possible for the Indians, or indeed for any people naked and undisciplined, however numerous, to stand their ground against a force so calculated to excite dread. The Islanders were naturally a timid people, and they regarded fire-arms as engines of more than mortal contrivance. Don Ferdinand, the son of Columbus, who wrote a History of his father's actions, relates an instance,

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<sup>1</sup> *Lebreles de pressa*.

which happened before the war, of above 400 Indians running away from a single Spanish horseman. Massacre of the Natives, and Subjugation of the Island. So little was attack, or valiant opposition, apprehended from the natives, that Columbus divided his force into several squadrons, to charge them at different points. 'These faint-hearted creatures,' says Don Ferdinand, 'fled at the first onset; and our men, pursuing and killing them, made such havock, that in a short time they obtained a complete victory.' The policy adopted by Columbus was, to confirm the natives in their dread of European arms, by a terrible execution. The victors, both dogs and men, used their ascendancy like furies. The dogs flew at the throats of the Indians, and strangled or tore them in pieces; whilst the Spaniards, with the eagerness of hunters, pursued and mowed down the unresisting fugitives. Some thousands of the Islanders were slaughtered, and those taken prisoners were consigned to servitude. If the fact were not extant, it would not be conceivable that any one could be so blind to the infamy of such a proceeding, as to extol the courage of the Spaniards on this occasion, instead of execrating their cruelty. Three hundred of the natives were shipped for *Spain* as slaves, and the whole Island, with the exception of a small part towards the Western coast, which has since been named the *Cul de Sac*, was subdued. Tribute imposed. Columbus made a leisurely progress through the Island, which occupied him nine or ten months, and imposed a tribute generally upon all the natives above the age of fourteen, requiring each of them to pay quarterly a certain quantity of gold, or 25 lbs. of cotton. Those natives who were discovered to have been active against the Spaniards, were taxed higher. To prevent evasion, rings or tokens, to be produced in the nature of receipts, were given to the Islanders on their paying the tribute, and any Islander found without such a mark in his possession, was deemed not to have paid, and proceeded against.

Queen Ysabel shewed her disapprobation of Columbus's proceedings, by liberating and sending back the captive Islanders to their own country; and she moreover added her positive commands, that none of the natives should be made slaves. This order was accompanied with others intended for their protection; but the Spanish Colonists, following the example of their Governor, contrived means to evade them.

In the mean time, the Islanders could not furnish the tribute, and Columbus was rigorous in the collection. It is said in palliation, that he was embarrassed in consequence of the magnificent descriptions he had given to Ferdinand and Ysabel, of the riches of *Hispaniola*, by which he had taught them to expect much; and that the fear of disappointing them and losing their favour, prompted him to act more oppressively to the Indians than his disposition otherwise inclined him to do. Distresses of this kind press upon all men; but only in very ordinary minds do they outweigh solemn considerations. Setting aside the dictates of religion and moral duty, as doubtless was done, and looking only to worldly advantages, if Columbus had properly estimated his situation, he would have been resolute not to descend from the eminence he had attained. The dilemma in which he was placed, was simply, whether he would risk some diminution of the favour he was in at Court, by being the protector of these Islanders, who, by circumstances peculiarly calculated to engage his interest, were entitled in an especial manner to have been regarded as his clients; or, to preserve that favour, would oppress them to their destruction, and to the ruin of his own fame.

Despair of the Natives. The Islanders, finding their inability to oppose the invaders, took the desperate resolution to desist from the cultivation of their lands, to abandon their houses, and to withdraw themselves to the mountains; hoping thereby that want of subsistence would force their oppressors to quit the Island. The Spaniards had many resources; the sea-coast supplied them with fish, and their vessels brought provisions from other islands. As to the natives of *Hayti*, one third part of them, it is said, perished in the course of a few months, by famine and by suicide. The rest returned to their dwellings, and submitted. All these events took place within three years after the discovery; so active is rapacity.

Some among the Spaniards (authors of that time say, the enemies of Columbus, as if sentiments of humanity were not capable of such an effort) wrote Memorials to their Catholic Majesties,

representing the disastrous condition to which the natives were reduced. 1496. Commissioners were sent to examine into the fact, and Columbus found it necessary to go to *Spain* to defend his administration.

So great was the veneration and respect entertained for him, that on his arrival at Court, accusation was not allowed to be produced against him: and, without instituting enquiry, it was arranged, that he should return to his government with a large reinforcement of Spaniards, and with authority to grant lands to whomsoever he chose to think capable of cultivating them. Various accidents delayed his departure from *Spain* on his third voyage, till 1498.

City of Nueva Ysabel founded, 1496. He had left two of his brothers to govern in *Hispaniola* during his absence; the eldest, Bartolomé, with the title of Adelantado; in whose time (A. D. 1496) was traced, on the South side of the Island, the plan of a new town intended for the capital, the land in the neighbourhood of the town of *Ysabel*, before built, being poor and little productive. Its name changed to Santo Domingo. The name first given to the new town was *Nueva Ysabel*; this in a short time gave place to that of *Santo Domingo*, a name which was not imposed by authority, but adopted and became in time established by common usage, of which the original cause is not now known<sup>2</sup>.

Under the Adelantado's government, the parts of the Island which till then had held out in their refusal to receive the Spanish yoke, were reduced to subjection; and the conqueror gratified his vanity with the public execution of one of the Hayti Kings.

Columbus whilst he was in *Spain* received mortification in two instances, of neither of which he had any right to complain. In October 1496, three hundred natives of *Hayti* (made prisoners by the Adelantado) were landed at *Cadiz*, being sent to *Spain* as slaves. At this act of disobedience, the King and Queen strongly expressed their displeasure, and said, if the Islanders made war against the Castilians, they must have been constrained to do it by hard treatment. Columbus thought proper to blame, and to disavow what his brother had done. The other instance of his receiving mortification, was an act of kindness done him, and so intended; and it was the only shadow of any thing like reproof offered to him. In the instructions which he now received, it was earnestly recommended to him to prefer conciliation to severity on all occasions which would admit it without prejudice to justice or to his honour.

1498. It was in the third voyage of Columbus that he first saw the Continent of *South America*, in August 1498, which he then took to be an Island, and named *Isla Santa*. He arrived on the 22d of the same month at the City of *San Domingo*.

The short remainder of Columbus's government in *Hayti* was occupied with disputes among the Spaniards themselves. A strong party was in a state of revolt against the government of the Columbuses, and accommodation was kept at a distance, by neither party daring to place trust in the other. 1498-9. Columbus would have had recourse to arms to recover his authority, but some of his troops deserted to the disaffected, and others refused to be employed against their countrymen. In this state, the parties engaged in a treaty on some points, and each sent Memorials to the Court. The Admiral in his dispatches represented, that necessity had made him consent to certain conditions, to avoid endangering the Colony; but that it would be highly prejudicial to the interests of their Majesties to ratify the treaty he had been forced to subscribe.

Beginning of the Repartimientos. The Admiral now made grants of lands to Spanish colonists, and accompanied them with requisitions to the neighbouring Caciques, to furnish the new proprietors with labourers to cultivate the soil. This was the beginning of the *Repartimientos*, or distributions of the Indians, which confirmed them slaves, and contributed, more than all former oppressions, to their extermination. Notwithstanding the earnest and express order of the King and Queen to the contrary,

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<sup>2</sup> The name *Saint Domingo* was afterwards applied to the whole Island by the French, who, whilst they contested the possession with the Spaniards, were desirous to supersede the use of the name *Española* or *Hispaniola*.

the practice of transporting the natives of *Hayti* to *Spain* as slaves, was connived at and continued; and this being discovered, lost Columbus the confidence, but not wholly the support, of Queen Ysabel.

1500. Government of Bovadilla. The dissensions in the Colony increased, as did the unpopularity of the Admiral; and in the year 1500, a new Governor General of the *Indies*, Francisco de Bovadilla, was sent from *Spain*, with a commission empowering him to examine into the accusations against the Admiral; and he was particularly enjoined by the Queen, to declare all the native inhabitants free, and to take measures to secure to them that they should be treated as a free people. How a man so grossly ignorant and intemperate as Bovadilla, should have been chosen to an office of such high trust, is not a little extraordinary. His first display of authority was to send the Columbuses home prisoners, with the indignity to their persons of confining them in chains. He courted popularity in his government by shewing favour to all who had been disaffected to the government or measures of the Admiral and his brothers, the natives excepted, for whose relief he had been especially appointed Governor. To encourage the Spaniards to work the mines, he reduced the duties payable to the Crown on the produce, and trusted to an increase in the quantity of gold extracted, for preserving the revenue from diminution. All the Natives compelled to work the Mines. This was to be effected by increasing the labour of the natives; and that these miserable people might not evade their servitude, he caused muster-rolls to be made of all the inhabitants, divided them into classes, and made distribution of them according to the value of the mines, or to his desire to gratify particular persons. The Spanish Colonists believed that the same facilities to enrich themselves would not last long, and made all the haste in their power to profit by the present opportunity.

By these means, Bovadilla drew from the mines in a few months so great a quantity of gold, that one fleet which he sent home, carried a freight more than sufficient to reimburse *Spain* all the expences which had been incurred in the discovery and conquest. The procuring these riches was attended with so great a mortality among the natives as to threaten their utter extinction.

Nothing could exceed the surprise and indignation of the Queen, on receiving information of these proceedings. The bad government of Bovadilla was a kind of palliation which had the effect of lessening the reproach upon the preceding government, and, joined to the disgraceful manner in which Columbus had been sent home, produced a revolution of sentiment in his favour. The good Queen Ysabel wished to compensate him for the hard treatment he had received, at the same time that she had the sincerity to make him understand she would not again commit the Indian natives to his care. All his other offices and dignities were restored to him.

1501-2. Nicolas Ovando, Governor. For a successor to Bovadilla in the office of Governor General, Don Nicolas Ovando, a Cavalero of the Order of *Alcantara*, was chosen; a man esteemed capable and just, and who entered on his government with apparent mildness and consideration. But in a short time he proved the most execrable of all the tyrants, 'as if,' says an historian, 'tyranny was inherent and contagious in the office, so as to change good men to bad, for the destruction of these unfortunate Indians.'

Working the Mines discontinued by Orders from Spain. In obedience to his instructions, Ovando, on arriving at his government, called a General Assembly of all the Caciques or principal persons among the natives, to whom he declared, that their Catholic Majesties took the Islanders under their royal protection; that no exaction should be made on them, other than the tribute which had been heretofore imposed; and that no person should be employed to work in the mines, except on the footing of voluntary labourers for wages.

1502. On the promulgation of the royal pleasure, all working in the mines immediately ceased. The impression made by their past sufferings was too strong for any offer of pay or reward to prevail on them to continue in that work. [The same thing happened, many years afterwards, between the Chilese and the Spaniards.] A few mines had been allowed to remain in possession of some of the Caciques of *Hayti*, on the condition of rendering up half the produce; but now, instead of working

them, they sold their implements. In consequence of this defection, it was judged expedient to lower the royal duties on the produce of the mines, which produced some effect.

Ovando, however, was intent on procuring the mines to be worked as heretofore, but proceeded with caution. In his dispatches to the Council of the *Indies*, he represented in strong colours the natural levity and inconstancy of the Indians, and their idle and disorderly manner of living; on which account, he said, it would be for their improvement and benefit to find them occupation in moderate labour; that there would be no injustice in so doing, as they would receive wages for their work, and they would thereby be enabled to pay the tribute, which otherwise, from their habitual idleness, many would not be able to satisfy. He added moreover, that the Indians, being left entirely their own masters, kept at a distance from the Spanish habitations, which rendered it impossible to instruct them in the principles of Christianity.

This reasoning, and the proposal to furnish the natives with employment, were approved by the Council of the *Indies*; and the Court, from the opinion entertained of the justice and moderation of Ovando, acquiesced so far as to trust making the experiment to his discretion. In reply to his representations, he received instructions recommending, 'That if it was necessary to oblige the Indians to work, it should be done in the most gentle and moderate manner; that the Caciques should be invited to send their people in regular turns; and that the employers should treat them well, and pay them wages, according to the quality of the person and nature of the labour; that care should be taken for their regular attendance at religious service and instruction; and that it should be remembered they were a free people, to be governed with mildness, and on no account to be treated as slaves.'

1502-3. The Natives again forced to the Mines. These directions, notwithstanding the expressions of care for the natives contained in them, released the Governor General from all restriction. This man had recently been appointed Grand Master of the order of *Calatrava*, and thenceforward he was most generally distinguished by the appellation or title of the Grand Commander.

