

The following excerpts were prepared as to illustrate **Piracy c.1670**  
[From the library of Dominic Penrose]

**BUCANIERS  
Of  
AMERICA**

**Or, a true  
ACCOUNT  
Of the  
Most remarkable Assaults  
Committed of late years upon the Coasts of**

***THE WEST- INDIES***

**By the way of *Jamaica and Tortuga,*  
Both ENGLISH and FRENCH**

Wherein are contained more especially,  
The unparallel'd Exploits of Sir *Henry Morgan*, our English  
*Jamaican Hero*, who sack'd *Puerto Velo*, Burnt *Panama* &c.

LONDON

Printed for *William Crooke*, at the Green Dragon with-  
Out *Temple-bar*. **1 6 8 4**

Written originally in *Dutch*, by *John Esquemeling*,  
one of the *Bucaniers*, who was present at those  
Trajedies; and thence translated into *Spanish*, by  
*Alonso de Bonne-maison*, Doctor of Physick, and  
Practitioner at *Amsterdam*.  
Now faithfully rendered into *English*.<sup>1</sup>

**The Translator to the READER (Preface)**

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1. On 2 May 1666 the Dutch author set forth towards the Western Islands, in a ship called the *St. John*, in the service of the **West India Company of France**.
  2. First Edition written in three parts "some copies have a 4<sup>th</sup> part bound in"  
THESE EXCERPTS ARE FROM A FIRST EDITION COPY (in 3 parts) - **Courtesy of Dominic Penrose, Esq. .(1996)**

**(Excerpts)**

.. this Piece, both of Natural and Humane History, was no sooner published in the **Dutch Original**, than it was snatch't up for the most curious Library's of Holland; it was translated into **Spanish**; it was taken notice of by the learned Academy of Paris; it enlargeth our acquaintance of Natural History, so much prized and enquired for, by the Learned of this present age, with several observations not easily to be found in other accounts already received from **America**.<sup>1</sup>

.. we are obliged unto this present Author, who though a stranger to our Nation, yet with that candour and Fidelity hath recorded our Actions, as to render the metal of our true English Valour to be the more believed and feared abroad, than if these things had been divulged by our selves at home.

.. Besides the merit of this Piece for its curiosity, another point of no less esteem, is the truth and sincerity wherewith every thing seemeth to be penned. No greater ornament or dignity can be added into History, either humane or natural, than truth. ... he writeth not by hearsay, but as an eye-witness .. such plainness of words, such conciseness of periods ... void of passion or national Reflections, as that he strongly perswadeth all-along to the credit of what he saith.

.. We know that no Peace could ever be established beyond **the Line**<sup>2</sup>, since the first possession of the West Indies by the **Spaniards**<sup>3</sup> till the burning of **Panama**<sup>4</sup>. At that time, or a few months before, Sir **William Godolphin** by his prudent negotiation in quality of Embassadour (sic) for our most Gracious Monarch<sup>5</sup>, did conclude at **Madrid** a Peace to be observed even beyond the Line, and through the whole extent of the Spanish Dominions in the West Indies. No sooner a Peace had been established for those parts of **America**<sup>6</sup>, but our Forces had taken and burnt both **Chagres**,<sup>7</sup> **St. Catharine**<sup>8</sup> and **Panama**<sup>9</sup>.

Those Hostilities had been committed, not only without orders from his Majesty of **England**, but also within the eight or ten months [which] had been allowed by Articles for publishing of the said Peace through all the Dominions of both Monarchies in **America**. Until that time the Spanish Inhabitants of **America** being, as it were, in a perpetual War with Europe, certain it is, that no Coasts nor Kingdoms in the World have been more frequently infested nor alarm'd with the invasions of several Nations, than theirs.

Thus from the very beginning of their (Spanish) conquests in **America**, both English, French, Dutch, Portuguese, Swedes, Danes, Curlanders<sup>10</sup>, and all other Nations that navigate the Ocean, have frequented the West-Indies, and filled them with their Robberies and Assaults.

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<sup>1</sup> When published in 1684, 'The Americas' included South, Central and North America.

<sup>2</sup> Papal territorial grants to Spain and Portugal, following the return of Columbus in 1493. (see Editor's preface)

<sup>3</sup> Repeated raids were made on Spanish towns in the West Indies and America by the ships and men of rival European Powers, but Spanish America as a whole was never threatened until the end of the 18th century, of the places held by Spain, only Jamaica and Haiti passed permanently into foreign hands. (History of the West Indies. Burns. pp 102, 103)

<sup>4</sup> 1670

<sup>5</sup> King..... of England.

<sup>6</sup> Spanish possessions in the Caribbean, South and Central America.

<sup>7</sup> **Chagres**, attacked by ..... on..., ... killed

<sup>8</sup> Isle of St. Catherin.

<sup>9</sup> Panama (city) attacked by.... on.....600 Spanish defenders killed

<sup>10</sup> Courlanders (Latvians) attempted, from 1637, to found a colony in Tobago. A few Norwegians went to Antigua in 1656.

From these occasions have they been in continued watch and ward, and kept their Militia in constant exercise, as also their Garrisons pretty well provided and paid; as fearing every sail they discovered at Sea to be Pirats (sic) of one Nation or another. But much more especially, since that **Curasao**<sup>1</sup> (sic), **Tortuga** (sic) and **Jamaica** have been inhabited by English, French and Dutch, and bred up that race of *Hunts-men*, than which, no other ever was more desperate, nor more mortal Enemies to the Spaniards, called **BUCANIERS**<sup>1</sup>.

.. (Re. the Spanish) - it is false, to accuse their defect of Military Discipline for want of European Commanders, .. trained up from their infancy in the Wars of Europe.... Yea, their very Garrisons, will peradventure be found to be stock'd three parts to four with Souldiers (sic) both born and bred in the Kingdom of Spain. ... What men ever fought more desperately that the Garrison of Chagre? .. Were not 600 killed upon the spot at Panama ... facing bravely the enemy for the defence of their Country and private Concerns.

Now, to say something concerning **John Esquemeling**, the first author of this History<sup>2</sup>. I take him to be a Dutch-man or at least born in Flanders<sup>3</sup>, notwithstanding that the Spanish Translation represents him to be Native of the Kingdom of France. [AAC] His printing this history originally in Dutch, which doubtless must be his native Tongue, who otherwise was but an illiterate man<sup>4</sup>, together with the very sound of his name, convincing me thereunto. True it is, he set sail from France, and was some years at Tortuga. Were he a French-man born, how came he to learn the Dutch language so perfectly as to prefer it to his own? Especially that not being spoken at Tortuga nor Jamaica, where he resided all the while.

(Excerpts from **Bucaniers of America**, printed in English in 1684)

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The Danes established themselves in St. Thomas in 1672.

(a century later, St. Bartholomew was a Swedish colony from 1784-1877.)

<sup>1</sup> Buccaneers (Pirates infesting the Caribbean, Privateers.)

<sup>2</sup> During the era of Louis XIV The Great, King of France (1643-1715) Louis XIV succeeded the Throne, age of 4. He ruled under the Regency of his mother Anne of Austria until 20 Jan 1666. In 1660, Louis XIV married (1<sup>st</sup>) his first cousin, Marie Theresa, eldest daughter of FELIPE IV, King of Spain and his wife, Princess Elizabeth of France. Louis XIV's second son, Philippe (b.1683) became FELIPE V, King of Spain, following **the War of Spanish Succession, which ended when Spain accepted the independence of Portugal in December 1688.**

**The Falmouth Packet Station was established in December 1688. (Two vessels to Corunna, from January 1689)**

**Willem III**, the Stadhouder of the Netherlands became **King William III** of England in 1689.

<sup>3</sup> Date of birth not known.

<sup>4</sup> The reader might be forgiven for disagreeing. (Esquemeling intelligently identified plants etc.)

# BUCANIERS of AMERICA

## Part I.

### Chap. I

We set sail from *Havre de Grace*<sup>1</sup>, in France, in a ship called *St. John*, the second day of May, in the year 1666. Our vessel was equipp'd with eight and twenty Guns, twenty Mariners, and two hundred and twenty passengers, those, whom the Company sent as free passengers, as being in their service. Soon after we came to an anchor under the *Cape of Borflor*<sup>2</sup>, there to joyn other seven Ships of the same West India Company, which were to come from *Diep*<sup>3</sup>, under the Convoy of a Man of War, mounted with seven and thirty guns, and two hundred and fifty men. Of these Ships two were bound for *Senegal*, five for the *Cariby Islands*, and ours for the island of *Tortuga*.<sup>4</sup> In the same place there gather'd unto us, about twenty sail of other Ships, that were bound for *New-found land*, with some Dutch vessels, that were going for *Nants*, *Rochel*, and *St. Martins*. So that in all we made a fleet of thirty sail. Here we prepared to fight, putting our selves into a convenient posture of defence, as having notice that four English Frigats, of threescore<sup>5</sup> Guns each, did lie in wait for us, about the *Isle of Ornay*<sup>6</sup>. Our Admiral the *Chevalier Sourdis*, having distributed, what Orders he thought convenient, we set sail from thence with a favourable gale of wind. Presently after, some mists arising, these totally impeded the English Frigats, from discovering our Fleet at Sea.

We steer'd our course, as near as we could, under the Coast of France, for fear of the Enemy. As we sailed along, we met a Vessel of *Ostend*, who complained, unto our Admiral, that a French Privateer had robb'd him that very morning. This complaint being heard, we endeavoured to pursue the said Pirate; but our labour was in vain, as not being able to overtake him.

Our Fleet, as we went along, caused no small fears and alarms, unto the inhabitants of the coasts of France; these judging us to be English, and that we sought some convenient place for landing. To allay their frights, we used to hang out our Colours<sup>7</sup>; but, notwithstanding, they would not trust us.

After this we came to an anchor in the *Bay of Conquet*, in Britany (sic), nigh unto the *Isle of Heysant*<sup>8</sup>; there to take in water. Having stored ourselves with fresh Provisions at this place, we prosecuted our Voyage, designing to pass by the *Ras of Fonteneau*<sup>9</sup>, and not expose ourselves to the *Sorlingues*<sup>10</sup>, fearing the English vessels, that were crusing (sic) thereabouts to meet us. This River<sup>11</sup> Ras is of a current very strong and rapid, which rowling (sic) over many Rocks, disgorgeth it self into the Sea<sup>12</sup>, on the coast of France, in the latitude of eight and forty degrees, and ten minutes. For which reason this passage<sup>13</sup> is very dangerous; all the Rocks as yet, being not thoroughly known.

Here I shall not omit to mention the ceremony, which at this passage, and some other places, is used by the Mariners, and by them called *Baptism*, altho it may seem, either little to our purpose, or of no use. The

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<sup>1</sup> Le Havre

<sup>2</sup> Pointe de Barfleur (Cherbourg Peninsula)

<sup>3</sup> Dieppe

<sup>4</sup> Turtle Island (not to be confused with an island of the same name off Venezuela)

<sup>5</sup> Sixty Guns

<sup>6</sup> Ile d'Ornay (Aurigny / Alderney ???, Northernmost of the Channel Islands)

<sup>7</sup> National Flag.