A transaction of a shocking nature, which took place during Bovadilla's government, caused an insurrection of the natives; but which did not break out till after the removal of Bovadilla. A Spanish vessel had put into a port of the province of *Higuey* (the most Eastern part of *Hayti*) to procure a lading of *cassava*, a root which is used as bread. The Spaniards landed, having with them a large dog held by a cord. Whilst the natives were helping them to what they wanted, one of the Spaniards in wanton insolence pointed to a Cacique, and called to the dog in manner of setting him on. The Spaniard who held the cord, it is doubtful whether purposely or by accident, suffered it to slip out of his hand, and the dog instantly tore out the unfortunate Cacique's entrails. The people of *Higuey* sent a deputation, to complain to Bovadilla; but those who went could not obtain attention. Severities shewn to the people of *Higuey*. In the beginning of Ovando's government, some other Spaniards landed at the same port of *Higuey*, and the natives, in revenge for what had happened, fell upon them, and killed them; after which they took to arms. This insurrection was quelled with so great a slaughter, that the province, from having been well peopled, was rendered almost a desert.

1503. Encomiendas established. Ovando, on obtaining his new instructions, followed the model set by his predecessors. He enrolled and classed the natives in divisions, called *Repartimientos*: from these he assigned to the Spanish proprietors a specified number of labourers, by grants, which, with most detestable hypocrisy, were denominated *Encomiendas*. The word *Encomienda* signifies recommendation, and the employer to whom the Indian was consigned, was to have the reputation of being his patron. The *Encomienda* was conceived in the following terms: – 'I recommend to A. B. such and such Indians (listed by name) the subjects of such Cacique; and he is to take care to have them instructed in the principles of our holy faith.'

Under the enforcement of the *encomiendas*, the natives were again dragged to the mines; and many of these unfortunate wretches were kept by their hard employers under ground for six months together. With the labour, and grief at being again doomed to slavery, they sunk so rapidly, that it

suggested to the murderous proprietors of the mines the having recourse to *Africa* for slaves. African Slaves carried to the West Indies. Ovando, after small experience of this practice, endeavoured to oppose it as dangerous, the Africans frequently escaping from their masters, and finding concealment among the natives, in whom they excited some spirit of resistance.

The ill use made by the Grand Commander of the powers with which he had been trusted, appears to have reached the Court early, for, in 1503, he received fresh orders, enjoining him not to allow, on any pretext, the natives to be employed in labour against their own will, either in the mines or elsewhere. Ovando, however, trusted to being supported by the Spanish proprietors of the mines within his government, who grew rich by the *encomiendas*, and with their assistance he found pretences for not restraining himself to the orders of the Court.

In parts of the Island, the Caciques still enjoyed a degree of authority over the natives, which rested almost wholly on habitual custom and voluntary attachment. To loosen this band, Ovando, assuming the character of a protector, published ordonnances to release the lower classes from the oppressions of the Caciques; but from those of their European taskmasters he gave them no relief.

The purposes, besides that of gratifying his revenge for the hatred shewn to his government, which were sufficient to move Ovando to this bloody act, were, the plunder of the province, and the reduction of the Islanders to a more manageable number, and to the most unlimited submission. 1504. Some of the Indians fled to the mountains. 'But,' say the Spanish Chronicles of these events, 'in a short time their Chiefs were taken and punished, and at the end of six months there was not a native living on the Island who had not submitted to the dominion of the Spaniards.'

Death of Queen Ysabel. Queen Ysabel died in November 1504, much and universally lamented. This Princess bore a large share in the usurpations practised in the New World; but it is evident she was carried away, contrary to her real principles and disposition, which were just and benevolent, and to her own happiness, by the powerful stream of general opinion.

In *Europe*, political principles, or maxims of policy, have been in continual change, fashioned by the nature of the passing events, no less than dress has been by caprice; causes which have led one to deviate from plain rectitude, as the other from convenience. One principle, covetousness of the attainment of power, has nevertheless constantly predominated, and has derided and endeavoured to stigmatize as weakness and imbecility, the stopping short of great acquisitions, territorial especially, for moral considerations. Queen Ysabel lived surrounded by a world of such politicians, who were moreover stimulated to avarice by the prospect of American gold; a passion which yet more than ambition is apt to steel the heart of man against the calls of justice and the distresses of his fellow creatures. If Ysabel had been endued with more than mortal fortitude, she might have refused her sanction to the usurpations, but could not have prevented them. On her death bed she earnestly recommended to King Ferdinand to recall Ovando. Ovando, however, sent home much gold, and Ferdinand referred to a distant time the fulfilment of her dying request.

Upon news of the death of Queen Ysabel, the small wages which had been paid the Indians for their labour, amounting to about half a piastre *per* month, were withheld, as being too grievous a burthen on the Spanish Colonists; and the hours of labour were no longer limited. 1506. In the province of *Higuey*, the tyranny and licentiousness of the military again threw the poor natives into a frenzy of rage and despair, and they once more revolted, burnt the fort, and killed the soldiers. Ovando resolved to put it out of the power of the people of *Higuey* ever again to be troublesome. A strong body of troops was marched into the province, the Cacique of *Higuey* (the last of the *Hayti* Kings) was taken prisoner and executed, and the province pacified.

The pecuniary value of grants of land in *Hayti* with *encomiendas*, became so considerable as to cause them to be coveted and solicited for by many of the grandees and favourites of the Court in *Spain*, who, on obtaining them, sent out agents to turn them to account. Desperate condition of the Natives. The agent was to make his own fortune by his employment, and to satisfy his principal. In no instance were the natives spared through any interference of the Grand Commander. It was a maxim

with this bad man, always to keep well with the powerful; and every thing respecting the natives was yielded to their accommodation. Care, however, was taken that the Indians should be baptised, and that a head tax should be paid to the Crown; and these particulars being complied with, the rest was left to the patron of the *encomienda*. Punishments and tortures of every kind were practised, to wring labour out of men who were dying through despair. Some of the accounts, which are corroborated by circumstances, relate, that the natives were frequently coupled and harnessed like cattle, and driven with whips. If they fell under their load, they were flogged up. To prevent their taking refuge in the woods or mountains, an officer, under the title of *Alguazil del Campo*, was constantly on the watch with a pack of hounds; and many Indians, in endeavouring to escape, were torn in pieces. The settlers on the Island, the great men at home, their agents, and the royal revenue, were all to be enriched at the expence of the destruction of the natives. It was as if the discovery of *America* had changed the religion of the Spaniards from Christianity to the worship of gold with human sacrifices. If power were entitled to dominion between man and man, as between man and other animals, the Spaniards would remain chargeable with the most outrageous abuse of their advantages. In enslaving the inhabitants of *Hayti*, if they had been satisfied with reducing them to the state of cattle, it would have been merciful, comparatively with what was done. The labour imposed by mankind upon their cattle, is in general so regulated as not to exceed what is compatible with their full enjoyment of health; but the main consideration with the Spanish proprietors was, by what means they should obtain the greatest quantity of gold from the labour of the natives in the shortest time. By an enumeration made in the year 1507, the number of the natives in the whole Island *Hayti* was reckoned at 60,000, the remains of a population which fifteen years before exceeded a million. The insatiate colonists did not stop: many of the mines lay unproductive for want of labourers, and they bent their efforts to the supplying this defect.

The Grand Antilles. The Islands of the *West Indies* have been classed into three divisions, which chiefly regard their situations; but they are distinguished also by other peculiar circumstances. The four largest Islands, *Cuba*, *Hayti*, *Jamaica*, and *Porto Rico*, have been called the *Grand Antilles*. When first discovered by Europeans, they were inhabited by people whose similarity of language, of customs, and character, bespoke them the offspring of one common stock. Small Antilles, or Caribbee Islands. The second division is a chain of small Islands Eastward of these, and extending South to the coast of *Paria* on the Continent of *South America*. They have been called sometimes the *Small Antilles*; sometimes after the native inhabitants, the *Caribbee Islands*; and not less frequently by a subdivision, the Windward and Leeward Islands. The inhabitants on these Islands were a different race from the inhabitants of the *Grand Antilles*. They spoke a different language, were robust in person; and in disposition fierce, active, and warlike. Some have conjectured them to be of Tartar extraction, which corresponds with the belief that they emigrated from *North America* to the *West Indies*. It is supposed they drove out the original inhabitants from the *Small Antilles*, to establish themselves there; but they had not gained footing in the large Islands. Lucayas, or Bahama Islands. The third division of the Islands is the cluster which are situated to the North of *Cuba*, and near *East Florida*, and are called the *Lucayas*, of whose inhabitants mention will shortly be made.

The Spanish Government participated largely in the wickedness practised to procure labourers for the mines of *Hispaniola*. Pretending great concern for the cause of humanity, they declared it legal, and gave general license, for any individual to make war against, and enslave, people who were cannibals; under which pretext every nation, both of the American Continent and of the Islands, was exposed to their enterprises. Spanish adventurers made attempts to take people from the small *Antilles*, sometimes with success; but they were not obtained without danger, and in several expeditions of the kind, the Spaniards were repulsed with loss. This made them turn their attention to the *Lucayas Islands*.

1508. The inhabitants of the *Lucayas*, an unsuspecting and credulous people, did not escape the snares laid for them. Ovando, in his dispatches to *Spain*, represented the benefit it would be to

the holy faith, to have the inhabitants of the *Lucayas* instructed in the Christian religion; for which purpose, he said, 'it would be necessary they should be transported to *Hispaniola*, as Missionaries could not be spared to every place, and there was no other way in which this abandoned people could be converted.' The Natives of the *Lucayas* betrayed to the Mines; King Ferdinand and the Council of the Indies were themselves so abandoned and destitute of all goodness, as to pretend to give credit to Ovando's representation, and lent him their authority to sacrifice the *Lucayans*, under the pretext of advancing religion. Spanish ships were sent to the Islands on this business, and the natives were at first inveigled on board by the foulest hypocrisy and treachery. Among the artifices used by the Spaniards, they pretended that they came from a delicious country, where rested the souls of the deceased fathers, kinsmen, and friends, of the *Lucayans*, who had sent to invite them. and the Islands wholly unpeopled. The innocent Islanders so seduced to follow the Spaniards, when, on arriving at *Hispaniola*, they found how much they had been abused, died in great numbers of chagrin and grief. Afterwards, when these impious pretences of the Spaniards were no longer believed, they dragged away the natives by force, as long as any could be found, till they wholly unpeopled the *Lucayas Islands*. The Buccaneers of *America*, whose adventures and misdeeds are about to be related, may be esteemed saints in comparison with the men whose names have been celebrated as the Conquerors of the New World.

In the same manner as at the *Lucayas*, other Islands of the *West Indies*, and different parts of the Continent, were resorted to for recruits. A pearl fishery was established, in which the Indians were not more spared as divers, than on the land as miners.

*Porto Rico* was conquered at this time. Fate of the native Inhabitants of *Porto Rico*. Ore had been brought thence, which was not so pure as that of *Hayti*; but it was of sufficient value to determine Ovando to the conquest of the Island. The Islanders were terrified by the carnage which the Spaniards with their dogs made in the commencement of the war, and, from the fear of irritating them by further resistance, they yielded wholly at discretion, and were immediately sent to the mines, where in a short time they all perished. In the same year with *Porto Rico*, the Island of *Jamaica* was taken possession of by the Spaniards.

1509. D. Diego Columbus, Governor of *Hispaniola*. Ovando was at length recalled, and was succeeded in the government of *Hispaniola* by Don Diego Columbus, the eldest son and inheritor of the rights and titles of the Admiral Christopher. To conclude with Ovando, it is related that he was regretted by his countrymen in the *Indies*, and was well received at Court.

Don Diego did not make any alteration in the *repartimientos*, except that some of them changed hands in favour of his own adherents. During his government, some fathers of the Dominican Order had the courage to inveigh from the pulpit against the enormity of the *repartimientos*, and were so persevering in their representations, that the Court of *Spain* found it necessary, to avoid scandal, to order an enquiry into the condition of the Indians. In this enquiry it was seriously disputed, whether it was just or unjust to make them slaves.

1511. Increase of Cattle in *Hayti*. The Histories of *Hispaniola* first notice about this time a great increase in the number of cattle in the Island. As the human race disappeared, less and less land was occupied in husbandry, till almost the whole country became pasturage for cattle, by far the greater part of which were wild. An ordonnance, issued in the year 1511, specified, that as beasts of burthen were so much multiplied, the Indians should not be made to carry or drag heavy loads.

*Cuba*. In 1511, the conquest of *Cuba* was undertaken and completed. The terror conceived of the Spaniards is not to be expressed. The story of the conquest is related in a Spanish history in the following terms: 'A leader was chosen, who had acquitted himself in high employments with fortune and good conduct. He had in other respects amiable qualities, and was esteemed a man of honour and rectitude. He went from *S. Domingo* with regular troops and above 300 volunteers. He landed in *Cuba*, not without opposition from the natives. In a few days, he surprised and took the principal Cacique, named Hatuey, prisoner, and made him expiate in the flames the fault he had been guilty of in

*not submitting with a good grace to the conqueror.*' This Cacique, when at the stake, being importuned by a Spanish priest to become a Christian, that he might go to Heaven, replied, that if any Spaniard was to be met in Heaven, he hoped not to go there.