<sup>8</sup> *Ile d'Ouessant* (Ushant) via the Channel du Four.

<sup>9</sup> *Ras de Fontaneau* (Ras du Seine ?)

<sup>10</sup> *Les Sorlingues* ( ?)

<sup>11</sup> River Ras, perhaps describes the 'Race' (likened to a river)

<sup>12</sup> Lat.48.10 (Channel du Four, off **Le Conquet**)

<sup>13</sup> Channel du Four.

Masters Mate cloathed (sic) himself with a ridiculous sort of garment that reached unto his feet, and on his head he put a sutable (sic) Cap, which was made very burlesque. In his right hand he placed a naked wooden sword; and, in his left, a pot full of ink. His face was horribly blackt with soot, and his neck adorn'd with a Collar of many little pieces of wood. Being thus apparell'd he commanded to be call'd before him every one of them, who never had passed that dangerous place before; and then causing them to kneel down in his presence, he made the sign of the cross on their foreheads, with ink; and gave each one a stroke on the shoulders with his wooden sword. Mean while the standers by did cast a Bucket of water, upon every mans' head; and this was the conclusion of the ceremony. But, that being ended, every one of the Baptised, is obliged to give a Bottle of Brandy for his offering; placing it nigh (near) the main Mast, and without speaking a word; even those, who have no such liquor, being not excused from this performance. In case the Vessel never passed that way before, the Captain is obliged to distribute some Wine among the Mariners, and other people, in the Ship. But, as for other gifts, which the newly baptized do frequently offer, they are divided among the old Sea-men; and of them, they make a Banquet, among themselves.

The Hollanders likewise do use to baptize such as never passed that way before. And not only at the passage abovementioned, but also at the Rocks called *Berlingues*<sup>1</sup>, nigh the coast of *Portugal*, in the latitude of thirty-nine degrees, and forty minutes, (as being a passage very dangerous, especially by night, when through the obscurity thereof, the Rocks are not distinguishable, by reason the Land is very high,) they use some such ceremony. But, their manner of Baptizing is much distinct from that we have described above, performed by the French. He therefore, that is to be baptized, is fast'ned and hoised (sic) (hoisted) up three times at the main yard's end, as if he were a Criminal. If he be hoised the fourth time, in the name of the *Prince of Orange*, or of the Captain of the Vessel, his honour is more than ordinary. This they are dipped, every one, several times in the main Ocean. But he that is the first dipped, hath the honour of being saluted with a Gun. Such as are not willing to fall, are bound to pay twelve pence, for their ransom: if he be an Officer of the Ship, two shillings: and if a Passenger, according to their pleasure. In case the Ship did never pass that way before, the Captain is bound to give a small *Runlet of Wine*; which if he doth not perform, the Mariners may cut off the Stem of the Vessel. All the profit, which accrueth by this ceremony, is kept by the Masters Mate; who after reaching their Port, doth usually lay it out in wine, which is drank amongst the ancient Seamen. Some will say this ceremony was instituted by the Emperor Charls (sic) the Fifth; however it is not found amongst his Laws. Here I shall leave these customes (sic) of the Sea; and shall return unto our voyage.

Having passed the River Ras<sup>2</sup>, we met with very good weather<sup>3</sup>, until we came to the Cape Finis-Terrae<sup>4</sup>. Here a huge Tempest of wind surprized us, and separated our Ship from the rest, that were in our company. This storm continued for the space of eight days: In the which time it would move compassion to see how miserably the Passengers were tumbled to and fro, on all sides of the Ship; insomuch, as the Mariners, in the performance of their duty, were compell'd to tread upon them every where. This uncouthsom weather being spent, we had again the use of very favourable gales, untill we came unto the *Tropick of Cancer*.

This Tropick is nothing else, but an imaginary circle, which Astrologers have invented in the Heavens; and serveth as a period to the progress of the Sun towards the North-pole. It is placed in the latitude of three and twenty degrees and thirty minutes, under the line. Here we were baptized the second time, after the same manner as before. The French do alwayes perform this Ceremony at this Tropick; as also under the *Tropick of Capricornus*, towards the South. In this part of the World we had very favourable weather, at which we were infinitely gladdened (sic), by reason of our great necessity of water. For at this time, that Element already was so scarce with us, that we were stinted<sup>5</sup> unto two half pints, by man, every day.

Being about the latitude of Barbadas (sic), we met an English Frigat, or Privateer; who first began to give us chase. But finding himself not to exceed in strength, did presently steer away from us. This flight gave us

<sup>1</sup> *Berlenga* (Cabo da Peniche) north-west of Lisbon and south of Oporto.

<sup>2</sup> *Pointe du Raz*, south of the Chenal du Four (and west of Douarnenez)

<sup>3</sup> Crossing Biscay

<sup>4</sup> Cabo **Finisterre** (near Santiago de Compostela)

<sup>5</sup> Limited

occasion to pursue the said Frigat, as we did, shooting at him several Guns, of eight pound carriage. But at length he escaped; and we returned to our course. Not long after we came within sight of the *Isle of Martinica* (sic). Our endeavours were bent unto the coast of the *Isle of St. Peter*. But these were frustrated, by reason of a storm, which took us hereabouts. Hence we resolved to steer to the Island of *Guadalupe* (sic). Yet neither this Island could we reach, by reason of the same storm, and thus we directed our course unto the *Isle of Tortuga*; which was the very same land we were bound unto.

We passed along the coast of the *Isle of Punta Rica*<sup>1</sup>, which is extremely (sic) delicious, and agreeable to the view; as being adorned with beautiful trees and woods, even to the tops of the Mountains. After this we discovered the Island *Hispaniola*<sup>2</sup> (of which I shall give a description in this book) and we coasted about it, until we came to the *Isle of Tortuga*<sup>3</sup>, our desired Port. Here we anchor'd the seventh day of July<sup>4</sup>, in the same year; not having lost one man in the whole Voyage. We unladed the goods that belonged unto the Company of the West Indies; and soon after, the ship was sent to *Cal de Sac*<sup>5</sup>, with some passengers.

## Chap. II

The Island of Tortuga is situated on the North side of the famous and great island, called Hispaniola<sup>6</sup>, nigh unto the Continent thereof, and in the altitude of twenty degrees and thirty minutes. Its just extent is threescore Leagues about. The Spaniards, who gave name unto this island called it so, from the shape of the land, which in some manner resembleth a great *Sea Tortoise*, called by them *Torgua de mar*. The country is very mountainous and full of Rocks, yet notwithstanding hugely thick of lofty trees, that cease not to grow upon the hardest of those Rocks, without partaking of a softer soil. From hence it cometh, that their Roots, for the greatest part, are seen all over, entangled among the Rocks, not unlike unto the branching of Ivy against our Walls. That part of this island, which stretcheth towards the North, is totally disinhabited (sic). The reason is, first, because it hath proved to be very incommodius, and unhealthy: And secondly, for the ruggedness of the coast, that giveth no accesse (sic) unto the Shoar (sic), unless among Rocks, almost inaccessible.

For this cause it is populated only on the Southern part, which hath only *one Port, that may be esteemed indifferently good*. Yet this harbour hath two several entries, or channels, which afford passage unto Ships of seventy Guns; the Port itself being without danger, and capable of receiving a great number of Vessels. That part which is inhabited, is divided into four other parts; of which the first is called the *Low-land, or Low-country*. This is the chiefest (sic), among the rest, because it containeth the Port aforesaid. The Town is called *Cayona*, and here, do live the chiefest, and richest Planters of the Island. The second part is called the *Middle Plantation*. Its Territory, or soil, is hitherto almost new, as being only known to be good for the culture of Tobacco. The third is named *Ringot*. These places are situated towards the Western part of the Island. The fourth, and last, is called *The Mountain*, in which place were made the first plantations, that were cultivated on this island.

As to the Wood, that groweth on the Island, we have already said that the trees are exceeding tall, and pleasing to the sight; whence no man will doubt, but that they may be applied unto several uses, with great benefit. Such is the yellow Saunder, which Tree, by the inhabitants of this Country, is called *Bois de chandel*, or, in English, *Candle-wood*, being it burneth like a Candle, and serveth them with light, while they use their fishery in the Night.

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<sup>1</sup> Puerto Rica

<sup>2</sup> **Hispaniola**, the second largest of the West Indian Islands.

<sup>3</sup> Turtle island. 'Tortuga, former headquarters of the buccaneers.'

<sup>4</sup> 68 days from Le Havre

<sup>5</sup> There is a 'Cul de Sac' in St. Lucia. Cal de Sac was more likely on Tortuga.

<sup>6</sup> Christopher Columbus landed on the North shore (5 Dec 1492) He christened the island "Hispaniola" ("Little Spain").

Here groweth also, *Lignum Sanctum*<sup>1</sup>, by others called *Guaiacum*. Its virtues are very well known; more especially unto them, who observe not the sixth Commandment, and are given to all manner of impure copulations; Physicians (sic) drawing from hence, under several compositions, the greatest antidote, for all Venereal diseases; as also for cold, and viscous humours. The trees, likewise, that afford *Gummi Elemi*, grow here in great abundance. .... Moreover, for the building of Ships, or any other sort of Architecture, here are found several sorts of Timber very convenient.

The Fruits, likewise, which here abundantly grow, are nothing inferior, as to their quantity or quality, unto what the adjacent islands produce. I shall name only some of the most ordinary, and common. Such are *Magniot*, *Potato's*, *Acajou* apples, *Yannas*, *Bacones*, *Paquayes*, *Carosoles*, *Mamayns*, *Ananaes*, and diverse other sorts.

Here grow likewise in huge number those trees called *Palmito's* or *Palmites*, from whence is drawn a certain juyce (sic), which serveth the inhabitants instead of Wine; and whose leaves, do cover their houses, instead of tyles (sic).

In this Island also, which dayly increase, the *Wild-Bore*. [Which, the author states eat, when they can find nothing else, *Radix Chinae*, or *China Root*, 'it is very white and soft.'] The Governour (sic) hath prohibited the hunting of them with dog; fearing, least, the Island being but small, the whole race of those Animals, in short time should be destroy'd. The reason why he thought convenient, to preserve those Wild Beasts, was that in case of any invasion of an external enemy, the inhabitants might sustain themselves, with their food. Especially were they once constrained to retire unto the Woods, and Mountains. By this means he judg'd they were enabled, to maintain any suddain (sic) assault, or long persecution.

At a certain time of the year there resorteth unto this Island of Tortuga huge flocks of Wild Pigeons: At which season the inhabitants feed on them very plentifully, having more than they can consume, and leaving totally to their repose all other sorts of Fowl, both Wild and Tame, to the intent, that in the absence of the Pigeons, these may supply their place. .... About the Sea shoars (sic), everywhere are found great multitudes of Crabs, belonging both to the land and the Sea; and have both sorts very big. These are good to feed Servants and Slaves, who find them very pleasing to the pallat (sic), yet withall (sic), very hurtful to the sight. [ugly]. Besides which symptom, being eaten too often, they also cause great giddiness in the head, with much weakness of the Brain, insomuch, that very frequently they are deprived of Sight for the space of one quarter of an hour.

The French having established themselves in the *Isle of St. Christopher*<sup>2</sup>, planted there a sort of Trees, of which at present, there possibly may be greater quantities. With the Timber of those trees they made *Long-boats*, and *Hoy's*<sup>3</sup>, which they sent from thence Westward being well man'd and victualled, to discover other Islands.

.. (account relates) .. the French, from St. Christopher's landed on Hispaniola, finding huge quantities of Cattle, cows, bulls, horses, wild-bores, 'But finding no great profit in those animals unless they could enclose them, and knowing, likewise the Island to be pretty well Peopled by the Spaniards, they thought it convenient to enterprize upon and seize the Island of Tortuga. This they performed without any difficulty, there being on the Island, no more than ten or twelve Spaniards to guard it. These few men let the French come in peaceably, and possess the Island, for the space of six months without any trouble. In the mean time they passed, and repassed with their *Canows*<sup>4</sup> unto *Hispaniola* from whence they transported many people, and at last began to plant the whole Isle of *Tortuga*.'

The few Spaniards remaining there, perceiving the French to encrease their number dayly began at last to repine<sup>5</sup> at their prosperity, and grudge them the possession they had freely given. Hence they gave notice

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<sup>1</sup> ?

<sup>2</sup> St. Kitts

<sup>3</sup> 'Hoy' - Dutch name for a small vessel.

<sup>4</sup> Canoes

<sup>5</sup> Repine – be discontented, complain

unto others, of their own Nation, their Neighbours, who sent several great Boats well arm'd and man'd, to dispossess the French of that Island.

This expedition succeeded according to their desires. (The French) .. fled unto the Woods, and hence by night wafted over with *Canows*, unto the Island of *Hispaniola*. This they more easily performed as having no Women or Children with the, nor any great substance to carry away. Here they also retired into the Woods, both to seek themselves food, and from thence with secrecy, to give intelligence unto others, of their own faction; as judging for certain, that within a little while, they should be in a capacity to hinder the Spaniards, from fortifying in Tortuga.

Mean while the Spaniards of the greater Island (*Hispaniola*) ceased not to seek after their new guests the French, with intent to root them out of the Woods, if possible, or cause them to perish with hunger. But their design soon failed, having found that *the French were masters of good Guns, Powder, and Bullets*.

(The French awaited the return of the Spaniards from Tortuga) 'Whence they returned to Tortuga, and dispossessed the small number of Spaniards that remained 'at home'. Having done so, they fortified themselves, the best they could, thereby to prevent the return of the Spaniards. Moreover, they sent immediately unto the Governour of St. Christopher's, craving his aid and relied, and demanding of him, to send them a Governour, the better to be united among themselves, and strengthened on all occasions.

The Governour of St. Christopher's received their petition with expressions of much satisfaction, and without any delay, sent them Monsieur le Passeur in quality of a Governour; together with a ship full of men, and all other things necessary for their establishment and defence.

No sooner had they received this recruit, but the Governour commanded a fortress to be built upon the top of a high Rock; from whence he could hinder the access of any Ships or any other Vessels that should design to enter the Port. (Two guns were mounted there). Within the fort gusheth out a plentiful Fountain of fresh Water, which perpetually runneth with a pure and Crystalline Stream; sufficient to refresh a Garrison of a Thousand Men.

Being possessed of these conveniences, and the security these things might promise, the French began to people the island, and each of them to seek their living; some by the exercise of hunting, others by planting *Tobacco*, and others by *cruising and robbing, upon the coasts of the Spanish Islands*; which trade is continued unto this day<sup>1</sup>.

The Spaniards, fearing least in time they might by them be dispossessed also of *Hispaniola*, taking an opportunity (when many of the French were abroad at Sea, and others employ'd in hunting) with 800 men in several *Canows*, they landed again in *Tortuga*, almost without being perceived by the French. But finding that the Governour had cut down many Trees, for the better discovery of an Enemy, in case of any assault; as also that nothing of consequence could be done without great Guns, they consulted upon the fittest place for raising a Battery.

This place was soon concluded, to be the Top of a Mountain, which was in sight seeing that from thence alone, they could level their Guns at the Fort, which now did lie open to them, since the cutting down of the Trees. Hence they resolved, to open a way, for carriage of some pieces of Ordnance to the Top.

This Mountain is somewhat high, and the upper part thereof plain, from whence the whole Island may be viewed. The sides are very rugged, so that the ascent was very difficult, and would always have been the same, had not the Spaniards undergone the immense Labour, and Toil of making the way aforementioned, as I shall now relate.

The Spaniards had in their company many *Slaves and Indians, labouring Men*, whom they call *Metates*, or in English, *half yellow Men*. Unto these they gave orders, with Iron Tools, to dig a way through the Rocks.

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<sup>1</sup> 'this day' refers to c.1666-72

This they performed with the greatest speed imaginable, and by the help of many Ropes and Pulleys they at last, made shift to get up two Sole Cannon pieces. Wherewith they made a Battery, and intended next day to batter the Fort.

Meanwhile the French were not ignorant of these designs, but rather prepared themselves for a defence, sending notice everywhere to their companions, and requiring their help. Thus the Hunters of the Island, all joyned together, and with them the Pirats, who were not already too far from home. These landed by night at Tortuga, least they should be seen by the Spaniards, and under the same obscurity of the night, they all together by a back way climbed up the Mountain, where the Spaniards were posted: They came thither at the very instant that the Spaniards, who were above, were preparing to shoot at the Fort, not knowing in the least of their coming.

Here they set upon them at their backs, with such fury, as forced the greater part to precipitate themselves from the top to the bottom, and dash their Bodys in pieces. Few or none escaped this attacque, for if any remained alive, they were all put to the Sword, without giving quarter to the meanest. Some Spaniards did still keep to the bottom of the Mountain, but these hearing the Shreek's and crys of them, that were kill'd, and believing some tragical revolution to be above, fled immediately towards the Sea, despairing, through this accident, to ever regain the Isle of Tortuga.

The Governours of this Island did always behave themselves, as proprietors and absolute Lords thereof until the year 1664. At which time the West India Company of France took possession thereof, and sent thither for their Governour, Monsieur Ogeron.

These planted the colony for themselves, by means of their *Factors and Servants*, thinking to drive some considerable trade from thence, *with the Spaniards, even as the Hollanders do from Curacao*. But this design did not answer their expectation, for with other Nations they could drive no trade, by (this) reason they could not establish any secure commerce from the beginning with their own (people).

Forasmuch, as the first institution of this Company in France, they made an agreement with the Pirats, Hunters and Planters, first possessors of Tortuga, they should buy all their necessaries from the said company, taking them upon trust. And although this agreement was put in execution, yet the Factors of the Company, soon after found that they could not recover either Monys, or returns, from those People. Insomuch as they were constrained to bring some armed men into the Island, in behalf of the Company, to get in some of their payments.

Neither this endeavour, nor any other could prevail towards the settling a secure trade with those of the Island. And hereupon the Company recalled their Factors, [agents] giving them orders to sell all that was their own, in the said Plantation, both the Servants belonging to the Company (which were sold, some for twenty, others for thirty, pieces of eight) as also, all other Merchandizes, and properties which they had there. With this resolution all their designs fell to the ground.

On this occasion I was also sold, as being a Servant under the said Company; in whose service I came out of France. But my fortune was very bad, for I fell into the hands of the most cruel Tyrant, and perfidious man, that ever was born of Woman; who was then Governour, or rather Lieutenant General of that Island. This man did treat me with all the hard uses imaginable; yea with that of hunger, with which I thought to have perished inevitably.

Withal **he was willing to let me buy my freedom, and liberty; but not under the rate of 300 pieces of eight**, I not being the Master of one at that time, in the whole World. At last through the manifold miseries I endures, as also the affliction of mind, I was thrown into a dangerous fit of Sickness. This misfortune, being added to the rest of my calamities, was the cause of my happiness. For my wicked Master, seeing my condition, began to fear, lest he should lose his monies with my Life. Hereupon **he sold me the second time, into a Chirurgion<sup>1</sup>, for the price of 70 pieces of eight.**

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<sup>1</sup> Surgeon

Being in the hands of this second master, I began soon after to recover my health, through the good usage I received from him, as being much more humane, and civil, than that of my first *Patron*<sup>1</sup>. He have me both Cloaths and very good food, and after that I had served him but one year, **he offered me my liberty; with this only condition, that I should pay him 100 pieces of eight, when I was in the Capacity of Wealth so to do.** Which kind proposal of his, I could not choose but accept with infinite Joy, and gratitude of mind.

Not knowing how to get my living, **I determined to enter into the wicked Order of the Pirates, or Robbers at Sea.** Into this *Society*, I was received, with common consent both of the Superior, and Vulgar sort, and among them I continued until the year **1672**. Having assisted them in all their designs, and having served them in many notable exploits, of which hereafter, I shall give the reader a true account, I returned unto my own Native Country.

But before I begin to relate the things above mentioned, I shall say something, for the satisfaction of such as are curious, of the *Island of Hispaniola*, which lyeth towards the Western parts of America, as also give my reader a brief description thereof, according to my slender ability, and experience.

### CHAP. III

The very large and rich Island called *Hispaniola*, lieth in the altitude of seventeen degrees, and an half. The greatest part thereof extendeth from East to West, twenty degrees, Southern latitude. The circumference is of 300 Leagues; the length 120, its breadth almost 50<sup>2</sup>; being more or less broad or narrow, at certain places (!).

I shall not need here to insert, how this Island was first discovered; it being known unto the World, that it was performed by the means of *Christopher Columbus*<sup>3</sup>, in the year 1492, being sent, unto this purpose, by *FERDINAND*, the *Catholick*, then King of Spain. From which time, unto this present, the Spanish have been continually possessors thereof<sup>4</sup>.

There be upon this Island, many very good and strong Cities, Towns and Hamlets; as also it aboundeth in a great number of pleasant, and delicious, Country Houses and Plantations: All which are owing unto the care, and industry, of the Spaniards, its inhabitants.

The chief city, and Metropolis of this Island is called *Santo Domingo*<sup>5</sup>; being dedicated under *St. Dominick*, from whom it deriveth this name. It is situated towards the South, in a place which affordeth a most excellent prospect. The Country round about<sup>6</sup> being embellished with numerable rich Plantations, as also verdant Meadows and fruitful Gardens; all which do produce plenty, and variety of excellent and pleasant fruits. The Governour of the Island maketh his residence<sup>7</sup> in this City; which is as it were, the Store house of

<sup>1</sup> Protector and Owner.