1514. The Reader will be detained a very little longer with these irksome scenes. In 1514, the number of the inhabitants of *Hayti* was reckoned 14,000. A distributor of Indians was appointed, with powers independent of the Governor, with intention to save the few remaining natives of *Hayti*. The new distributor began the exercise of his office by a general revocation of all the *encomiendas*, except those which had been granted by the King; and almost immediately afterwards, in the most open and shameless manner, he made new grants, and sold them to the highest bidder. 1515. He was speedily recalled; and another (the Licentiate Ybarra) was sent to supply his place, who had a high character for probity and resolution; but he died immediately on his arrival at *Santo Domingo*, and not without suspicion that he was poisoned.

Bart. de las Casas, and Cardinal Ximenes; their endeavours to serve the Indians. The Cardinal dies. The endeavours of the Dominican Friars in behalf of the natives were seconded by the Licentiate Bartolomeo de las Casas, and by Cardinal Ximenes when he became Prime Minister of *Spain*; and, to their great honour, they were both resolute to exert all their power to preserve the natives of *America*. The Cardinal sent Commissioners, and with them las Casas, with the title of Protector of the Indians. But the Cardinal died in 1517; after which all the exertions of las Casas and the Dominicans could not shake the *repartimientos*.

1519. At length, among the native Islanders there sprung up one who had the courage to put himself at the head of a number of his countrymen, and the address to withdraw with them from the gripe of the Spaniards, and to find refuge among the mountains. Cacique Henriquez. This man was the son, and, according to the laws of inheritance, should have been the successor, of one of the principal Caciques. He had been christened by the name of Henriquez, and, in consequence of a regulation made by the late Queen Ysabel of *Castile*, he had been educated, on account of his former rank, in a Convent of the Franciscans. He defended his retreat in the mountains by skilful management and resolute conduct, and had the good fortune in the commencement to defeat some parties of Spanish troops sent against him, which encouraged more of his countrymen, and as many of the Africans as could escape, to flock to him; and under his government, as of a sovereign prince, they withstood the attempts of the Spaniards to subdue them. Fortunately for Henriquez and his followers, the conquest and settlement of *Cuba*, and the invasion of *Mexico*, which was begun at this time, lessened the strength of the Spaniards in *Hispaniola*, and enabled the insurgents for many years to keep all the Spanish settlements in the Island in continual alarm, and to maintain their own independence.

During this time, the question of the propriety of keeping the Islanders in slavery, underwent grave examinations. It is related that the experiment was tried, of allowing a number of the natives to build themselves two villages, to live in them according to their own customs and liking; and that the result was, they were found to be so improvident, and so utterly unable to take care of themselves, that the *encomiendas* were pronounced to be necessary for their preservation. Such an experiment is a mockery. Before the conquest, and now under Don Henriquez, the people of *Hayti* shewed they wanted not the Spaniards to take care of them.

## CHAPTER III

### ***Ships of different European Nations frequent the West Indies. Opposition experienced by them from the Spaniards. Hunting of Cattle in Hispaniola***

1518. Adventure of an English Ship. In the year 1517 or 1518, some Spaniards in a caravela going from *St. Domingo* to the Island *Porto Rico*, to take in a lading of cassava, were surprised at seeing a ship there of about 250 tons, armed with cannon, which did not appear to belong to the Spanish nation; and on sending a boat to make enquiry, she was found to be English. The account given by the English Commander was, that two ships had sailed from *England* in company, with the intention to discover the country of the Great Cham; that they were soon separated from each other by a tempest, and that this ship was afterwards in a sea almost covered with ice; that thence she had sailed southward to *Brasil*, and, after various adventures, had found the way to *Porto Rico*. This same English ship, being provided with merchandise, went afterwards to *Hispaniola*, and anchored near the entrance of the port of *San Domingo*, where the Captain sent on shore to demand leave to sell their goods. The demand was forwarded to the *Audiencia*, or superior court in *San Domingo*; but the Castellana, or Governor of the Castle, Francisco de Tapia, could not endure with patience to see a ship of another nation in that part of the world, and, without waiting for the determination of the *Audiencia*, ordered the cannon of the fort to be fired against her; on which she took up her anchor and returned to *Porto Rico*, where she purchased provisions, paying for what she got with wrought iron, and afterwards departed for *Europe*<sup>3</sup>. When this visit of an English ship to the *West Indies* was known in *Spain*, it caused there great inquietude; and the Governor of the Castle of *San Domingo*, it is said, was much blamed, because he had not, instead of forcing the ship to depart by firing his cannon, contrived to seize her, so that no one might have returned to teach others of their nation the route to the Spanish Indies.

The French and other Europeans resort to the West Indies; The English were not the only people of whom the Spaniards had cause to be jealous, nor those from whom the most mischief was to be apprehended. The French, as already noticed, had very early made expeditions to *Brasil*, and they now began to look at the *West Indies*; so that in a short time the sight of other European ships than those of *Spain* became no novelty there. Hakluyt mentions a Thomas Tyson, an Englishman, who went to the *West Indies* in 1526, as factor to some English merchants. Are regarded as Interlopers by the Spaniards. 1529. Regulation proposed by the Government in Hispaniola, for protection against Pirates. When the Spaniards met any of these intruders, if able to master them, they made prisoners of them, and many they treated as pirates. The new comers soon began to retaliate. In 1529, the Governor and Council at *San Domingo* drew up the plan of a regulation for the security of their ships against the increasing dangers from pirates in the *West Indies*. In this, they recommended, that a central port of commerce should be established in the *West Indies*, to which every ship from *Spain* should be obliged to go first, as to a general rendezvous, and thence be dispatched, as might suit circumstances, to her farther destination; also, that all their ships homeward bound, from whatsoever part of the *West Indies*, should first rendezvous at the same port; by which regulation their ships, both outward and homeward bound, would form escorts to each other, and have the benefit of mutual support; and they proposed that some port in *Hispaniola* should be appointed for the purpose, as most conveniently situated. This plan appears to have been approved by the Council of the *Indies*; but, from indolence, or some other cause, no farther measures were taken for its adoption.

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<sup>3</sup> *Historia General de las Indias*, por Gonç. Hernandez de Oviedo, lib. 19. cap. 13. Also *Hakluyt*, vol. iii. p. 499, edit. 1600.

The attention of the Spaniards was at this time almost wholly engrossed by the conquest and plunder of the American Continent, which it might have been supposed would have sufficed them, according to the opinion of Francisco Preciado, a Spanish discoverer, who observed, that *there was country enough to conquer for a thousand years*. The continental pursuits caused much diminution in the importance of the *West India Islands* to the Spaniards. The mines of the Islands were not comparable in richness with those of the Continent, and, for want of labourers, many were left unworked. Hunting of Cattle in Hispaniola. The colonists in *Hispaniola*, however, had applied themselves to the cultivation of the sugar-cane, and to manufacture sugar; also to hunting cattle, which was found a profitable employment, the skins and the suet turning to good account. Matadores. The Spaniards denominated their hunters Matadores, which in the Spanish language signifies killers or slaughterers.

That the English, French, and Hollanders, in their early voyages to the *West Indies*, went in expectation of meeting hostility from the Spaniards, and with a determination therefore to commit hostility if they could with advantage, appears by an ingenious phrase of the French adventurers, who, if the first opportunity was in their favour, termed their profiting by it '*se dedomager par avance*.'

Much of *Hispaniola* had become desert. There were long ranges of coast, with good ports, that were unfrequented by any inhabitant whatever, and the land in every part abounded with cattle. These were such great conveniencies to the ships of the interlopers, that the Western coast, which was the most distant part from the Spanish capital, became a place of common resort to them when in want of provisions. Another great attraction to them was the encouragement they received from Spanish settlers along the coast; who, from the contracted and monopolizing spirit of their government in the management of their colonies, have at all times been eager to have communication with foreigners, that they might obtain supplies of European goods on terms less exorbitant than those which the royal regulations of *Spain* imposed. Guarda-Costas. The government at *San Domingo* employed armed ships to prevent clandestine trade, and to clear the coasts of *Hispaniola* of interlopers, which ships were called *guarda costas*; and it is said their commanders were instructed not to take prisoners. On the other hand, the intruders formed combinations, came in collected numbers, and made descents on different parts of the coast, ravaging the Spanish towns and settlements.

In the customary course, such transactions would have come under the cognizance of the governments in *Europe*; but matters here took a different turn. The Spaniards, when they had the upper hand, did not fail to deal out their own pleasure for law; and in like manner, the English, French, and Dutch, when masters, determined their own measure of retaliation. The different European governments were glad to avoid being involved in the settlement of disorders they had no inclination to repress. In answer to representations made by *Spain*, they said, 'that the people complained against had acted entirely on their own authority, not as the subjects of any prince, and that the King of *Spain* was at liberty to proceed against them according to his own pleasure.' Queen Elizabeth of *England*, with more open asperity answered a complaint made by the Spanish ambassador, of Spanish ships being plundered by the English in the *West Indies*, 'That the Spaniards had drawn these inconveniencies upon themselves, by their severe and unjust dealings in their American commerce; for she did not understand why either her subjects, or those of any other European prince, should be debarred from traffic in the *Indies*. That as she did not acknowledge the Spaniards to have any title by the donation of the Bishop of *Rome*, so she knew no right they had to any places other than those they were in actual possession of; for that their having touched only here and there upon a coast, and given names to a few rivers or capes, were such insignificant things as could no ways entitle them to a propriety further than in the parts where they actually settled, and continued to inhabit<sup>4</sup>.' A warfare was thus established between Europeans in the *West Indies*, local and confined, which had no dependence upon transactions in *Europe*. Brethren of the Coast. All Europeans not Spaniards, whether it was war or

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<sup>4</sup> *Camden's Elizabeth*, A. D. 1680.

peace between their nations in *Europe*, on their meeting in the *West Indies*, regarded each other as friends and allies, knowing then no other enemy than the Spaniards; and, as a kind of public avowal of this confederation, they called themselves *Brethren of the Coast*.

The first European intruders upon the Spaniards in the *West Indies* were accordingly mariners, the greater number of whom, it is supposed, were French, and next to them the English. Their first hunting of cattle in *Hayti*, was for provisioning their ships. The time they began to form factories or establishments, to hunt cattle for the skins, and to cure the flesh as an article of traffic, is not certain; but it may be concluded that these occupations were began by the crews of wrecked vessels, or by seamen who had disagreed with their commander; and that the ease, plenty, and freedom from all command and subordination, enjoyed in such a life, soon drew others to quit their ships, and join in the same occupations. The ships that touched on the coast supplied the hunters with European commodities, for which they received in return hides, tallow, and cured meat. The appellation of *Boucanier* or *Buccaneer* was not invented, or at least not applied to these adventurers, till long after their first footing in *Hayti*. At the time of Oxnam's expedition across the *Isthmus of America* to the *South Sea*, A. D. 1575, it does not appear to have been known.

There is no particular account of the events which took place on the coasts of *Hispaniola* in the early part of the contest between the Spaniards and the new settlers. It is however certain, that it was a war of the severest retaliation; and in this disorderly state was continued the intercourse of the English, French, and Dutch with the *West Indies*, carried on by individuals neither authorized nor controlled by their governments, for more than a century.

In 1586, the English Captain, Francis Drake, plundered the city of *San Domingo*; and the numbers of the English and French in the *West Indies* increased so much, that shortly afterwards the Spaniards found themselves necessitated to abandon all the Western and North-western parts of *Hispaniola*.

## CHAPTER IV

### ***Iniquitous Settlement of the Island Saint Christopher by the English and French. Tortuga seized by the Hunters. Origin of the name Buccaneer. The name Flibustier. Customs attributed to the Buccaneers***

The increase of trade of the English and French to the *West Indies*, and the growing importance of the freebooters or adventurers concerned in it, who, unassisted but by each other, had begun to acquire territory and to form establishments in spite of all opposition from the Spaniards, attracted the attention of the British and French governments, and suggested to them a scheme of confederacy, in which some of the principal adventurers were consulted. The project adopted by them was, to plant a royal colony of each nation, on some one island, and at the same time; by which a constant mutual support would be secured. In as far as regarded the concerns of Europeans with each other, this plan was unimpeachable.

The Island chosen by the projectors, as the best suited to their purpose, was one of the *Small Antilles* or *Caribbee Islands*, known by the name of *St. Christopher*, which is in length about seven leagues, and in breadth two and a half.

1625. The Island Saint Christopher settled by the English and French. Thus the governments of *Great Britain* and *France*, like friendly fellow-travellers, and not like rivals who were to contend in a race, began their West-Indian career by joint consent at the same point both in time and place. In the year 1625, and on the same day, a colony of British and a colony of French, in the names and on the behalf of their respective nations, landed on this small island, the division of which had been settled by previous agreement.