<sup>2</sup> (Numbers substituted for text)

<sup>3</sup> Columbus died in Spain at Valladolid on 20 May 1506. He was first buried at Valladolid, but his body was afterwards removed to Seville, where his son Diego was also buried later. In 1542 the bones of father and son were removed to a tomb in the Cathedral of Santo Domingo, (Hispaniola), near to the high altar. He had asked before he died that he should be buried on that island.

His epitaph, attributed to King Ferdinand, does him no more than justice; Por Castilla y por Leon Nuevo Mundo Hallo Colon (For Castile and Leon, Columbus found a New World.. There is an alternative rendering " A Castilla y a Leon Nuevo Mundo Dio Colon" - To Castile and Leon, Columbus gave a New World.

<sup>4</sup> (Later, the English, then the French, followed by the Spanish reigned in succession over the whole island, until the Dominicans broke their bondage in the proclamation of the Republic on 24th February, 1844)

<sup>5</sup> In 1498, Christopher's brother, Bartholemew Columbus, founded Santo Domingo de Guzman, and settled in the town with his wife, a niece of the King of Spain, Ferdinand D'Aragon.

<sup>6</sup> Seemingly accessible to visiting Pirates!

<sup>7</sup> In 1509, Don Diego Columbus left (Spain) for Hispaniola to assume the government, accompanied by his wife, his uncles Bartholomew and Diego, and his brother Fernando, with a large retinue of well-born men and women and the Court set up by the "Viceroy" was of a splendour hitherto unknown in the island.

all the other cities, Towns and Villages, which from hence do export and provide themselves with all necessaries for human life.

Another City of this Island, is named *San Tiago, or in English, St. James*, as being consecrated unto the Apostle of that name<sup>1</sup>. This is an open place, without either Walls or Castle; *situated in the altitude of nineteen degrees of Southern latitude*.

The greatest part of the inhabitants thereof are Hunters and Planters; the adjacent territory, and soil, being very proper for the said exercises of its constitution. The City is surrounded with large and delicious Fields, as pleasing to the view as those of Santo Domingo: And these abound with all sorts of Beasts, both Wild and Tame; from whence are taken an huge number of *Skins and Hides*, that afford unto the Owners, a very considerable *traffick*.

Towards the Southern parts of this Island is seen another City called *Nuestra Sennora de Alta Gracia*<sup>2</sup>. The territory hereof produceth great quantities of *Cacao*, which occasioneth the inhabitants to make great store of the richest sort of *Chocolat*. Here groweth also much *Ginger* and *Tobacco*, and much *Tallow*<sup>3</sup> is prepared of the Beasts, which hereabouts are hunted.

The inhabitants of this beautiful Island of *Hispaniola*, often go, and come in their *Canows*, unto the *Isle of Savona*, not far distant from thence, where is their chief fishery; especially of *Tortoises*. Hither those Fish do constantly resort in huge multitudes, at certain seasons of the year, there to lay their eggs, burying them in the sands of the Shore. Thus by the heat of the Sun, which in those parts is very ardent, they are hatched, and continue the Propagation of their Species. This Island of *Savona* (is) extremely barren, by reason of its sandy soil. True, there groweth some small quantity of *Lignum Sandium*, or *Guajacum*; of whose use we have already (spoken).

Westwards of the City of *Santo Domingo* is also situated another great village, *El Pueblo de Aso*, or the Town of Aso, (with) great commerce and traffick with another village which is placed in the very middle of the Island, called *San Juan de Goave*, or St. John the Goave [giver?]. This place is environed with a magnificent prospect of Gardens, Woods and Meadows. Its territory extendeth about twenty Leagues in length; and grazeth a huge number of Wild Bulls, and Cows. In this village scarce dwell any others than *Hunters* and *Butchers*; who slay the beasts that are killed. From the said village are exported yearly, vast quantities of Tallow and Hides, they exercising no other traffick, nor toil, for as to the lands in this place, they are not cultivated, by reason of the excessive dryness of the soil.

These are for the most part a mongrel sort of people of several Bloods<sup>4</sup>. Some of which are born of white European people and Negros, and these are called *Mulatos*. Others are born of Indians, and white people, and such are termed *Mesticos*. But others are begotten of Negros and Indians, and these also have their peculiar name, being called *Alcatraces*.

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<sup>1</sup> Saint James, reputed to have been laid to rest at Santiago de Compostela, near Corunna. (Spain)

<sup>2</sup> 'TRANSLATION? –“new lady of the old style?”

<sup>3</sup> Melted animal fat, used for candles. (and for waterproofing materials)

<sup>4</sup> In 1502, Bartholomew' de las Casa, (1474-1566) who had accompanied his father in one of the ships which formed the fleet of Columbus on his third voyage, arrived in Hispaniola where he was ordained a priest. In 1511 he went to Cuba, and was present at the massacre of the Arawaks at Caonas, which he tried in vain to stop. In 1515, he went to Spain to plead the cause of the Indians before the King, and it was at this time that he suggested the employment of a small number of Negro slaves instead of Indians. (many Negro slaves were already in the West Indies by then, - he was not responsible for the existence of Negro slavery in the West Indies.) In 1521 he failed in an attempt to found a colony on the mainland (South America, "Spanish Main"), in which no Indians were to be enslaved, but a few Negro slaves were to be permitted. In 1522 he became a Dominican monk and remained in the monastery of Santo Domingo for 8 years, later going to Central America as a missionary. In 1544 he became Bishop of Chips, where his zeal of protecting the Indians of his diocese and his refusal of absolution to the owners of Indian slaves made him very unpopular, and in 1547 he resigned his bishopric and returned to Spain. When in Cuba, he himself had been refused absolution because he owned Arawak slaves, and the Pope in 1538 pronounced sentence of excommunication against all who enslaved Indians. (The rebellion of the slaves in 1791, resulted in slavery being abolished in 1793.)

These are the chiefest places that the Spaniards possess in this Island<sup>1</sup>, from the *Cape of Lobos*, towards *St. John de Goave*, unto the *Cape of Samana*, nigh the Sea, on the North side; and from the Eastern part, towards the Sea, called *Punta de Espada*. All the rest of the Island is possessed by the French<sup>2</sup>, who are also Planters and Hunters.

This Island hath very good Ports for ships from the *Cape of Lobos*, to the *Cape of Tiburon* there be no less than four Ports, which exceed in goodness, largeness and security, even the very best of England. Besides these, from the *Cape of Tiburon* unto the *Cape of Donna Maria*, there be two very excellent Ports, and from this Cape unto the *Cape of St. Nicole*, there be no less than twelve others. Every one of these Ports, hath also the confluence of two or three good Rivers, in which are found several sorts of Fish, very pleasing to the palate; and also in great plenty.

This Island was formerly very well peopled<sup>3</sup>, on the North side thereof, with many Towns and Villages. But these being ruined by the Hollanders, were at last, for the greatest part deserted by the Spanish.

#### CHAP. IV Summary of the Fruit, Trees and Animals that are found on *Hispaniola*.

The spacious fields of this Island do commonly extend themselves to the length of five or six leagues<sup>4</sup>(15-18 miles). The beauty, together with the great variety of their natural productions, is so pleasing to the Eye; they infinitely applaud and captivate the senses of the Date Trees contemplator.

Oranges and Lemons: Here growing both sweet and sower (sic) and those that participate of both tastes, and are only pleasantly tartish. Besides which grow several other sorts of the same fruit, such as are called *Citrons*, *Toronjas* and *Limas*; in English not improperly called *Crab-Lemons*. True is that as to the Lemons; they exceed not here the bigness of an Hens egg; which smallness distinguishes them, from those if Spain most frequently used in these our Northern Countries (in Europe)

The Date Trees<sup>5</sup>, which are here seen to cover the whole extent of very spacious plains, are exceedingly tall in their proportion; which notwithstanding doth not offend, but rather delight the view. Their high is observed to be from 150 to 200 feet; being wholly destitute of branches until the very tops. Here it is, there groweth a certain pleasant white substance not unlike that of white cabbage, from whence the Branches, and leaves do sprout, and in which also the seeds, or Dates, are contained. Every month one of those branches falleth to the ground, and at the same time, another sprouteth out. But the Seed ripeneth not, but once in the year. The Dates are food extremely coveted by the *Hedge-Hogs*. The white substance, growing at the top of the Tree, is used by the Spaniards, after the same manner, for common sustenance, as Cabbage in Europe; they cutting it into slices, and boyling (sic) it in their *Ollas*, with all sorts of meat.

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<sup>1</sup> The island of Hispaniola was already divided, becoming two distinct Republics. The (Spanish) Dominican Republic occupying two thirds of the island (18,000 sq. miles), and (French) Haiti, to the East. Cap Francais was renamed **Cap Haitien, (19.46 N. 72.12 W), founded in 1670 by French buccaneers from Turtle Island (Tortuga)**

<sup>2</sup> Jean-Jacques **Dessalines** proclaimed the independence of Haiti ("Mountainous Land") in January 1st, 1804. Following this came the assignation of Madame Dessalines, then the conflict between north and south between Henri Christophe, (King Henri 1, born a slave, who ruled the north 1804-1820), and the republican, Alexander Petion Later, **in 1844, Haiti became the first (and only) French-speaking Black Republic in all America.**

<sup>3</sup> In 1545 the island inhabitants numbered a mere 10,000.

In 1591, in **Sir Walter Raleigh's** account of the last fight of the *Revenge*, referring to Spanish cruelty he wrote: "*When as in one lonely Island called Hispaniola, they have wasted thirty hundred thousand of the natural people, besides many millions else in other places of the Indies: a poore and harmless people created of God.*"

(such numbers are hard to reconcile – and evidence, supporting or otherwise, would be appreciated. (1684 Editor.)

<sup>4</sup> One league = 3 miles (approx 4.8 Km.)

<sup>5</sup> Palm Trees

*The leaves* of this sort of *Date Tree* are seven or eight foot in length, and three or four in breadth; being *very fit to cover houses* withal. For they defend from Rain, equally with the best Tiles, though never so rudely huddl'd together. They make use of them also to wrap up smoked flesh<sup>1</sup> withal; and to make a certain sort of *Buckets*<sup>2</sup>, wherewith to carry water; though no longer durable than the space of six, seven or eight days.

The bodies of these Trees are of an huge bulk or thickness, which two men can hardly compass with their arms, and yet they cannot properly be termed Woody, but only three or four inches deep in thickness; all the rest of the internal part being very soft. Insomuch as paring off those three or four inches of woody substance, the remaining part of the body, may be sliced like unto new Cheese. They wound them three or four feet above the Root, and making an incision, or broach in the body; **from thence gently distilleth a sort of Liquor, which in short time, by fermentation, becometh as strong as the richest wine, and doth easily inebriate, if not used with Moderation**<sup>3</sup>. The French call this sort of Palm-trees, *Frank-Palms*, and they only grow, both here and elsewhere, in saltish grounds.

There be also in *Hispaniola* four other species of Palms, which are distinguished by the names of *Latanier*, *Palma Espinola* (or Prickle-palm), *Palma a chapelet* (or Rosary-palm), *Palma-Vinosa* (or Wine-palm).

The *Latanier-palm* is not so tall as the Wine-palm, although it hath almost the same shape, only that the leaves are very like the Fans our Women use. They grow mostly in gravelly and sandy ground, the body hath many prickles or thorns, of the length of half a foot, very sharp and pungent, it produceth its seed after the same manner, which likewise serveth for food unto the Wild Beasts.

The *Prickle-palm*, by reason it is so infinitely full of prickles (which) some of *the Indians use to torment their prisoners at War, whom they take in battel*. (sic). They tie [tie] them unto trees, and taking these thorns, they put them into little pellets of cotton, which they dip in oyl [oil], and thus stick them in the side of the miserable prisoners, **as thick as the brizles of an hedge hog; which of necessity cause an incredible torment unto the Patient**. Afterwards they set them on Fire, and if the tormented Prisoner singeth in the midst of his torments and flames, he is esteemed as a valiant and courageous soldier (sic), who neither feareth his Enemies, nor their torments. But, if on the contrary, he cryeth out, they esteem him but as a *Poltron*<sup>4</sup> or Coward, and unworthy of any memory. This custom was told me by an Indian who said he had used his enemies thus oftentimes. The like cruelties many Christians have seen, while they lived among those barbarians.

But returning to the *Prickle-palm*, (it) is only different from the *Latanier*, (in) that the leaves are like those of the *Frank-palm*. Its seed is like that of the other palm-trees, being only much bigger and rounder, almost as a farthing, and inwardly full of little kernels, which are as pleasing to the taste as our Walnuts in Europe. This tree groweth for the most part in the Marshes, and low grounds of the Sea-coast.

The *Wine-palm* is so called from the abundance of Wine, which is gathered from hence. It groweth in high and rocky Mountains, not exceeding in tallness the height (sic) of forty or fifty foot: But yet of an extraordinary shape or form. For from the root, unto the half of its proportion, is only three or four inches thick. But upwards something above two thirds of its high, it is as big, and thick, as an ordinary bucket or Milk Pail.

Within it is full of a certain matter, very like unto the tender stalk of a white cabbage, which is very juicy of a liquor that is much pleasing to the palate. This liquor after fermentation, and settling of the grounds, *reduceth* it self into **a very good and clear wine**, which is purchased with no great industry. For having wounded the tree with an ordinary hatchet, they make a square incision or orifice, in it, through which they bruise the said matter, until it be capable of being squeezed out, or expressed with the hands, they needing no other instruments than this.

<sup>1</sup> Implies preserving food by smoking (meat) as opposed to sun-dried 'flesh' (whether meat or fish)

<sup>2</sup> 'Buckets' could also have been made of wood or leather.

<sup>3</sup> 'Palm-wine or liquor' – other references sought (Ed.)

<sup>4</sup> 'Poltroon' – a coward.

**With the leaves they make certain vessels, not only to settle and purify the liquor, but also to drink in.**

It beareth its fruit like unto other palms; but of a very small shape, being not unlike unto Cherries. The taste hereof is very good; but of dangerous consequence unto the throat, where it causeth huge and extreme pains, that produce **malignant Quinzies** in them that eat it.

The *Palm a Chapelet, or Rosary-palm*, was thus called both by the French and Spaniards, because *its seed is very fit to make Rosaries<sup>1</sup> or Beads, to say prayers upon*, the beads being small, hard, and capable of being easily bored<sup>2</sup> for that use.

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

The trees called *Caremites*, are very unlike our Pear-trees, whose fruits resemble much our *Damascene plums or Pruants<sup>3</sup>* of Europe, being of a very pleasant taste, and almost as sweet as milk. This fruit is black on the inside, and the Kernals thereof, sometimes only two in number, sometimes three, others five; of the bigness of a *Lupine*. This plum affordeth no less pleasant food unto the wild-Bores, than the Apricotts abovementioned, only that is not so commonly to be found upon the Island, nor in such quantity.

The *Genipa-trees<sup>4</sup>* [Juniper?] are seen every where, all over this Island, being very like unto our Cherry-trees, although it's branches are more dilated. *The fruit is of an ash-colour, of the bigness of two fists, which interiourly, is full of many prickles*, or points, that are involved under a thin membran (sic), or skin; the which, if not taken away (removed) at the time of eating, causeth great obstructions, and gripings of the belly. *Before this fruit groweth ripe, if pressed, it affordeth a juice, as black as ink, being fit to write withal upon paper. But the letters disappear within the space of nine days, the paper remaining white, as if it never had been written upon.* The Wood of this tree is very strong, solid and hard, good to build ships<sup>5</sup> withal, seeing it is observed, to last many years in the water, without putrifaction.

...*Cedars<sup>6</sup>*, which this part of the world produceth in prodigious quantity. The French Nation call them *Acajou<sup>7</sup>*: and they find them very useful for the building of Ships or *Canows*. These *Canows* are like unto little *wherry-boats*, being made of one only tree, excavated, and fitted for the Sea. They are withal so swift, as for that very property, they may be called '**Neptunes post-horse<sup>8</sup>**'.

The *Indians make these Canows without the use of any iron instruments; by only burning the trees*, at the bottom, nigh unto the root; and afterwards governing the fire with such industry, as nothing is burnt more than they would have. Some of them have hatchets, made of flint, wherewith they scrape, or pare off, whatever was burnt too far. Thus by the sole instrument of fire, they know how to give them that shape, which rendereth them capable of Navigating threescore, or fourscore leagues<sup>8</sup>, with ordinary security.

As to Medicinal productions, here is to be found the tree that affordeth, the *Gum Elemi<sup>9</sup>*, used in our Apothecaries Shops. Likewise, *Guaiacum or Lignum Sanctum; Lignum Aloes<sup>10</sup> or Aloe-wood, Cassia*

<sup>1</sup> 'Rosary' – a string of beads used by Catholics to count prayers.

<sup>2</sup> Pierced, to string the rosary beads.

<sup>3</sup> Damsons, or, Prunes.

<sup>4</sup> IDENTIFY and seek references to Genipa-ink' (Ed.)

<sup>5</sup> Implies the Genipa-tree is of considerable size, yielding usable timber.

<sup>6</sup> 'Cedar' – a coniferous evergreen tree yielding timber yellowish in colour and of fine uniform texture.

<sup>7</sup> 'Acajou' – also defined as a Cashew (nut tree)

<sup>8</sup> 180-240 miles.

<sup>9</sup> 'Elemi' – a type of resin used in ointments and varnish (Gum, a sticky substance exuded by certain trees)

<sup>10</sup> 'Aloe' - a genus of plants with spikes of flowers and bitter juice;  
(med) - a purgative drug obtained from the juice of Aloes.

*Lignea*, China-roots, with several others. The tree *Mapou*, besides that which is medicinal, is also used for making of Canows, as being very thick. Yet it is much inferior unto the Acajou, or Cedar as being something spongy, whereby it sucketh in much water, which rendreth it dangerous in Navigation. The tree called *Acoma* hath **its wood very hard and heavy**, of the colour of Palm. **These qualities render it very fit to make Oars for the Sugar-mils** (sic).

Here also in great quantities, *Brasilete, or Brasil-wood*<sup>1</sup>, and that which the Spaniards call *Mancanilla*. **Brasil wood is now very well known in the Provinces of Holland and the Low Countries**. By another name it is called, by the Spaniards, *Lenna de Peje palo*. **It serveth only or chiefly, for dying**, and what belongeth to that trade. It groweth abundantly along the sea coasts of this Island, especially in two places, called Jacmel<sup>2</sup> and Jaquina. These are two commodious Ports or Bays; capable of receiving Ships of the greatest bulk.

The tree called *Mancanilla, or Dwarf-apple-tree*, groweth nigh unto the Sea Shoar; being naturally so low that its branches do always touch the water. It beareth a fruit something like our sweet scented apples; which notwithstanding is of a very venomous quality. For the apples being eaten by any person, he instantly changeth colour, and such a huge thirst doth seize him as all the water of the Thames cannot extinguish, he dying raving-mad within a little while after. But what is more the fish that eat, as it often happeneth, of this fruit, are also poysonous (sic). This tree affordeth also liquor, both thick and white; like unto the Fig-tree; which if touched by the hand, raiseth blisters upon the skin, so red in colour, as if it had been scalded with hot water.

One day, being hugely tormented with *Mosquitos or gnats*, and as yet unacquainted with the nature of this tree, I cut a branch thereof, to serve me instead of a fan; but my face swelled the next day, and filled with blisters, as if it was burnt to such a degree, that I was blind for three days.

*Ycao*<sup>3</sup> is the name of another tree, so called by the Spaniards, which groweth by the side of Rivers. This beareth a certain fruit, not unlike our *bullice, or damson (sic) plums*<sup>4</sup>. This food is extreemly coveted by the wild boar\*, when at its perfect maturity; with which they fatten as much as our hogs, with the sweetest acorn's of Spain. These trees love sandy ground, yet are so low, that their branches being very large, they take up a great circumference, almost couched upon the ground.

The trees named *Abelcoses* bare [bear] fruit of like colour, with the Ycaos, but of the bigness of Melons; the seeds or kernals, being as big as eggs. The substance of this fruit is yellow, and of a pleasant taste; which **the poorest, among the French, do eat, instead of bread; the wild-Bore\* (sic) not caring at all for this fruit**. These trees grow very tall, and thick; being somewhat like our largest sort of Pear-trees.

As to the Insects which this Island produceth, I shall only take notice of three sorts of Flies, which excessively torment all human bodies; but more frequently such as never before, or but a little while, were recently acquainted with these Countries.<sup>5</sup>

The first sort is as big as our common Horse-flies in Europe. Darting themselves upon men's bodies, do there stick, and such their blood till they can no longer flie (sic). Their importunity<sup>6</sup> obligeth to make almost continual use of branches of trees, wherewith to fan them away. The Spaniards call them *Mosquito's or Gnats*; but the French give them the name of *Maranguines*.

The second sort of these is no bigger than a grain of sand. These make no buzzing sound, as the precedent species doth; for which reason is less avoidable, as being able also, through its smallness, to penetrate the

<sup>1</sup> 'Brazilwood' – a hard reddish wood yielding red and orange dyes.

<sup>2</sup> South coast of Haiti (Lat. 18N Long 72 W)

<sup>3</sup> 'Ycao' may be spelt 'Jcao' (Ed.)

<sup>4</sup> Aforementioned *Damascene plums or Pruants*. [*Damsons* are referred to by the Greeks 500 BC (Damascus)]

<sup>5</sup> Newcomers to the West Indies were vulnerable to Tropical diseases spread by Mosquitos etc.