The Island *St. Christopher* was at that time inhabited by Caribbe Indians. The Spaniards had never possessed a settlement on it, but their ships had been accustomed to stop there, to traffic for provisions and refreshments. The French and English who came to take possession, landed without obtaining the consent of the native Caribbe inhabitants; and, because danger was apprehended from their discontent, under pretence that the Caribbs were friends to the Spaniards, these new colonists fell upon them by surprise in the night, killed their principal leaders, and forced the rest to quit the Island and seek another home. De Rochefort, in his *Histoire Morale des Isles Antilles* (p. 284.) mentions the English and French killing the Caribb Chiefs, in the following terms: '*Ils se defirent en une nuit de tous les plus factieux de cette nation!*' Thus in usurpation and barbarity was founded the first colony established under the authority of the British and French governments in the *West Indies*; which colony was the parent of our African slave trade. When accounts of the conquest and of the proceedings at *Saint Christopher* were transmitted to *Europe*, they were approved; West-India companies were established, and licences granted to take out colonists. De Rochefort has oddly enough remarked, that the French, English, and Dutch, in their first establishments in the *West Indies*, did not follow the cruel maxims of the Spaniards. True it is, however, that they only copied in part. In their usurpations their aim went no farther than to dispossess, and they did not seek to make slaves of the people whom they deprived of their land.

The English and French in a short time had disagreements, and began to make complaints of each other. The English took possession of the small Island *Nevis*, which is separated only by a narrow channel from the South end of *St. Christopher*. P. Charlevoix says, 'the ambition of the English disturbed the good understanding between the colonists of the two nations; but M. de Cusac arriving with a squadron of the French King's ships, by taking and sinking some British ships lying there, brought the English Governor to reason, and to confine himself to the treaty of Partition.' 1629. The

English and French driven from Saint Christopher by the Spaniards. After effecting this amicable adjustment, De Cusac sailed from *St. Christopher*; and was scarcely clear of the Island when a powerful fleet, consisting of thirty-nine large ships, arrived from *Spain*, and anchored in the Road. Almost without opposition the Spaniards became masters of the Island, although the English and French, if they had cordially joined, could have mustered a force of twelve hundred men. Intelligence that the Spaniards intended this attack, had been timely received in *France*; and M. de Cusac's squadron had in consequence been dispatched to assist in the defence of *St. Christopher*; but the Spaniards being slow in their preparations, their fleet did not arrive at the time expected, and De Cusac, hearing no news of them, presumed that they had given up their design against *St. Christopher*. Without strengthening the joint colony, he gave the English a lesson on moderation, little calculated to incline them to co-operate heartily with the French in defence of the Island, and sailed on a cruise to the *Gulf of Mexico*. Shortly after his departure, towards the end of the year 1629, the Spanish fleet arrived. The colonists almost immediately despaired of being able to oppose so great a force. Many of the French embarked in their ships in time to effect their escape, and to take refuge among the islands northward. The remainder, with the English, lay at the disposal of the Spanish commander, Don Frederic de *Toledo*. At this time *Spain* was at war with *England*, *France*, and *Holland*; and this armament was designed ultimately to act against the Hollanders in *Brasil*, but was ordered by the way to drive the English and the French from the Island of *Saint Christopher*. Don Frederic would not weaken his force by leaving a garrison there, and was in haste to prosecute his voyage to *Brasil*. As the settlement of *Saint Christopher* had been established on regular government authorities, the settlers were treated as prisoners of war. To clear the Island in the most speedy manner, Don Frederic took many of the English on board his own fleet, and made as many of the other colonists embark as could be crowded in any vessels which could be found for them. He saw them get under sail, and leave the Island; and from those who remained, he required their parole, that they would depart by the earliest opportunity which should present itself, warning them, at the same time, that if, on his return from *Brasil*, he found any Englishmen or Frenchmen at *Saint Christopher*, they should be put to the sword. 1630. They return. After this, he sailed for *Brasil*. As soon, however, as it was known that the Spanish fleet had left the West-Indian sea, the colonists, both English and French, returned to *Saint Christopher*, and repossessed themselves of their old quarters.

The settlement of the Island *Saint Christopher* gave great encouragement to the hunters on the West coast of *Hispaniola*. Their manufactories for the curing of meat, and for drying the skins, multiplied; and as the value of them increased, they began to think it of consequence to provide for their security. The Island Tortuga seized by the English and French Hunters. To this end they took possession of the small Island *Tortuga*, near the North-west end of *Hispaniola*, where the Spaniards had placed a garrison, but which was too small to make opposition. There was a road for shipping, with good anchorage, at *Tortuga*; and its separation from the main land of *Hispaniola* seemed to be a good guarantee from sudden and unexpected attack. They built magazines there, for the lodgement of their goods, and regarded this Island as their head quarters, or place of general rendezvous to which to repair in times of danger. They elected no chief, erected no fortification, set up no authorities, nor fettered themselves by any engagement. All was voluntary; and they were negligently contented at having done so much towards their security.

Whence the Name Buccaneer. About the time of their taking possession of *Tortuga*, they began to be known by the name of Buccaneers, of which appellation it will be proper to speak at some length.

The flesh of the cattle killed by the hunters, was cured to keep good for use, after a manner learnt from the Caribbe Indians, which was as follows: The meat was laid to be dried upon a wooden grate or hurdle (*grille de bois*) which the Indians called *barbecu*, placed at a good distance over a slow fire. The meat when cured was called *boucan*, and the same name was given to the place of their cookery. Père Labat describes *Viande boucannée* to be, *Viande seché a petit feu et a la fumée*. The Caribbes are said to have sometimes served their prisoners after this fashion, *Ils les mangent après*

*les avoir bien boucannée, c'est à dire, rotis bien sec*<sup>5</sup>. The boucan was a very favourite method of cooking among these Indians. A Caribbe has been known, on returning home from fishing, fatigued and pressed with hunger, to have had the patience to wait the roasting of a fish on a wooden grate fixed two feet above the ground, over a fire so small as sometimes to require the whole day to dress it<sup>6</sup>.

The flesh of the cattle was in general dried in the smoke, without being salted. The *Dictionnaire de Trevoux* explains *Boucaner* to be '*faire sorer sans sel*,' to dry red without salt. But the flesh of wild hogs, and also of the beeves when intended for keeping a length of time, was first salted. The same thing was practised among the Brasilians. It was remarked in one of the earliest visits of the Portuguese to *Brasil*, that the natives (who were cannibals) kept human flesh salted and smoked, hanging up in their houses<sup>7</sup>. The meat cured by the Buccaneers to sell to shipping for sea-store, it is probable was all salted. The process is thus described: 'The bones being taken out, the flesh was cut into convenient pieces and salted, and the next day was taken to the *boucan*.' Sometimes, to give a peculiar relish to the meat, the skin of the animal was cast into the fire under it. The meat thus cured was of a fine red colour, and of excellent flavour; but in six months after it was boucanned, it had little taste left, except of salt. The boucanned hog's flesh continued good a much longer time than the flesh of the beeves, if kept in dry places.

From adopting the boucan of the Caribbes, the hunters in *Hispaniola*, the Spaniards excepted, came to be called Boucaniers, but afterwards, according to a pronunciation more in favour with the English, Buccaneers<sup>8</sup>. Many of the French hunters were natives of *Normandy*; whence it became proverbial in some of the sea-ports of *Normandy* to say of a smoky house, *c'est un vrai Boucan*.

The name Flibustier. The French Buccaneers and Adventurers were also called Flibustiers, and more frequently by that than by any other name. The word Flibustier is merely the French mariner's mode of pronouncing the English word Freebooter, a name which long preceded that of Boucanier or Buccaneer, as the occupation of cruising against the Spaniards preceded that of hunting and curing meat. Some authors have given a derivation to the name *Flibustier* from the word Flyboat, because, say they, the French hunters in *Hispaniola* bought vessels of the Dutch, called Flyboats, to cruise upon the Spaniards. There are two objections to this derivation. First, the word *flyboat*, is only an English translation of the Dutch word *fluyt*, which is the proper denomination of the vessel intended by it. Secondly, it would not very readily occur to any one to purchase Dutch fluyts, or flyboats, for chasing vessels.

Some have understood the Boucanier and Flibustier to be distinct both in person and character<sup>9</sup>. This was probably the case with a few, after the settlement of *Tortuga*; but before, and very generally afterwards, the occupations were joined, making one of amphibious character. Ships from all parts of the *West Indies* frequented *Tortuga*, and it continually happened that some among the crews quitted their ships to turn Buccaneers; whilst among the Buccaneers some would be desirous to quit their hunting employment, to go on a cruise, to make a voyage, or to return to *Europe*. The two occupations of hunting and cruising being so common to the same person, caused the names Flibustier and Buccaneer to be esteemed synonymous, signifying always and principally the being at war with the Spaniards. The Buccaneer and Flibustier therefore, as long as they continued in a state of independence, are to be considered as the same character, exercising sometimes one, sometimes

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<sup>5</sup> *Hist. des Antilles, par P. du Tertre*. Paris, 1667. Tome I. p. 415.

<sup>6</sup> *La Rochefort, sur le Repas des Carribes*.

<sup>7</sup> *History of Brasil, by Robert Southey*, p. 17.

<sup>8</sup> In some of the English accounts the name is written *Bucanier*; but uniformity in spelling was not much attended to at that time. Dampier wrote *Buccaneer*, which agrees with the present manner of pronouncing the word, and is to be esteemed the best authority.

<sup>9</sup> The French account says, that after taking possession of *Tortuga*, the Adventurers divided into three classes: that those who occupied themselves in the chase, took the name of Boucaniers; those who went on cruises, the name of Flibustiers; and a third class, who cultivated the soil, called themselves *Habitans* (Inhabitants.) See *Histoire des Avanturiers qui se sont signalez dans les Indes*. Par. Alex. Ol. Oexmelin. Paris 1688, vol. i. p. 22.

the other employment; and either name was taken by them indifferently, whether they were employed on the sea or on the land. But a fanciful kind of inversion took place, through the different caprices of the French and English adventurers. The greater part of the first cattle hunters were French, and the greater number of the first cruisers against the Spaniards were English. The French adventurers, nevertheless, had a partiality for the name of Flibustier; whilst the English shewed a like preference for the name of Buccaneer, which, as will be seen, was assumed by many hundred seamen of their nation, who were never employed either in hunting or in the boucan.

Customs attributed to the Buccaneers. A propensity to make things which are extraordinary appear more so, has caused many peculiar customs to be attributed to the Buccaneers, which, it is pretended, were observed as strictly as if they had been established laws. It is said that every Buccaneer had his chosen and declared comrade, between whom property was in common, and if one died, the survivor was inheritor of the whole. This was called by the French *Matelotage*. It is however acknowledged that the *Matelotage* was not a compulsory regulation; and that the Buccaneers sometimes bequeathed by will. A general right of participation in some things, among which was meat for present consumption, was acknowledged among them; and it is said, that bolts, locks, and every species of fastening, were prohibited, it being held that the use of such securities would have impeached the honour of their vocation. Yet on commencing Buccaneer, it was customary with those who were of respectable lineage, to relinquish their family name, and assume some other, as a *nom de guerre*. Their dress, which was uniformly slovenly when engaged in the business of hunting or of the boucan, is mentioned as a prescribed *costume*, but which doubtless was prescribed only by their own negligence and indolence; in particular, that they wore an unwashed shirt and pantaloons dyed in the blood of the animals they had killed. Other distinctions, equally capricious, and to little purpose, are related, which have no connexion with their history. Some curious anecdotes are produced, to shew the great respect some among them entertained for religion and for morality. A certain Flibustier captain, named Daniel, shot one of his crew in the church, for behaving irreverently during the performance of mass. Raveneau de Lussan (whose adventures will be frequently mentioned) took the occupation of a Buccaneer, because he was in debt, and wished, as every honest man should do, to have wherewithal to satisfy his creditors.

In their sea enterprises, they followed most of the customs which are generally observed in private ships of war; and sometimes were held together by a subscribed written agreement, by the English called Charter-party; by the French *Chasse-partie*, which might in this case be construed a Chasing agreement. Whenever it happened that *Spain* was at open and declared war with any of the maritime nations of *Europe*, the Buccaneers who were natives of the country at war with her, obtained commissions, which rendered the vessels in which they cruised, regular privateers.

The English adventurers sometimes, as is seen in Dampier, called themselves Privateers, applying the term to persons in the same manner we now apply it to private ships of war. The Dutch, whose terms are generally faithful to the meaning intended, called the adventurers *Zee Roovers*; the word *roover* in the Dutch language comprising the joint sense of the two English words rover and robber.

## CHAPTER V

***Treaty made by the Spaniards with Don Henriquez. Increase of English and French in the West Indies. Tortuga surprised by the Spaniards. Policy of the English and French Governments with respect to the Buccaneers. Mansvelt, his attempt to form an independent Buccaneer Establishment. French West-India Company. Morgan succeeds Mansvelt as Chief of the Buccaneers***

1630. The Spanish Government at length began to think it necessary to relax from their large pretensions, and in the year 1630 entered into treaties with other European nations, for mutual security of their West-India possessions. In a Treaty concluded that year with *Great Britain*, it was declared, that peace, amity, and friendship, should be observed between their respective subjects, in all parts of the world. But this general specification was not sufficient to produce effect in the *West Indies*.

1633. In *Hispaniola*, in the year 1633, the Government at *San Domingo* concluded a treaty with Don Henriquez; which was the more readily accorded to him, because it was apprehended the revolted natives would league with the Brethren of the Coast. By this treaty all the followers of Don Henriquez who could claim descent from the original natives, in number four thousand persons, were declared free and under his protection, and lands were marked out for them. But, what is revolting to all generous hopes of human nature, the negroes were abandoned to the Spaniards. Magnanimity was not to be expected of the natives of *Hayti*; yet they had shewn themselves capable of exertion for their own relief; and a small degree more of firmness would have included these, their most able champions, in the treaty. This weak and wicked defection from friends, confederated with them in one common and righteous cause, seems to have wrought its own punishment. The vigilance and vigour of mind of the negro might have guarded against encroachments upon the independence obtained; instead of which, the wretched Haytians in a short time fell again wholly into the grinding hands of the Spaniards; and in the early part of the eighteenth century, it was reckoned that the whole number living, of the descendants of the party of Don Henriquez, did not quite amount to one hundred persons.

Cultivation in Tortuga. The settlement of the Buccaneers at *Tortuga* drew many Europeans there, as well settlers as others, to join in their adventures and occupations. They began to clear and cultivate the grounds, which were before overgrown with woods, and made plantations of tobacco, which proved to be of extraordinary good quality.

Increase of the English and French Settlements in the West Indies. More Europeans, not Spaniards, consequently allies of the Buccaneers, continued to pour into the *West Indies*, and formed settlements on their own accounts, on some of the islands of the small *Antilles*. These settlements were not composed of mixtures of different people, but were most of them all English or all French; and as they grew into prosperity, they were taken possession of for the crowns of *England* or of *France* by the respective governments. Under the government authorities new colonists were sent out, royal governors were appointed, and codes of law established, which combined, with the security of the colony, the interests of the mother-country. But at the same time these benefits were conferred, grants of lands were made under royal authority, which dispossessed many persons, who, by labour and perilous adventure, and some who at considerable expence, had achieved establishments for themselves, in favour of men till then no way concerned in any of the undertakings. In some cases, grants of whole islands were obtained, by purchase or favour; and the first settlers, who had long before gained possession, and who had cleared and brought the ground into a state for cultivation, were rendered dependent upon the new proprietary governors, to whose terms they were obliged to submit, or to relinquish their tenure. Such were the hard accompaniments to the protection

afforded by the governments of *France* and *Great Britain* to colonies, which, before they were acknowledged legitimate offsprings of the mother-country, had grown into consideration through their own exertions; and only because they were found worth adopting, were now received into the parent family. The discontents created by this rapacious conduct of the governments, and the disregard shewn to the claims of the first settlers, instigated some to resistance and rebellion, and caused many to join the Buccaneers. The Caribbe inhabitants were driven from their lands also with as little ceremony.

The Buccaneer colony at *Tortuga* had not been beheld with indifference by the Spaniards. 1638. The Buccaneers, with the carelessness natural to men in their loose condition of life, under neither command nor guidance, continued to trust to the supineness of the enemy for their safety, and neglected all precaution. Tortuga surprised by the Spaniards. In the year 1638, the Spaniards with a large force fell unexpectedly upon *Tortuga*, at a time when the greater number of the settlers were absent in *Hispaniola* on the chase; and those who were on the Island, having neither fortress nor government, became an easy prey to the Spaniards, who made a general massacre of all who fell into their hands, not only of those they surprised in the beginning, but many who afterwards came in from the woods to implore their lives on condition of returning to *Europe*, they hanged. A few kept themselves concealed, till they found an opportunity to cross over to their brethren in *Hispaniola*.

It happened not to suit the convenience of the Spaniards to keep a garrison at *Tortuga*, and they were persuaded the Buccaneers would not speedily again expose themselves to a repetition of such treatment as they had just experienced; therefore they contented themselves with destroying the buildings, and as much as they could of the plantations; after which they returned to *San Domingo*. In a short time after their departure, the remnant of the Hunters collected to the number of three hundred, again fixed themselves at *Tortuga*, and, for the first time, elected a commander.

As the hostility of the Buccaneers had constantly and solely been directed against the Spaniards, all other Europeans in the *West Indies* regarded them as champions in the common cause, and the severities which had been exercised against them created less of dread than of a spirit of vengeance. The numbers of the Buccaneers were quickly recruited by volunteers of English, French, and Dutch, from all parts; and both the occupations of hunting and cruising were pursued with more than usual eagerness. The French and English Governors in the *West Indies*, influenced by the like feelings, either openly, or by connivance, gave constant encouragement to the Buccaneers. The French Governor at *St. Christopher*, who was also Governor General for the French West-India Islands, was most ready to send assistance to the Buccaneers. This Governor, Monsieur de Poincy, an enterprising and capable man, had formed a design to take possession of the Island *Tortuga* for the crown of *France*; which he managed to put in execution three years after, having by that time predisposed some of the principal French Buccaneers to receive a garrison of the French king's troops. Tortuga taken possession of for the Crown of France. This appropriation was made in 1641; and De Poincy, thinking his acquisition would be more secure to *France* by the absence of the English, forced all the English Buccaneers to quit the Island. The French writers say, that before the interposition of the French Governor, the English Buccaneers took advantage of their numbers, and domineered in *Tortuga*. The English Governors in the *West Indies* could not at this time shew the same tender regard for the English Buccaneers, as the support they received from home was very precarious, owing to the disputes which then subsisted in *England* between King Charles and the English Parliament, which engrossed so much of the public attention as to leave little to colonial concerns.

The French Commander de Poincy pushed his success. In his appointment of a Governor to *Tortuga*, he added the title of Governor of the West coast of *Hispaniola*, and by degrees he introduced French garrisons. This was the first footing obtained by the Government of *France* in *Hispaniola*. The same policy was observed there respecting the English as at *Tortuga*, by which means was effected a separation of the English Buccaneers from the French. After this time, it was only occasionally, and from accidental circumstances, or by special agreement, that they acted in concert. The English

adventurers, thus elbowed out of *Hispaniola* and *Tortuga*, lost the occupation of hunting cattle and of the boucan, but they continued to be distinguished by the appellation of Buccaneers, and, when not cruising, most generally harboured at the Islands possessed by the British.

Hitherto, it had rested in the power of the Buccaneers to have formed themselves into an independent state. Being composed of people of different nations, the admission of a Governor from any one, might easily have been resisted. Now, they were considered in a kind of middle state, between that of Buccaneers and of men returned to their native allegiance. It seemed now in the power of the English and French Governments to put a stop to their cruisings, and to furnish them with more honest employment; but politics of a different cast prevailed. The Buccaneers were regarded as profitable to the Colonies, on account of the prizes they brought in; and even vanity had a share in their being countenanced. Policy of the English and French Governments with respect to the Buccaneers. The French authors call them *nos braves*, and the English speak of their 'unparalleled exploits.' The policy both of *England* and of *France* with respect to the Buccaneers, seems to have been well described in the following sentence: *On laissoit faire des Avanturiers, qu'on pouvoit toujours desavouer, mais dont les succes pouvoient etre utiles: i. e.* 'they connived at the actions of these Adventurers, which could always be disavowed, and whose successes might be serviceable.' This was not esteemed *friponnerie*, but a maxim of sound state policy. In the character given of a good French West-India governor, he is praised, for that, 'besides encouraging the cultivation of lands, he never neglected to encourage the *Flibustiers*. It was a certain means of improving the Colony, by attracting thither the young and enterprising. He would scarcely receive a slight portion of what he was entitled to from his right of bestowing commissions in time of war<sup>10</sup>. And when we were at peace, and our *Flibustiers*, for want of other employment, would go cruising, and would carry their prizes to the English Islands, he was at the pains of procuring them commissions from *Portugal*, which country was then at war with *Spain*; in virtue of which our *Flibustiers* continued to make themselves redoubtable to the Spaniards, and to spread riches and abundance in our Colonies.' This panegyric was bestowed by Père Labat; who seems to have had more of national than of moral or religious feeling on this head.

It was a powerful consideration with the French and English Governments, to have at their occasional disposal, without trouble or expence, a well trained military force, always at hand, and willing to be employed upon emergency; who required no pay nor other recompense for their services and constant readiness, than their share of plunder, and that their piracies upon the Spaniards should pass unnoticed.

1644. Towards the end of 1644, a new Governor General for the French West-India possessions was appointed by the French Regency (during the minority of Louis XIV.); but the Commander de Poincy did not choose to resign, and the colonists were inclined to support him. Great discontents prevailed in the French Colonies, which rendered them liable to being shaken by civil wars; and the apprehensions of the Regency on this head enabled De Poincy to stand his ground. He remained Governor General over the French Colonies not only for the time, but was continued in that office, by succeeding administrations, many years.

1654. The Buccaneers plunder New Segovia. About the year 1654, a large party of Buccaneers, French and English, joined in an expedition on the Continent. They ascended a river of the *Mosquito shore*, a small distance on the South side of *Cape Gracias a Dios*, in canoes; and after labouring nearly a month against a strong stream and waterfalls, they left their canoes, and marched to the town of *Nueva Segovia*, which they plundered, and then returned down the river.

The Spaniards retake Tortuga. 1655. With the assistance of the Buccaneers, the English take Jamaica: 1660; And the French retake Tortuga. In the same year, the Spaniards took *Tortuga* from the French.

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<sup>10</sup> The Governor or Admiral, who granted the commission, claimed one tenth of all prizes made under its authority.

In the year following, 1655, *England* being at war with *Spain*, a large force was sent from *England* to attempt the conquest of the Island *Hispaniola*. In this attempt they failed; but afterwards fell upon *Jamaica*, of which Island they made themselves masters, and kept possession. In the conquest of *Jamaica*, the English were greatly assisted by the Buccaneers; and a few years after, with their assistance also, the French regained possession of *Tortuga*.

On the recovery of *Tortuga*, the French Buccaneers greatly increased in the Northern and Western parts of *Hispaniola*. *Spain* also sent large reinforcements from *Europe*; and for some years war was carried on with great spirit and animosity on both sides. During the heat of this contest, the French Buccaneers followed more the occupation of hunting, and less that of cruising, than at any other period of their history.

The Spaniards finding they could not expel the French from *Hispaniola*, determined to join their efforts to those of the French hunters, for the destruction of the cattle and wild hogs on the Island, so as to render the business of hunting unproductive. But the French had begun to plant; and the depriving them of the employment of hunting, drove them to other occupations not less contrary to the interest and wishes of the Spaniards. The less profit they found in the chase, the more they became cultivators and cruisers.

Pierre le Grand, a French Buccaneer. The Buccaneer Histories of this period abound with relations: of daring actions performed by them; but many of which are chiefly remarkable for the ferocious cruelty of the leaders by whom they were conducted. Pierre, a native of *Dieppe*, for his success received to his name the addition of *le grand*, and is mentioned as one of the first Flibustiers who obtained much notoriety. In a boat, with a crew of twenty-eight men, he surprised and took the Ship of the Vice-Admiral of the Spanish galleons, as she was sailing homeward-bound with a rich freight. He set the Spanish crew on shore at *Cape Tiburon*, the West end of *Hispaniola*, and sailed in his prize to *France*. Alexandre. A Frenchman, named Alexandre, also in a small vessel, took a Spanish ship of war.

Montbars, surnamed the Exterminator. It is related of another Frenchman, a native of *Languedoc*, named Montbars, that on reading a history of the cruelty of the Spaniards to the Americans, he conceived such an implacable hatred against the Spaniards, that he determined on going to the *West Indies* to join the Buccaneers; and that he there pursued his vengeance with so much ardour as to acquire the surname of the Exterminator.

Bartolomeo Portuguez. One Buccaneer of some note was a native of *Portugal*, known by the name of Bartolomeo Portuguez; who, however, was more renowned for his wonderful escapes, both in battle, and from the gallows, than for his other actions.

L'Olonnois, a French Buccaneer, and Michel le Basque, take Maracaibo and Gibraltar. But no one of the Buccaneers hitherto named, arrived at so great a degree of notoriety, as a Frenchman, called François L'Olonnois, a native of part of the French coast which is near the sands of *Olonne*, but whose real name is not known. This man, and Michel le Basque, both Buccaneer commanders, at the head of 650 men, took the towns of *Maracaibo* and *Gibraltar* in the *Gulf of Venezuela*, on the *Tierra Firme*. The booty they obtained by the plunder and ransom of these places, was estimated at 400,000 crowns. The barbarities practised on the prisoners could not be exceeded. Outrages committed by L'Olonnois. Olonnois was possessed with an ambition to make himself renowned for being terrible. At one time, it is said, he put the whole crew of a Spanish ship, ninety men, to death, performing himself the office of executioner, by beheading them. He caused the crews of four other vessels to be thrown into the sea; and more than once, in his frenzies, he tore out the hearts of his victims, and devoured them. Yet this man had his encomiasts; so much will loose notions concerning glory, aided by a little partiality, mislead even sensible men. Père Charlevoix says, *Celui de tous, dont les grandes actions illustrent davantage les premières années du gouvernement de M. d'Ogeron, fut l'Olonnois. Ses premiers succès furent suivis de quelques malheurs, qui ne servirent qu'à donner un nouveau lustre*

*à sa gloire*. The career of this savage was terminated by the Indians of the coast of *Darien*, on which he had landed.