<sup>6</sup> Pestering, persistant behaviour.

finest linnen, or cloth. **The Hunters are forced to anoint their faces, with Hogs-greece [fat], thereby to defend themselves from the stings of these little animals.** By night, in their Huts, or Cottages, they constantly, for the same purpose, burn the leaves of Tobacco, without which smoke they were not able to rest. True it is, that in the day time they are not very troublesome, in case any wind be stirring .. [which] causeth them to dissipate.

The Gnats of the third species, [which] the Spanish call *Rojados* and the French, *Calarodes*, exceed not the bigness of a grain of Mustard. Their colour is red. These sting not at all, but do bite so sharply upon the flesh as to create little ulcers therein. From whence it often cometh that the face swelleth, and is rendered hideous to the view, through this inconvenience. These are chiefly troublesome by day, even from the beginning of the morning until Sun-setting; after which time, they take up their rest, and permit humane (sic) bodies to do the same.

Esquemeling refers to the insects found on Hispaniola: *Cochinillas (Glow-worms)* – they have two little specks on their heads, which by night give so much light .. I had at once, three in my cottage which continueth there until past midnight, shining so bright, that without any other light, I could easily read in any Book, although never so small a print. [He attempted to bring some of them to Europe.] “but as soon as they came into a colder climate, they dyed by the way. Spaniards call them *Moscas de fuego*, that is to say, *Fire-flies*”. .....

There be also an excessive number of *Grillones*, or crickets, these are of an extraordinary magnitude, if compared unto ours; and so full of noise, that they are ready to burst themselves with singing, if any person cometh near them. Here there is no lesser number of reptiles, such as serpents are. But by a particular providence of the creator, they have no poyson. Neither do they any harm other than catch fowl, especially Pullets<sup>1</sup>, Pigeons and others of this kind. Oftimes they are useful in houses to cleanse them of Rats and Mice, for with great cunning, they counterfeit (imitate) their Shreeks; and hereby both deceive and catch them at their pleasure.

Also, *Cazadores de Moscas* (Fly-catchers), [which] benefit inhabitants, seeing it consumeth by its continual exercise of hunting the vexatious and troublesome flies. *Land-Tortoises*, which breed in mud, the inhabitants eat them, and testifie they are very good food. But, a sort of *Spider* which is here found is very hideous. They are as big as an ordinary egg; and their feet as long as the biggest Sea-crabs. Withal they are very hairy; and have four black teeth, like unto those of a Rabbet, both in bigness [size] and shape. Notwithstanding their bitings are not very venomous; although they can bite very sharp, and do use it very commonly. They breed for the most part in the roofs of houses.

This Island also is not free from the Insect called in Latin *Millepes*, and in Greek *Scolopendria*, or Many-feet. (Note <sup>2</sup>) Neither is it void of *Scorpions*, yet by the providence of nature, though they cease not to bite, yet their wounds require not the application of any medicament for their cure, although their bitings cause some inflammation and swelling at the beginning, these symptoms disappear of their own accord. Thus, in the whole circumference of Hispaniola, (there are) no Animals found that produceth the least harm with its venom.

I shall not omit to say something of that terrible Beast, called *Cayman*<sup>3</sup>. This is a certain species of *Crocodrile* (sic), wherewith this island very plentiful aboundeth, some to be of a corpulency<sup>4</sup>, Certain it is, that such have been seen, as had no less that threescore and ten feet (70 feet) in length, and twelve in breadth. More marvellous than their bulk, is their cunning and subtilty. (sic). Being hungry, they place themselves night the sides of Rivers; more especially at the Fords, where *Cattell* come to drink or wade over. Here they lie without any motion, not sting any part of their body, resembling an old tree fallen into the River, only floating upon the waters, yet they recede not far from the bank-sides, waiting till some Wild-

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<sup>1</sup> Young chickens.

<sup>2</sup> Indicating perhaps that the first author, John Esquemeling, was not ‘illiterate’ (as suggested by the English publisher)

<sup>3</sup> Alligator (also sp. Caiman)

<sup>4</sup> Stoutness of body. Obesity.

bore or *salvage Cow* cometh to drink. They drag (their) prey into the water, and there stifle it. What is more worthy of admiration, is that three or four days before the *Camanes* go on this design, they eat nothing at all. But, diving into the River, they swallow one, or two hundred weight of Stones, such as they can find. With these they render themselves more heavy than before and make addition unto their natural strength, which in this animal is very great, thereby to render their assault the more terrible and secure. The prey being thus stifled, they suffer it to lie four or five days under water, for they could not eat the least bit thereof, unless half rotten. If they can lay hold of any Hides, such as inhabitants place in the fields for drying against the Sun, they drag them into the water, leave them for some days well loaden with stones, till the hair falleth off; then they eat them with no less appetite than they would the animals themselves.

I have seen (for) my self many times, like things unto these I have related. But **besides my own experience, many Writers of natural things, have made entire Treatises<sup>1</sup> of these Animals**, describing not only their shape, magnitude and other qualities, but also their voracity and brutish inclinations.

A certain person of good reputation and credit told me, that one day he was by the River side, washing his *Baraca or Tent*, wherein he used to lie in the fields. As soon as he began his work, a Cayman fastened upon the Tent, and with incredible fury, dragg'd it under water. The man desirous to see if he could save his Tent, pulled on the contrary side with all his strength, having in his mouth a Butchers knife, wherewith as happened he was scraping the Canvas, to defend himself, in case of urgent necessity. The Cayman being angry at this opposition, vaulted upon his body, out of the River, and drew him with great celerity<sup>2</sup> into the water. .. with his knife he gave the *Caymen* several wounds in the belly, wherewith he suddenly expired.... He opened the body to satisfy his own curiosity... in his stomach (sic) he found nigh one hundred weight of stones, each of them being almost the bigness of his fist. [he goes on to state they only mate in May, laying their eggs among sandy banks, which, pre and post hatching are vulnerable to birds, and describes his observing the young at play with their mothers.]

## CHAP. V.

All sorts of quadrupled Animals, and Birds, are found in this Island. Horses, Bulls, Cows, Wild-Bores, and others very useful unto human kind, not only for common sustenance of Life, but also for cultivating of the ground, and the management of a sufficient Commerce.

In this Island are still remaining a huge number of Wild-Dogs. These destroy yearly multitudes of all sorts of Cattle (sic). For no sooner hath a Cow brought forth her Calf, or a Mare foaled, but these *Wild-Mastives* come o devour the young breed, if they find not some resistance from keepers and other domestick dogs. They run up and down the Woods, commonly, in whole troops of fifty, threescore or more together.

One day a French *Bucanier* caused me to see a strange action. Being in the fields **hunting together**, we heard a great noise of Dogs which had surrounded a Wild-bore. **Having tame dogs with us, we left them to the custody of our Servants<sup>3</sup>**; desirous to see the sport, if possible. My Companion and I climbed up into several tree; both for security and prospect. The wild-bore was all alone and standing against a tree; with his tusks endeavoured to defend himself from a great number of Dogs, that had enclosed him: Having killed with his teeth, and wounded several of them, this bloody fight continued about an hour, the Wild-bore mean wile, attempting many times to escape. At last, being upon the flight, one of those dogs, leaping on his back, fastened upon the testicles, which at one pull, he tore in pieces. The rest of the Dogs, perceiving the courage of their companion, fastened likewise upon the Bore, and presently after killed him.

<sup>1</sup> Indicating Esquemeling was literate

<sup>2</sup> Swiftness.

<sup>3</sup> Contrasts with his own life as a servant. (Was he on a foray for food for the Buccaneers, or living on Hispaniola.?)

This being done, all of them, the first only excepted, laid themselves down upon the ground, about the prey, and there peaceably continued till he, the first and most courageous of the troop, had eat as much as he could devour. When this dog had ended his repast, and left the dead beast, all the rest fell in to take their share., till nothing was left that they could devour.

What ought we to infer from this notable action, performed by the brutish sense of wild animals? Only this, that even Beasts themselves are not destitute of knowledge; and that they give us documents how to honour such as have well deserved; seeing these be irrational animals, as they were, did reverence, and respect him, that exposed his life to the greatest danger, in vanquishing courageously the common enemy.

The **Governour of Tortuga, Monsieur Ogeron**, understanding that the Wild-dogs killed too many of the Wild-bores, and that the Hunters of that Island had much a do to find any, fearing least that common sustenance of the Isle should fail, caused a great quantity of Poyson to be brought from France, therewith to destroy the Wild-Mastives. This was performed in the year **1668**, by commanding certain Horses to be killed, and envenom'd, and laid open in the woods and fields where Wild-dogs used to resort. This being continued for the space of six months, there were killed an incredible number, and yet all this industry was not sufficient to exterminate and kill the race.; yea scarce to make any diminution thereof.

But here the Curious Reader may peradventure enquire, from whence or by what accident came to many dogs into those Islands? The occasion was, that the *Spaniards* having possessed themselves of these Isles, found them much peopled with *Indians*. These were a barbarous sort of people, totally given to sensuality and a brutish custom if life, hating all manner of labour, and only inclined to run from place to place, killing, and making war against their Neighbours; not out of any ambition to reign, but only because they agreed not with themselves, in some common terms of language. (so to speak). Hence perceiving the domination of the Spaniards did lay a great restriction upon their lazy and brutish customs, they conceived an incredible odium against them, such as never was to be reconciled.

Especially because they saw them take possession of the Kingdoms, and dominions, hereupon they made all the resistance they were capable of, opposing everywhere their designs. The Spaniards, finding themselves to be cruelly hated by those Indians, and nowhere secure from their treachery's, resolved to extirpate<sup>1</sup>, and ruin them every one. Seeing they could neither tame them by the civilities of their customs, nor conquer them with the Sword, the Indians (made) the Woods their chiefest place of defence whenever they fled from the Spaniards that pursued them. Those first conquerors of the new World, made use of dogs to range and search the Woods and Forests for those their implacable, and unconquerable Enemies.

By these means, they forced (Indians) to leave their ancient refuge, and submit to the Sword, seeing no milder usage would serve turn. Hereupon they killed some of them, and quartering their bodies, placed them in the highways; to the intent, that others might take warning from such a punishment. But this severity proved to be of ill consequence.

Instead of frightening them and reducing their minds to a civil society, they conceived such horror (sic) of the Spaniards, that they resolved to fight for ever. And hence the greatest part dyed (sic) in Caves and subterraneous places of the Woods and Mountains. In which places<sup>2</sup> I my self have seen many times, great numbers of human bones. The dogs betook themselves to the Woods and fields, there to hunt for food to preserve their lives, thus by degrees they became unacquainted with the houses of heir ancient masters and at last grew wild. This is the truest account I can give, of the multitude of wild-dogs, which are seen to this day in these parts.