Mansvelt, a Buccaneer Chief; his Plan for forming a Buccaneer Establishment. 1664. The Buccaneers now went in such formidable numbers, that several Spanish towns, both on the Continent and among the Islands of the *West Indies*, submitted to pay them contribution. And at this time, a Buccaneer commander, named Mansvelt, more provident and more ambitious in his views than any who preceded him, formed a project for founding an independent Buccaneer establishment. Of what country Mansvelt was native, does not appear; but he was so popular among the Buccaneers, that both French and English were glad to have him for their leader. The greater number of his followers in his attempt to form a settlement were probably English, as he fitted out in *Jamaica*. A Welshman, named Henry Morgan, who had made some successful cruises as a Buccaneer, went with him as second in command. Island *Sta Katalina*, or *Providence*; since named *Old Providence*. The place designed by them for their establishment, was an Island named *Sta Katalina*, or *Providence*, situated in latitude 13° 24' N, about 40 leagues to the Eastward of the *Mosquito shore*. This Island is scarcely more than two leagues in its greatest extent, but has a harbour capable of being easily fortified against an enemy; and very near to its North end is a much smaller Island. The late Charts assign the name of *Sta Katalina* to the small Island, and give to the larger Island that of *Old Providence*, the epithet *Old* having been added to distinguish this from the *Providence* of the *Bahama Islands*. At the time Mansvelt undertook his scheme of settlement, this *Sta Katalina*, or *Providence Island*, was occupied by the Spaniards, who had a fort and good garrison there. Some time in or near the year 1664, Mansvelt sailed thither from *Jamaica*, with fifteen vessels and 500 men. He assaulted and took the fort, which he garrisoned with one hundred Buccaneers and all the slaves he had taken, and left the command to a Frenchman, named Le Sieur Simon. At the end of his cruise, he returned to *Jamaica*, intending to procure there recruits for his Settlement of *Sta Katalina*; but the Governor of *Jamaica*, however friendly to the Buccaneers whilst they made *Jamaica* their home, saw many reasons for disliking Mansvelt's plan, and would not consent to his raising men.

Death of Mansvelt. Not being able to overcome the Governor's unwillingness, Mansvelt sailed for *Tortuga*, to try what assistance he could procure there; but in the passage he was suddenly taken ill, and died. For a length of time after, Simon remained at *Sta Katalina* with his garrison, in continual expectation of seeing or hearing from Mansvelt; instead of which, a large Spanish force arrived and besieged his fort, when, learning of Mansvelt's death, and seeing no prospect of receiving reinforcement or relief, he found himself obliged to surrender.

French West-India Company. The government in *France* had appointed commissioners on behalf of the French West-India Company, to take all the Islands called the *French Antilles*, out of the hands of individuals, subjects of *France*, who had before obtained possession, and to put them into the possession of the said Company, to be governed according to such provisions as they should think proper. 1665. In February 1665, M. d'Ogeron was appointed Governor of *Tortuga*, and of the French settlements in *Hispaniola*, or *St. Domingo*, as the Island was now more commonly called. The French settlers dispute their authority. On his arrival at *Tortuga*, the French adventurers, both there and in *Hispaniola*, declared that if he came to govern in the name of the King of *France*, he should find faithful and obedient subjects; but they would not submit themselves to any Company; and in no case would they consent to the prohibiting their trade with the Hollanders, 'with whom,' said the Buccaneers, 'we have been in the constant habit of trading, and were so before it was known in *France* that there was a single Frenchman in *Tortuga*, or on the coast of *St. Domingo*.'

1665-7. M. d'Ogeron had recourse to dissimulation to allay these discontents. He yielded consent to the condition respecting the commerce with the Dutch, fully resolved not to observe it longer than till his authority should be sufficiently established for him to break it with safety; and to secure the commerce within his government exclusively to the French West-India Company, who, when rid of all competitors, would be able to fix their own prices. It was not long before M. d'Ogeron

judged the opportunity was arrived for effecting this revocation without danger; but it caused a revolt of the French settlers in *St. Domingo*, which did not terminate without bloodshed and an execution; and so partial as well as defective in principle were the historians who have related the fact, that they have at the same time commended M. d'Ogeron for his probity and simple manners. In the end, he prevailed in establishing a monopoly for the Company, to the injury of his old companions the French Buccaneers, with whom he had at a former period associated, and who had been his benefactors in a time of his distress.

Morgan succeeds Mansvelt; plunders Puerto del Principe. On the death of Mansvelt, Morgan was regarded as the most capable and most fortunate leader of any of the *Jamaica* Buccaneers. With a body of several hundred men, who placed themselves under his command, he took and plundered the town of *Puerto del Principe* in *Cuba*. A quarrel happened at this place among the Buccaneers, in which a Frenchman was treacherously slain by an Englishman. The French took to arms, to revenge the death of their countryman; but Morgan pacified them by putting the murderer in irons, and promising he should be delivered up to justice on their return to *Jamaica*; which was done, and the criminal was hanged. But in some other respects, the French were not so well satisfied with Morgan for their commander, as they had been with Mansvelt. Morgan was a great rogue, and little respected the old proverb of, Honour among Thieves: this had been made manifest to the French, and almost all of them separated from him.

1667. Maracaibo again pillaged. 1668. Morgan takes Porto Bello: Exercises great Cruelty. *Maracaibo* was now a second time pillaged by the French Buccaneers, under Michel le Basque.

Morgan's next undertaking was against *Porto Bello*, one of the principal and best fortified ports belonging to the Spaniards in the *West Indies*. He had under his command only 460 men; but not having revealed his design to any person, he came on the town by surprise, and found it unprepared. Shocking cruelties are related to have been committed in this expedition. Among many others, that a castle having made more resistance than had been expected, Morgan, after its surrendering, shut up the garrison in it, and caused fire to be set to the magazine, destroying thereby the castle and the garrison together. In the attack of another fort, he compelled a number of religious persons, both male and female, whom he had taken prisoners, to carry and plant scaling ladders against the walls; and many of them were killed by those who defended the fort. The Buccaneers in the end became masters of the place, and the use they made of their victory corresponded with their actions in obtaining it. Many prisoners died under tortures inflicted on them to make them discover concealed treasures, whether they knew of any or not. A large ransom was also extorted for the town and prisoners.

This success attracted other Buccaneers, among them the French again, to join Morgan; and by a kind of circular notice they rendezvoused in large force under his command at the *Isla de la Vaca* (by the French called *Isle Avache*) near the SW part of *Hispaniola*.

A large French Buccaneer ship was lying at *la Vaca*, which was not of this combination, the commander and crew of which refused to join with Morgan, though much solicited. Morgan was angry, but dissembled, and with a show of cordiality invited the French captain and his officers to an entertainment on board his own ship. When they were his guests, they found themselves his prisoners; and their ship, being left without officers, was taken without resistance. The men put by Morgan in charge of the ship, fell to drinking; and, whether from their drunkenness and negligence, or from the revenge of any of the prisoners, cannot be known, she suddenly blew up, by which 350 English Buccaneers, and all the Frenchmen on board her, perished. *The History of the Buccaneers of America*, in which the event is related, adds by way of remark, 'Thus was this unjust action of Captain Morgan's soon followed by divine justice; for this ship, the largest in his fleet, was blown up in the air, with 350 Englishmen and all the French prisoners.' This comment seems to have suggested to Voltaire the ridicule he has thrown on the indiscriminate manner in which men sometimes pronounce misfortune to be a peculiar judgment of God, in the dialogue he put into the mouths of Candide and Martin, on the wicked Dutch skipper being drowned.

1669. Maracaibo and Gibraltar plundered by Morgan. From *Isla de la Vaca* Morgan sailed with his fleet to *Maracaibo* and *Gibraltar*; which unfortunate towns were again sacked. It was a frequent practice with these desperadoes to secure their prisoners by shutting them up in churches, where it was easy to keep guard over them. This was done by Morgan at *Maracaibo* and *Gibraltar*, and with so little care for their subsistence, that many of the prisoners were actually starved to death, whilst their merciless victors were rioting in the plunder of their houses.

Morgan remained so long at *Gibraltar*, that the Spaniards had time to repair and put in order a castle at the entrance of the *Lagune of Maracaibo*; and three large Spanish ships of war arrived and took stations near the castle, by which they hoped to cut off the retreat of the pirates. His Contrivances in effecting his Retreat. The *Buccaneer Histories* give Morgan much credit here, for his management in extricating his fleet and prizes from their difficult situation, which is related to have been in the following manner. He converted one of his vessels into a fire-ship, but so fitted up as to preserve the appearance of a ship intended for fighting, and clumps of wood were stuck up in her, dressed with hats on, to resemble men. By means of this ship, the rest of his fleet following close at hand, he took one of the Spanish ships, and destroyed the two others. Still there remained the castle to be passed; which he effected without loss, by a stratagem which deceived the Spaniards from their guard. During the day, and in sight of the castle, he filled his boats with armed men, and they rowed from the ships to a part of the shore which was well concealed by thickets. After waiting as long as might be supposed to be occupied in the landing, all the men lay down close in the bottom of the boats, except two in each, who rowed them back, going to the sides of the ships which were farthest from the castle. This being repeated several times, caused the Spaniards to believe that the Buccaneers intended an assault by land with their whole force; and they made disposition with their cannon accordingly, leaving the side of the castle towards the sea unprovided. When it was night, and the ebb tide began to make, Morgan's fleet took up their anchors, and, without setting sail, it being moonlight, they fell down the river, unperceived, till they were nigh the castle. They then set their sails, and fired upon the castle, and before the Spaniards could bring their guns back to return the fire, the ships were past. The value of the booty made in this expedition was 250,000 pieces of eight.

Some minor actions of the Buccaneers are omitted here, not being of sufficient consequence to excuse detaining the Reader, to whom will next be related one of their most remarkable exploits.

## CHAPTER VI

### *Treaty of America. Expedition of the Buccaneers against Panama. Exquemelin's History of the American Sea Rovers. Misconduct of the European Governors in the West Indies*

1670. In July 1670, was concluded a Treaty between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, made expressly with the intention of terminating the Buccaneer war, and of settling all disputes between the subjects of the two countries in *America*. It has been with this especial signification entitled the Treaty of *America*, and is the first which appears to have been dictated by a mutual disposition to establish peace in the *West Indies*. The articles particularly directed to this end are the following: —

Treaty between Great Britain and Spain, called the Treaty of America. Art. II. There shall be an universal peace and sincere friendship, as well in *America*, as in other parts, between the Kings of *Great Britain* and *Spain*, their heirs and successors, their kingdoms, plantations, &c.

III. That all hostilities, depredations, &c. shall cease between the subjects of the said Kings.

IV. The two Kings shall take care that their subjects forbear all acts of hostility, and shall call in all commissions, letters of marque and reprisals, and punish all offenders, obliging them to make reparation.

VII. All past injuries, on both sides, shall be buried in oblivion.

VIII. The King of *Great Britain* shall hold and enjoy all the lands, countries, &c. he is now possessed of in *America*.

IX. The subjects on each side shall forbear trading or sailing to any places whatsoever under the dominion of the other, without particular licence.

XIV. Particular offences shall be repaired in the common course of justice, and no reprisals made unless justice be denied, or unreasonably retarded.

When notice of this Treaty was received in the *West Indies*, the Buccaneers, immediately as of one accord, resolved to undertake some grand expedition. Many occurrences had given rise to jealousies between the English and the French in the *West Indies*; but Morgan's reputation as a commander was so high, that adventurers from all parts signified their readiness to join him, and he appointed *Cape Tiburon* on the West of *Hispaniola* for the place of general rendezvous. In consequence of this summons, in the beginning of December 1670, a fleet was there collected under his command, consisting of no less than thirty-seven vessels of different sizes, and above 2000 men. Having so large a force, he held council with the principal commanders, and proposed for their determination, which they should attempt of the three places, *Carthagena*, *Vera Cruz*, and *Panama*. *Panama* was believed to be the richest, and on that City the lot fell.

A century before, when the name of Buccaneer was not known, roving adventurers had crossed the *Isthmus of America* from the *West Indies* to the *South Sea*; but the fate of Oxnam and his companions deterred others from the like attempt, until the time of the Buccaneers, who, as they increased in numbers, extended their enterprises, urged by a kind of necessity, the *West Indies* not furnishing plunder sufficient to satisfy so many men, whose modes of expenditure were not less profligate than their means of obtaining were violent and iniquitous.

Expedition of the Buccaneers against Panama. The rendezvous appointed by Morgan for meeting his confederates was distant from any authority which could prevent or impede their operations; and whilst they remained on the coast of *Hispaniola*, he employed men to hunt cattle, and cure meat. He also sent vessels to collect maize, at the settlements on the *Tierra Firma*. Specific articles of agreement were drawn up and subscribed to, for the distribution of plunder. Morgan,

as commander in chief, was to receive one hundredth part; each captain was to have eight shares; provision was stipulated for the maimed and wounded, and rewards for those who should particularly distinguish themselves. December. They take the Island *Sta Katalina*. These matters being settled, on December the 16th, the whole fleet sailed, from *Cape Tiburon*; on the 20th, they arrived at the Island *Sta Katalina*, then occupied by the Spaniards, who had garrisoned it chiefly with criminals sentenced to serve there by way of punishment. Morgan had fully entered into the project of Mansvelt for forming an establishment at *Sta Katalina*, and he was not the less inclined to it now that he considered himself as the head of the Buccaneers. The Island surrendered upon summons. It is related, that at the request of the Governor, in which Morgan indulged him, a military farce was performed; Morgan causing cannon charged only with powder to be fired at the fort, which returned the like fire for a decent time, and then lowered their flag.

Morgan judged it would contribute to the success of the proposed expedition against *Panama*, to make himself master of the fort or castle of *San Lorenzo* at the entrance of the *River Chagre*. For this purpose he sent a detachment of 400 men under the command of an old Buccaneer named Brodely, and in the mean time remained himself with the main body of his forces at *Sta Katalina*, to avoid giving the Spaniards cause to suspect his further designs.

Attack of the Castle at the River Chagre. The Castle of *Chagre* was strong, both in its works and in situation, being built on the summit of a steep hill. It was valiantly assaulted, and no less valiantly defended. The Buccaneers were once forced to retreat. They returned to the attack, and were nearly a second time driven back, when a powder magazine in the fort blew up, and the mischief and confusion thereby occasioned gave the Buccaneers opportunity to force entrance through the breaches they had made. The Governor of the castle refused to take quarter which was offered him by the Buccaneers, as did also some of the Spanish soldiers. More than 200 men of 314 which composed the garrison were killed. The loss on the side of the Buccaneers was above 100 men killed outright, and 70 wounded.

1671. January. March of the Buccaneers across the Isthmus. On receiving intelligence of the castle being taken, Morgan repaired with the rest of his men from *Sta Katalina*. He set the prisoners to work to repair the Castle of *San Lorenzo*, in which he stationed a garrison of 500 men; he also appointed 150 men to take care of the ships; and on the 18th of January 1671<sup>11</sup>, he set forward at the head of 1200 men for *Panama*. One party with artillery and stores embarked in canoes, to mount the *River Chagre*, the course of which is extremely serpentine. At the end of the second day, however, they quitted the canoes, on account of the many obstructions from trees which had fallen in the river, and because the river was at this time in many places almost dry; but the way by land was also found so difficult for the carriage of stores, that the canoes were again resorted to. On the sixth day, when they had expended great part of their travelling store of provisions, they had the good fortune to discover a barn full of maize. They saw many native Indians, who all kept at a distance, and it was in vain endeavoured to overtake some.

On the seventh day they came to a village called *Cruz*, the inhabitants of which had set fire to their houses, and fled. They found there, however, fifteen jars of Peruvian wine, and a sack of bread. The village of *Cruz* is at the highest part of the *River Chagre* to which boats or canoes, can arrive. It was reckoned to be eight leagues distant from *Panama*.

On the ninth day of their journey, they came in sight of the *South Sea*; and here they were among fields in which cattle grazed. Towards evening, they had sight of the steeples of *Panama*. In the course of their march thus far from the Castle of *Chagre*, they lost, by being fired at from concealed places, ten men killed; and as many more were wounded.

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<sup>11</sup> It is proper to mention, that an erroneously printed date, in the English edition of the *Buccaneers of America*, occasioned a mistake to be made in the account given of Narbrough's Voyage, respecting the time the Buccaneers kept possession of *Panama*. See Vol. III. of *Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea*, p. 374.

*Panama* had not the defence of regular fortifications. Some works had been raised, but in parts the city lay open, and was to be won or defended by plain fighting. According to the Buccaneer account, the Spaniards had about 2000 infantry and 400 horse; which force, it is to be supposed, was in part composed of inhabitants and slaves.

27th. The City of Panama taken. January the 27th, early in the morning, the Buccaneers resumed their march towards the city. The Spaniards came out to meet them. In this battle, the Spaniards made use of wild bulls, which they drove upon the Buccaneers to disorder their ranks; but it does not appear to have had much effect. In the end, the Spaniards gave way, and before night, the Buccaneers were masters of the city. All that day, the Buccaneers gave no quarter, either during the battle, or afterwards. Six hundred Spaniards fell. The Buccaneers lost many men, but the number is not specified.

The City burnt. One of the first precautions taken by Morgan after his victory, was to prevent drunkenness among his men: to which end, he procured to have it reported to him that all the wine in the city had been poisoned by the inhabitants; and on the ground of this intelligence, he strictly prohibited every one, under severe penalties, from tasting wine. Before they had well fixed their quarters in *Panama*, several parts of the city burst out in flames, which spread so rapidly, that in a short time many magnificent edifices built with cedar, and a great part of the city, were burnt to the ground. Whether this was done designedly, or happened accidentally, owing to the consternation of the inhabitants during the assault, has been disputed. Morgan is accused of having directed some of his people to commit this mischief, but no motive is assigned that could induce him to an act which cut off his future prospect of ransom. Morgan charged it upon the Spaniards; and it is acknowledged the Buccaneers gave all the assistance they were able to those of the inhabitants who endeavoured to stop the progress of the fire, which nevertheless continued to burn near four weeks before it was quite extinguished. Among the buildings destroyed, was a factory-house belonging to the Genoese, who then carried on the trade of supplying the Spaniards with slaves from *Africa*.

The rapacity, licentiousness, and cruelty, of the Buccaneers, in their pillage of *Panama*, had no bounds. 'They spared,' says the narrative of a Buccaneer named Exquemelin, 'in these their cruelties no sex nor condition whatsoever. As to religious persons and priests, they granted them less quarter than others, unless they procured a considerable sum of money for their ransom.' Morgan sent detachments to scour the country for plunder, and to bring in prisoners from whom ransom might be extorted. Many of the inhabitants escaped with their effects by sea, and went for shelter to the Islands in the *Bay of Panama*. Morgan found a large boat lying aground in the Port, which he caused to be lanced, and manned with a numerous crew, and sent her to cruise among the Islands. A galeon, on board which the women of a convent had taken refuge, and in which money, plate, and other valuable effects, had been lodged, very narrowly escaped falling into their hands. They made prize of several vessels, one of which was well adapted for cruising. This opened a new prospect; and some of the Buccaneers began to consult how they might quit Morgan, and seek their fortunes on the *South Sea*, whence they proposed to sail, with the plunder they should obtain, by the *East Indies* to *Europe*. But Morgan received notice of their design before it could be put in execution, and to prevent such a diminution of his force, he ordered the masts of the ship to be cut away, and all the boats or vessels lying at *Panama* which could suit their purpose, to be burnt.

Feb. 24th. The Buccaneers depart from Panama. The old city of *Panama* is said to have contained 7000 houses, many of which were magnificent edifices built with cedar. On the 24th of February, Morgan and his men departed from its ruins, taking with them 175 mules laden with spoil, and 600 prisoners, some of them carrying burthens, and others for whose release ransom was expected. Among the latter were many women and children. These poor creatures were designedly caused to suffer extreme hunger and thirst, and kept under apprehensions of being carried to *Jamaica* to be sold as slaves, that they might the more earnestly endeavour to procure money to be brought for their ransom. When some of the women, upon their knees and in tears, begged of Morgan to

let them return to their families, his answer to them was, that 'he came not there to listen to cries and lamentations, but to seek money,' Morgan's thirst for money was not restrained to seeking it among his foes. He had a hand equally ready for that of his friends. Neither did he think his friends people to be trusted; for in the middle of the march back to *Chagre*, he drew up his men and caused them to be sworn, that they had not reserved or concealed any plunder, but had delivered all fairly into the common stock. This ceremony, it seems, was not uncustomary. 'But Captain Morgan having had experience that those loose fellows would not much stickle to swear falsely in such a case, he commanded every one to be searched; and that it might not be esteemed an affront, he permitted himself to be first searched, even to the very soles of his shoes. The French Buccaneers who had engaged on this expedition with Morgan, were not well satisfied with this new custom of searching; but their number being less than that of the English, they were forced to submit.' On arriving at *Chagre*, a division was made. The narrative says, 'every person received his portion, or rather what part thereof Captain Morgan was pleased to give him. For so it was, that his companions, even those of his own nation, complained of his proceedings; for they judged it impossible that, of so many valuable robberies, no greater share should belong to them than 200 pieces of eight *per head*. But Captain Morgan was deaf to these, and to many other complaints of the same kind.'

As Morgan was not disposed to allay the discontents of his men by coming to a more open reckoning with them, to avoid having the matter pressed upon him, he determined to withdraw from his command, 'which he did without calling any council, or bidding any one adieu; but went secretly on board his own ship, and put out to sea without giving notice, being followed only by three or four vessels of the whole fleet, who it is believed went shares with him in the greatest part of the spoil.'

The rest of the Buccaneer vessels soon separated. Morgan went to *Jamaica*, and had begun to levy men to go with him to the Island *Sta Katalina*, which he purposed to hold as his own, and to make it a common place of refuge for pirates; when the arrival of a new Governor at *Jamaica*, Lord John Vaughan, with orders to enforce the late treaty with *Spain*, obliged him to relinquish his plan.

Exquemelin's History of the Buccaneers of America. The foregoing account of the destruction of *Panama* by Morgan, is taken from a History of the Buccaneers of America, written originally in the Dutch language by a Buccaneer named Exquemelin, and published at Amsterdam in 1678, with the title of *De Americaensche Zee Roovers*. Exquemelin's book contains only partial accounts of the actions of some of the principal among the Buccaneers. He has set forth the valour displayed by them in the most advantageous light; but generally, what he has related is credible. His history has been translated into all the European languages, but with various additions and alterations by the translators, each of whom has inclined to maintain the military reputation of his own nation. The Spanish translation is entitled *Piratas*, and has the following short complimentary Poem prefixed, addressed to the Spanish editor and emendator: —

De Agamenôn cantó la vida Homero  
 Y Virgilio de Eneas lo piadoso  
 Camoës de Gama el curso presuroso  
 Gongora el brio de Colon Velero.

Tu, O Alonso! mas docto y verdadoro,  
 Describes del America ingenioso  
 Lo que assalta el Pirata codicioso:  
 Lo que defiende el Español Guerrero.

The French translation is entitled *Les Aventuriers qui se sont signalez dans les Indes*, and contains actions of the French Flibustiers which are not in Exquemelin. The like has been done in the English translation, which has for title *The Bucaniers of America*. The English translator, speaking of the

sacking of *Panama*, has expressed himself with a strange mixture of boasting and compunctious feeling. This account, he says, contains the unparalleled and bold exploits of Sir Henry Morgan, written by one of the Buccaneers who was present at those tragedies.

It has been remarked, that the treaty of *America* furnishes an apology for the enterprises of the Buccaneers previous to its notification; it being so worded as to admit an inference that the English and Spaniards were antecedently engaged in a continual war in *America*.

1671. The new Governor of *Jamaica* was authorized and instructed to proclaim a general pardon, and indemnity from prosecution, for all piratical offences committed to that time; and to grant 35 acres of land to every Buccaneer who should claim the benefit of the proclamation, and would promise to apply himself to planting; a measure from which the most beneficial effects might have been expected, not to the British colonists only, but to all around, in turning a number of able men from destructive occupations to useful and productive pursuits, if it had not been made subservient to sordid views. The author of the *History of Jamaica* says, 'This offer was intended as a lure to engage the Buccaneers to come into port with their effects, that the Governor might, and which he was directed to do, take from them the tenths and fifteenths of their booty as the dues of the Crown [and of the Colonial Government] for granting them commissions.' Those who had neglected to obtain commissions would of course have to make their peace by an increased composition. In consequence of this scandalous procedure, the Jamaica Buccaneers, to avoid being so taxed, kept aloof from *Jamaica*, and were provoked to continue their old occupations. Most of them joined the French Flibustiers at *Tortuga*. Some were afterwards apprehended at *Jamaica*, where they were brought to trial, condemned as pirates, and executed.

1672. A war which was entered into by *Great Britain* and *France* against *Holland*, furnished for a time employment for the Buccaneers and Flibustiers, and procured the Spaniards a short respite.