Here are also huge numbers of Wild-horses to be seen every where. These run up and down in whole herds, or flocks, all over the Island of Hispaniola. These are but low of Stature, short bodyed, with great Heads, long Necks, and big, or thick legs. In a word they have nothing that is handsome in all their shape. They are seen to run in troops of two or three hundred together. ... The Hunters catch them with industry, only for

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<sup>1</sup> Root out; destroy completely.

<sup>2</sup> Were caves traditional Indian burial sites?

the benefit of their skins. Although sometimes they preserve their flesh likewise, which they harden with smoak; **using it for provisions, when they go to Sea.**

(He states) Wild-Bulls and cows have been diminished by hunting... yet considerable profit is made even to this day, the Wild-Bulls are of a vast corpulency, or bigness of body; and yet they do no hurt to any person, if they be not exasperated, but left to their own repose. The hides which are taken from them are from eleven to thirteen feet long.

The diversity of Birds is so great, I shall content myself to mention some few of the chiefest. Here is a certain species of *Pullets*, in the Woods, which the Spaniards call *Pintadas*, which the inhabitants find to be as good as those which are bred in houses. The *Parrots* make their nests in holes made by small birds called *Carpinteros, or Carpenters* in Palmito trees. *Pigeons* of all sorts are here, abundantly provided by him that created in the beginning. Another sort of small birds here are called *Cabrerros, or Goat-keepers*. These are very like others called *Heronsetas*, and do chiefly feed upon the Crabs of the Sea. In these birds are found seven distinct bladders of Gall, and hence their flesh is as bitter unto the taste of *Aloes*. *Crows or Ravens*, more troublesome to the inhabitants than useful, do here make a hideous noise. Their ordinary food is the flesh of Wild-dogs, or upon the Carcasses of those Beasts the **Bucaniers** kill and throw away. These clamorous birds do no sooner hear **the report of a fowling piece, or musket**, but they gather from all sides, into whole flocks, and fill the Air and Woods with their unpleasant Notes.

It is now high time to speak of the French Nation, who inhabit a great part of this Island. We have told after what manner they came at first to these parts (from St. Christopher's & Turtle Island).

The different callings, or professions, they follow are generally but three: Either to Hunt, or Plant, or else to rove on the Sea in quality of Pirates. It is a general and solemn custom amongst them all, to seek out for a Comrade, or Companion, whom we may call a Partner, in their fortunes, with whom they joyn the whole stock of what they possess, towards a mutual and reciprocal gain. This is done also by Articles drawn and signed on both sides, according to what hath been agreed between them. Some of these (terms) constitute their surviving companion, absolute heir unto what is left, by the death of the first of the two. Others, if they be married, leave their estates unto their Wives and Children; others unto relations. This being done, every one applyeth himself unto his calling; which is always one of the aforementioned.

The Hunters are again subdivided, into two several sorts. Some of these are given to hunt wild-Bulls and Cows, others only hunt Wild-Bores. The first of these two sorts of Hunters are called **Bucaniers**. These not long ago were about the number of six hundred upon this island; but at present there are reckoned to be above three, more or less. The cause hath been the great decrease of wild Cattle, through the domination of the French in *Hispaniola*.

When the **Bucaniers** go into the Woods, to hunt for wild Bulls, and Cows, they commonly remain there the space of a whole twelve-month, or two years, without returning home. After the hunt is over, and the spoil is divided among them, they commonly sail unto the Isle of *Tortuga*, **there to provide themselves with Guns, Powder, Bullets and small shot, with all other necessities against another going out, or hunting.**

The rest of their gains they spend with great liberality, giving themselves freely unto all manner of vices, and debauchery. Among which the first is that of drunkenness, which they exercise for the most part with **Brandy**. This they drink as liberally, as the Spaniards do clear Fountain Water. Sometimes they buy together a Pipe<sup>1</sup> of Wine; This they stave at one end, and never cease drinking till they have made an end of it. Thus they celebrate the Festivals of *Bacchus*<sup>2</sup> so long as they have any money left. Neither do they forget at the same time the Goddess *Venus*; for whose beastly delights they find more women, then they can make use of. For all the Tavern keepers and Strumpets<sup>3</sup>, wait for the coming of these lewd **Bucaniers**, even after the same manner, that they do at Amsterdam, for the arrival of the East-India Fleet, at the Texel. The said **Bucaniers are hugely cruel, and tyrannical towards their servants**. Insomuch, that commonly these

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<sup>1</sup> 105 gallons.

<sup>2</sup> Mythical God of Wine.

<sup>3</sup> Prostitute or Harlot.

had rather be Galley-slaves in the Streights, or saw Brasil-wood in the Rasp-houses of Holland<sup>1</sup>, than serve such barbarous masters.

The second sort of Hunters hunt nothing else, but Wild-bores. The flesh of these they salt, and being thus preserved from corruption, they sell it to the Planters. These Hunters have also the same vicious customs of life, and are as much addicted to all manner of debauchery as the former. But their manner of hunting is quite different from what is practised in Europe. For these **Bucaniers** have certain places, designed for hunting, where they live for the space of three or four months; and sometimes, though not often, a whole year. Such places are called *Deza Boulan*; and in these with only the company of five or six friends.

The first **Bucaniers** we spoke of, many times make an agreement with certain Planters, to furnish them with meat all the whole year, at a certain price. The payment is often made with two or three hundred weight of *Tobacco*, in the leaf. But the Planters commonly into the bargain furnish them likewise with a servant; whom they send to help. Unto the servant they afford a sufficient quantity of all the necessaries for that purpose, especially of powder, bullets and small shot, to hunt withal.

The Planters began to cultivate, and plant the Isle of Tortuga, in the year 1598. The first plantation was of *Tobacco*, which grew to admiration; being likewise of very good quality, (the Island being small, they were able to plant but little). They attempted to make Sugar, but by reason of the great expenses necessary to defray the charges, they could not bring it to any effect. So that the greatest part of the inhabitants, as we said before, betook themselves to the exercise of Hunting; and the remaining part unto that of Piracy.

As the Hunters began to find themselves scarce able to subsist by their first profession, they began to seek out lands that might be rendered fir for culture; and in these they also planted Tobacco. The first land that they chose for this purpose was Cal de Sac; whose territory extendeth towards the Southern part of the Island. This piece of ground they divided into several quarters, which were called, *the great Amea, Niep, Rochelos, the little Grave, the great Grave, and the Augame*. Here, little by little they increased so much, that at present there are above 2000 Planters in those fields.

At the beginning they endured very much hardship, grubbing, cutting down, burning and digging. The method they took, to clear the ground was to divide themselves into small companies of two or three persons with a few hatchets, go into the Woods, and there to build Huts, only of a few rafters, and boughs of trees. Their first endeavour was to root up the shrubs and little trees, afterwards to cut down the great ones. The roots, which last of all they were constrained to grub, and dig up after the best manner they could.

The first feed they committed to the ground was **Beans**. These in those countries both ripen, and dry away, in the space of six weeks. The second fruit, necessary unto humane life, which they tried, was **Potatoes**. These came not to perfection in lesser time than four or five months. On these they most commonly made their breakfasts, every morning. They dress them no otherwise than boyling them in a kettle, with fair water. Afterwards they cover them with a cloath\* for the space of half an hour, by which manner of dressing they become as soft as boyled *Chestnutts*.

*They use Potatoes to make a drink called Maiz.* They cut them into small slices, and cover them with hot water. When they are well inbib'd with water, they press them through a coarse cloth (\*sic); and the liquor, although something thick, they keep in vessels, made for that purpose. After settling for two or three days, it beginneth to work; and thrown off its lees<sup>2</sup>, is fit to drink. They use it with great delight, and although the taste is somewhat sower (sour), yet it is very pleasant, substantial, and wholesome. The industry of this composition is owing unto the Indians, as well as many others, which the ingenuity [ingenuity] of those Barbarians caused them to invent, both for the preservation and of their own life.

The third fruit the newly cultivated land afforded was *Mandioca*, which the Indians call *Cazave*. A root which cometh not to perfection till after 8-9 months, yea sometimes a whole year. It may be left (further) in

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<sup>1</sup> Another indication that Esquemeling was Dutch.

<sup>2</sup> Sediment of wine, dregs.

the ground for a further 11-12 months without the least suspicion of corruption. (Before rotting) The said roots must be converted unto use some way or another; otherwise they conceive a total putrification. Of these roots of *Cazave* is made a sort of *granulous flower* (flour) or meal, extremely dry and white, *which supplieth the want of common bread*, made of Wheat, whereof the fields are entirely barren in that Island. For this purpose they have in their houses, certain graters made either of Copper or Tin, *wherewith they grate the Cazave roots, even just as they use to do Mirick in Holland*<sup>1</sup>. By the by, let me tell you, *Mirick* is a certain root of a very biting taste, not unlike unto the strong Mustard, wherewith they usually make sauces for some sorts of fish.

They put the *Cazave* gratings into bags, or sacks, made of coarse linnen, and press out all the moisture, until they remain very dry. Afterwards they pass the gratings though a sieve, leaving them, after sifting, very like unto saw-dust.

The meal being thus prepared, they lay it upon planches of iron, which are made very hot, upon which it is converted into a sort of cakes very thin. These cakes are afterwards placed in the sun, upon the tops of houses, where they are thoroughly and perfectly dried. And least they should lose any part of their meal, what did not pass he sieve is made up into rowles (sic), five or six inches thick. These are placed one upon the other (piled up) until they begin to corrupt. Of this corrupted matter *they make a liquor, by them called Veycou, which they find very excellent, and certainly is not inferior to our*<sup>2</sup> *English beer*.

**Bananas** are likewise another sort of *fruit, of which is made an excellent liquor*, which both in strength and pleasantness of taste, may be compared unto the best wines of Spain, But this liquor of Bananas, as it easily causeth drunkenness, in such as use it immoderately, for doth it likewise; very frequently inflame the throat, and produce dangerous diseases in that part.

*Guines agudos* is also another fruit, whereof they make drink, not so strong as the precedent. Howbeit both the one and the other are frequently mingled with water, thereby do quench the thirst.

After they had cultivated these plantation, and filled them with all sorts of roots and fruits necessary for humane life, they began to plant *Tobacco; for trading*. They make certain beds of earth in the field; no larger that twelve foot square, which they cover very well with Palmite-leaves, to the intent, the rays of the Sun may not touch the earth wherein the Tobacco is sowed. They water them likewise, when it doth not rain, as we do in our Gardens in Europe. When it s grown the bigness of young lettuce, they transplant in into streight (sic) lines, which they make in other fields; setting every plant at the distance of three foot from each other. They observe the fittest seasons for these things; which are commonly from January until the end of March; these being the Months wherein most rains do fall in those countries.