1673. Flibustiers shipwrecked at *Porto Rico*; In 1673, the French made an attempt to take the Island of *Curaçao* from the Dutch, and failed. M. d'Ogeron, the Governor of *Tortuga*, intended to have joined in this expedition, for which purpose he sailed in a ship named *l'Ecueil*, manned with 300 Flibustiers; but in the night of the 25th of February, she ran aground among some small islands and rocks, near the North side of the Island *Porto Rico*. The people got safe to land, but were made close prisoners by the Spaniards. After some months imprisonment, M. d'Ogeron, with three others, made their escape in a canoe, and got back to *Tortuga*. The Governor General over the French West-India Islands at that time, was a M. de Baas, who sent to *Porto Rico* to demand the deliverance of the French detained there prisoners. The Spanish Governor of *Porto Rico* required 3000 pieces of eight to be paid for expences incurred. De Baas was unwilling to comply with the demand, and sent an agent to negotiate for an abatement in the sum; but they came to no agreement. M. d'Ogeron in the mean time collected five hundred men in *Tortuga* and *Hispaniola*, with whom he embarked in a number of small vessels to pass over to *Porto Rico*, to endeavour the release of his shipwrecked companions; but by repeated tempests, several of his flotilla were forced back, and he reached *Porto Rico* with only three hundred men.

And put to death by the Spaniards. On their landing, the Spanish Governor put to death all his French prisoners, except seventeen of the officers. Afterwards in an engagement with the Spaniards, D'Ogeron lost seventeen men, and found his strength not sufficient to force the Spaniards to terms; upon which he withdrew from *Porto Rico*, and returned to *Tortuga*. The seventeen French officers that were spared in the massacre of the prisoners, the Governor of *Porto Rico* put on board a vessel bound for the *Tierra Firma*, with the intention of transporting them to *Peru*; but from that fate they were delivered by meeting at sea with an English Buccaneer cruiser. Thus, by the French Governor General disputing about a trifling balance, three hundred of the French Buccaneers, whilst employed for the French king's service under one of his officers, were sacrificed.

## CHAPTER VII

### **Thomas Peche. *Attempt of La Sound to cross the Isthmus of America. Voyage of Antonio de Veá to the Strait of Magalhanes. Various Adventures of the Buccaneers, in the West Indies, to the year 1679***

1673. Thomas Peche. In 1673, Thomas Peche, an Englishman, fitted out a ship in *England* for a piratical voyage to the *South Sea* against the Spaniards. Previous to this, Peche had been many years a Buccaneer in the *West Indies*, and therefore his voyage to the *South Sea* is mentioned as a Buccaneer expedition; but it was in no manner connected with any enterprise in or from the *West Indies*. The only information we have of Peche's voyage is from a Spanish author, *Seixas y Lovera*; and by that it may be conjectured that Peche sailed to the *Aleutian Isles*.<sup>12</sup>

1675. About this time the French West-India Company was suppressed; but another Company was at the same time erected in its stead, and under the unpromising title of *Compagnie des Fermiers du domaine d'Occident*.

La Sound attempts to cross the Isthmus. Since the plundering of *Panama*, the imaginations of the Buccaneers had been continually running on expeditions to the *South Sea*. This was well known to the Spaniards, and produced many forebodings and prophecies, in *Spain* as well as in *Peru*, of great invasions both by sea and land. The alarm was increased by an attempt of a French Buccaneer, named La Sound, with a small body of men, to cross over land to the *South Sea*. La Sound got no farther than the town of *Cheapo*, and was driven back. Dampier relates, 'Before my going to the *South Seas*, I being then on board a privateer off *Portobel*, we took a packet from *Carthagena*. We opened a great many of the merchants' letters, several of which informed their correspondents of a certain prophecy that went about *Spain* that year, the tenor of which was, *That the English privateers in the West Indies would that year open a door into the South Seas.*'

Voyage of Ant. de Veá to the Strait of Magalhanes. In 1675, it was reported and believed in *Peru*, that strange ships, supposed to be Pirates, had been seen on the coast of *Chili*, and it was apprehended that they designed to form an establishment there. In consequence of this information or rumour, the Viceroy sent a ship from *Peru*, under the command of Don Antonio de Veá, accompanied with small barks as tenders, to reconnoitre the *Gulf de la Santissima Trinidadá*, and to proceed thence to the West entrance of the *Strait of Magalhanes*. De Veá made examination at those places, and was convinced, from the poverty of the land, that no settlement of Europeans could be maintained there. One of the Spanish barks, with a crew of sixteen men, was wrecked on the small Islands called *Evangelists*, at the West entrance of the *Strait*. De Veá returned to *Callao* in April 1676<sup>13</sup>.

1676. The cattle in *Hispaniola* had again multiplied so much as to revive the business of hunting and the *boucan*. In 1676, some French who had habitations in the *Peninsula of Samana* (the NE part of *Hispaniola*) made incursions on the Spaniards, and plundered one of their villages. Not long afterwards, the Spaniards learnt that in *Samana* there were only women and children, the men being all absent on the chase; and that it would be easy to surprise not only the habitations, but the hunters also, who had a *boucan* at a place called the *Round Mountain*. Massacre of the French in *Samana*. This the Spaniards executed, and with such full indulgence to their wish to extirpate the French in *Hispaniola*, that they put to the sword every one they found at both the places. The French, in

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<sup>12</sup> *Theatro Naval Hydrographico*. Cap. xi. See also of Peche, in Vol. III. of *South Sea Voyages and Discoveries*, p. 392.

<sup>13</sup> *Not. de las Exp. Magal.* p. 268, of *Ult. Viage al Estrecho*.

consequence of this misfortune, strengthened their fortifications at *Cape François*, and made it their principal establishment in the Island.

1678. French Fleet wrecked on the Isles de Aves. In 1678, the French again undertook an expedition against the Dutch Island *Curaçao*, with a large fleet of the French king's ships, under the command of Admiral the Count d'Etrées. The French Court were so earnest for the conquest of *Curaçao*, to wipe off the disgrace of the former failure, that the Governor of *Tortuga* was ordered to raise 1200 men to join the Admiral d'Etrées. The king's troops within his government did not exceed 300 men; nevertheless, the Governor collected the number required, the Flibustiers willingly engaging in the expedition. Part of them embarked on board the king's ships, and part in their own cruising vessels. By mistake in the navigation, d'Etrées ran ashore in the middle of the night on some small Isles to the East of *Curaçao*, called *de Aves*, which are surrounded with breakers, and eighteen of his ships, besides some of the Flibustier vessels, were wrecked. The crews were saved, excepting about 300 men.

The *Curaçao* expedition being thus terminated, the Flibustiers who had engaged in it, after saving as much as they could of the wrecks, went on expeditions of their own planning, to seek compensation for their disappointment and loss. Granmont. Some landed on *Cuba*, and pillaged *Puerto del Principe*. One party, under Granmont, a leader noted for the success of his enterprises, went to the Gulf of *Venezuela*, and the ill-fated towns *Maracaibo* and *Gibraltar* were again plundered; but what the Buccaneers obtained was not of much value. In August this year, *France* concluded a treaty of peace with *Spain* and *Holland*.

The Government in *Jamaica* had by this time relapsed to its former propensities, and again encouraged the Buccaneers, and shared in their gains. One crew of Buccaneers carried there a vessel taken from the Spaniards, the cargo of which produced for each man's share to the value of 400*l*. After disposing of the cargo, they burnt the vessel; and 'having paid the Governor his duties, they embarked for *England*, where,' added the author, 'some of them live in good reputation to this day'<sup>14</sup>.

As long as the war had lasted between *France* and *Spain*, the French Buccaneers had the advantage of being lawful privateers. An English Buccaneer relates, 'We met a French private ship of war, mounting eight guns, who kept in our company some days. Her commission was only for three months. We shewed him our commission, which was for three years to come. This we had purchased at a cheap rate, having given for it only ten pieces of eight; but the truth of the thing was, that our commission was made out at first only for three months, the same date as the Frenchman's, whereas among ourselves we contrived to make it that it should serve for three years, for with this we were resolved to seek our fortunes.' Whenever *Spain* was at war with another European Power, adventurers of any country found no difficulty in the *West Indies* in procuring commissions to war against the Spaniards; with which commission, and carrying aloft the flag of the nation hostile to *Spain*, they assumed that they were lawful enemies. Such pretensions did them small service if they fell into the hands of the Spaniards; but they were allowed in the ports of neutral nations, which benefited by being made the mart of the Buccaneer prize goods; and the Buccaneers thought themselves well recompensed in having a ready market, and the security of the port.

1678. Darien Indians. The enterprises of the Buccaneers on the *Tierra Firma* and other parts of the American Continent, brought them into frequent intercourse with the natives of those parts, and produced friendships, and sometimes alliances against the Spaniards, with whom each were alike at constant enmity. But there sometimes happened disagreements between them and the natives. The Buccaneers, if they wanted provisions or assistance from the Indians, had no objection to pay for it when they had the means; nor had the natives objection to supply them on that condition, and occasionally out of pure good will. The Buccaneers nevertheless, did not always refrain from helping themselves, with no other leave than their own. Sometime before Morgan's expedition to

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<sup>14</sup> *Buccaneers of America*, Part III. Ch. xi.

*Panama*, they had given the Indians of *Darien* much offence; but shortly after that expedition, they were reconciled, in consequence of which, the Darien Indians had assisted La Sound. In 1678, they gave assistance to another party of Flibustiers which went against *Cheapo*, under a French Captain named Bournano, and offered to conduct them to a place called *Tocamoro*, where they said the Spaniards had much gold. Bournano did not think his force sufficient to take advantage of their offer, but promised he would come again and be better provided.

1679. Porto Bello surprised by the Buccaneers. In 1679, three Buccaneer vessels (two of them English, and one French) joined in an attempt to plunder *Porto Bello*. They landed 200 men at such a distance from the town, that it occupied them three nights in travelling, for during the day they lay concealed in the woods, before they reached it. Just as they came to the town, they were discovered by a negro, who ran before to give intelligence of their coming; but the Buccaneers were so quickly after him, that they got possession of the town before the inhabitants could take any step for their defence, and, being unacquainted with the strength of the enemy, they all fled. The Buccaneers remained in the town collecting plunder two days and two nights, all the time in apprehension that the Spaniards would; 'pour in the country' upon their small force, or intercept their retreat. They got back however to their ships unmolested, and, on a division of the booty, shared 160 pieces of eight to each man.

## CHAPTER VIII

***Meeting of Buccaneers at the Samballas, and Golden Island.  
Party formed by the English Buccaneers to cross the Isthmus.  
Some account of the Native Inhabitants of the Mosquito Shore***

Immediately after the plundering of *Porto Bello*, a number of Buccaneer vessels, both English and French, on the report which had been made by Captain Bournano, assembled at the *Samballas*, or *Isles of San Blas*, near the coast of *Darien*. One of these vessels was commanded by Bournano. The Indians of *Darien* received them as friends and allies, but they now disapproved the project of going to *Tocamoro*. The way thither, they said, was mountainous, and through a long tract of uninhabited country, in which it would be difficult to find subsistence; and instead of *Tocamoro*, they advised going against the city of *Panama*. 1680. Golden Island. Their representation caused the design upon *Tocamoro* to be given up. The English Buccaneers were for attacking *Panama*; but the French objected to the length of the march; and on this difference, the English and French separated, the English Buccaneers going to an Island called by them *Golden Island*, which is the most eastern of the *Samballas*, if not more properly to be said to the eastward of all the *Samballas*.

Without the assistance of the French, *Panama* was too great an undertaking. They were bent, however, on crossing the *Isthmus*; and at the recommendation of their *Darien* friends, they determined to visit a Spanish town named *Santa Maria*, situated on the banks of a river that ran into the *South Sea*. The Spaniards kept a good garrison at *Santa Maria*, on account of gold which was collected from mountains in its neighbourhood.

The Buccaneers who engaged in this expedition were the crews of seven vessels, of force as in the following list:

	Guns		Men		
A vessel of	8	and	97	commanded by	John Coxon.
"	25	"	107	"	Peter Harris.
"	1	"	35	"	Richard Sawkins.
"	2	"	40	"	Bart. Sharp.
"	0	"	43	"	Edmond Cook.
"	0	"	24	"	Robert Alleston.
"	0	"	20	"	Macket.

It was settled that Alleston and Macket, with 35 men, themselves included, should be left to guard the vessels during the absence of those who went on the expedition, which was not expected to be of long continuance. These matters were arranged at *Golden Island*, and agreement made with the *Darien* Indians to furnish them with subsistence during the march.

William Dampier, a seaman at that time of no celebrity, but of good observation and experience, was among these Buccaneers, and of the party to cross the *Isthmus*; as was Lionel Wafer, since well known for his *Description of the Isthmus of Darien*, who had engaged with them as surgeon.

Account of the Mosquito Indians. In this party of Buccaneers were also some native Americans, of a small tribe called Mosquito Indians, who inhabited the sea coast on each side of *Cape Gracias a Dios*, one way towards the river *San Juan de Nicaragua*, the other towards the *Gulf of Honduras*

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