Tobacco ought to be weeded very carefully, seeing the least root of another Herb coming near it, is sufficient to hinder its growth. When it is grown to the hight of one foot and a half, or thereabouts, hey cut off the tops, thereby to hinder the stalks and leaves, from shooting too high upwards, to the intent the whole plant may receive greater strength from the earth, which affordeth unto it all its vigour and taste. Meanwhile it ripeneth and come to full perfection, they prepare in their houses certain apartments of 50-60 foot in length and 30-40 in breadth. These they fill with branches of trees, and rafters, and lay upon them the green Tobacco to dry.

When it is thoroughly dried, they strip off the leaf from the stalks, and cause it to be rowled up by certain people who are employed in this work and no other. Unto these they afford for their labour, the tenth part of what they make up into **Rowls**.

Peculiar unto Tobacco, which therefore I shall not omit, that whilst it is yet in the ground, the leaf be pulled off from the stalk, it sprouteth again, no less than four times in one year.

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<sup>1</sup> Again, Esquemeling compares Island life with Holland.

<sup>2</sup> Is 'our' inserted in translation from Esquemeling's Dutch text?

Here I should be glad to give an account also of the manner of making **Sugar, Indigo**<sup>1</sup> and **Gimbes**<sup>2</sup>; but seeing these things are not planted in those parts, whereof we do now speak, (Tortuga), I have thought fit to pass them over in silence<sup>3</sup>

The French Planters of the Isle of *Hispaniola* have always unto this present time been subject unto the Governours of *Tortuga*. Yet this obediency hath not been rendered without much reluctancy and grudging on their side.

**In 1664, the West-India Company of France laid the foundations of a Colony in Tortuga;** under which Colony the Planters of Hispaniola were comprehended and named as subjects thereunto. This Decree disgusted the said Planters very much; they taking it very ill to be reputed Subjects unto a private Company of men who had no authority to make them so. Especially being in a Country which belonged not unto the dominions of the King of France. Hereupon they resolved to work no longer for the said Company, and their resolution was sufficient to compel the Company to a total dissolution of the Colony.

But, at last, the Governour of Tortuga, who was pretty well stock'd with Planters, conceiving he could more easily force them, than the West India Company, found an invention whereby to draw them unto his obedience. He promised them he would put of<sup>4</sup> their several sorts of Merchandize, and cause such returns to be made, in lieu of their goods, from France, as they should best like. Withal, ***he dealt with the Merchants under hand***<sup>5</sup>, that all Ships whatsoever should come to him, and no persons should enter themselves of the whole Island. This they thought they could more easily perform by reason of all necessary assistance, which they believed would at any time be sent them from **Holland**. By which means they were already determined to erect themselves into a new Commonwealth, independent of the Crown of France. But no sooner had they began this great revolution of their little State, than they received news of war declared between the two Nations in Europe. They gave over that enterprize and retired without attempting any thing.

In the mean while, the Governour sent into France for aid towards his own security, and the reduction of those people unto their former obedience (to the Crown of France). This was granted to him, and two men of war were sent unto Tortuga, with orders to be at his commands. He sent them unto the Isle of *Hispaniola*, where they landed part of their forces. The Planters, not being ignorant of their design, fled into the Woods, abandoning their houses and many of their goods. These were immediately rifled and burnt by the French, without any compassion, nor sparing the least Cottage they found.

Afterwards the Governour began to relent in his anger; and let them know, by some messengers, that in case they would return unto his obedience; he would give ear unto some accommodation betwixt them. The Planters surrendered upon Articles, which were made and signed on both sides. But these were too strictly observed; for he commanded two of the chieftest among them to be hanged. The residue were pardoned; and withal he gave them **free leave, to trade with any Nation, whatsoever they found most fit for their purpose**. With the grant of this liberty, they began to re-cultivate their Plantations, which gave them a huge quantity of very good Tobacco; they selling yearly to the summ of 20-30,000 rowls.

In this Country the Planters have but very few slaves. And some servants they have, are constrained to do all the drudgery. These servants commonly oblige and bind themselves unto their Masters, for the space of three years.

But their Masters forsaking all conscience and justice, oftentimes traffick with their bodies, as with horses at a Fair; selling them unto other Masters, even just as they sell Negro's brought from the coast of **Guinea**. Yea, to advance this Trade, some persons there are, who go purposely into France (the same happeneth in England, and other countries), and travelling through the Cities, Towns and villages, endeavour to pick up

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<sup>1</sup> Deep blue dye, produced from the Indigo plant. (transported in 'Serons')

<sup>2</sup> 'Gimbes' (TRANSLATION ?)

<sup>3</sup> Period description of Sugar cropping and processing available separately (Ed.)

<sup>4</sup> Set off, exchange, barter.

<sup>5</sup> Deceitfully

young men or boys, whom they transport, by making them great promises. These, having once allured and conveyed them to the Islands, I speak of, they force to work like horses; the toil they impose upon them being much harder than they usually enjoyn unto the Negro's, their slaves, For these they endeavour to preserve, as being their perpetual bond-men; but as for their White Servants, they care not whether they live or die, seeing they are to continue no longer than three years in their service.

These miserable kidnapped people are frequently subject unto a certain disease, which in those parts is called *Coma*; being a total privation of all their senses. This distemper is judged to proceed from their hard usage, together with the change of their native climate, in their dyet (sic), apparel, and repose; many times they beat them so cruelly, that some of them fall down dead. This I have often seen with my own eyes, not without great grief and regret. Of many instances of this nature, I shall only give you the following history, as being something more remarkable in its circumstances.

[relates how a servant fled into the woods, was caught, tied to a tree, horribly beaten, lemon juice, salt & pepper rubbed into raw wounds, left 24 hours, again beaten until he died. His dying words “ I beseech the Almighty God, Creator of heaven and earth, that he permit the wicked Spirit, to make thee feel as many torments, before my death, as thou hast caused me to feel before mine.” A prayer answered by, three or four days later, his Master became raving mad and died.]

In the Isle of Saint Christopher dwelleth one (Planter) whose name is Bettesa, very well known among the Dutch Merchants, who hath killed above an hundred of his servants. When they have served six years of their time (the years they are bound for among the English, being seven compleat) they use them with such cruel hardship, as forceth them to beg of their Masters to sell them unto others, although it be to begin another servitude of seven years; or at least three of four.

Another thing very rigorous among that Nation, is a Law in those Islands, whereby if any man oweth unto another above five and twenty shillings, English mony (sic), in case he cannot pay, he is liable to be sold for the space of six or eight months.

## CHAP. VI [Hereafter some excerpts reflect modern spelling<sup>1</sup> ]

I was compelled to adventure my life among the **Pirates of America**, the name I feel obliged to give them, for no other reason but that they are not maintained or upheld in their actions by any Sovereign Prince.

The Kings of Spain, on several occasions have sent Ambassadors, to the Kings of France and England, complaining of those Pirates' molestations on the coasts of America, even in the calm of Peace. Answers were always: That such men did not commit such acts of hostility and piracy, as subjects of their Majesties, and therefore his Catholic Majesty may proceed against them as he sees fit.

The King of France added that he had no fortress nor castle upon the Isle of Hispaniola, neither did he receive one farthing of tribute from there. The King of England added that he had “never given any Patents or Commissions unto those of **Jamaica**<sup>2</sup>, for committing any hostility against the subjects of his Catholic Majesty.” Out of his Royal desire to please the Court of Spain, the Governor of Jamaica was recalled, and replaced, but this did not inhibit the Pirates.

The first *Pyrate* known in **Tortuga** was named *Pierre le Grand*, or Peter the Great. He was born in the town of Diep in Normandy. He became famous through taking the Spanish *Flota*, near the *Cape of Tiberon* on the western side of **Hispaniola**<sup>3</sup>. He performed this bold exploit alone, with just one boat and 28 men to help him. Until then the Spanish had found no opposition when passing through the *Channel of Bahama*. Pierre

<sup>1</sup> Terms such as ‘Embassadours’ will now read ‘Ambassadors’ and ‘dwelleth’ as ‘lived’ ...etc

<sup>2</sup> Discovered by Columbus in April 1494 (he named it Santiago). British from 1655.

<sup>3</sup> The Flota, (Fleet) was sailing through the Windward Passage, between Cuba and Hispaniola.

le Grand put to sea 'by the *Caycos*'<sup>1</sup> where he took this great Ship. The Spaniards were sent ashore and the vessel sent to France.

[Esquemeling quotes from the journal of a 'true and faithful Author']

'Pierre le Grand's boat had been at sea a long time, without finding suitable prey, and was in need of provisions. Seeing this Spanish Ship, which had separated from the rest of the fleet, he sailed towards her and hoping it would not put up a fight, decided to master her by degrees. At dusk, with no more than Pistols and Swords, they climbed aboard and ran into the Great Cabin; where they found the Captain and several companions playing at cards. Meanwhile some took control of the Gun-room, killing some crew. The Captain had previously ignored his seamen who had told him the small vessel was full of pirates, believing they would not attempt to attack a vessel as big as his.

Pierre le Grand detained as many of the common seamen as he had need of (to man his prize) and the rest he set on shore. He immediately set sail for France with the riches he found in that huge vessel, never to return to America.'

The Planters & Hunters of Tortuga were quick to follow suit. Not having or being able to build suitable vessels in Tortuga, they set off in canoes and cruised near *Cape de Alvarez*, where Spaniards plied with small boats carrying hides and tobacco to the port of **Havana**, 'which is the Metropolis of that Island<sup>2</sup>; and unto which the Spaniards of Europe do frequently resort'.

The pirates took a great many boats so laden, and sold the cargoes to ships that awaited them, or, 'accidentally happened to be there' (at Tortuga). With the gains of these prizes they provided themselves with the necessaries to undertake other voyages. Some were made towards the coast of *Campeche*, and others towards that of New-Spain<sup>3</sup>, where they commonly (frequently) found great numbers of trading vessels, many of great burthen. Two of the biggest of these vessels were taken within a month, laden with plate in the *port of Campeche* destined for *Caracas*.<sup>4</sup> Within two years the wealth of Tortuga increased, and the number of Pirates 'did augment so fast', that there were soon twenty ships operating from that small Island and Port. The Spaniards were 'constrained to put forth to sea, two great Men of War, both for the defence of their own coasts and to cruise upon the enemies'.

## CHAPT. VII                      How the Pirates arm their vessels.

Before they go to sea, they give notice to their crew precisely when to 'imbarque' (sic), intimating also their obligation to bring with them a specified amount to powder and bullets for the expedition. Once on board they "joyn together in Council" to decide where first to go and obtain provisions, especially meat, seeing they scarce eat anything else, mostly Pork, then Tortoises, which they used to salt a little. Sometimes they resolve to rob *Hog-yards*, wherein Spaniards often have a thousand heads of Swine together. They approach these places at night and, having beset the Keepers lodge, they force him to rise and give them as many heads as they require, under pain of death. Such menaces are often put into practice, giving no quarter to the miserable swine-keeper or anyone else who hinders them.

<sup>1</sup> Caicos Islands, (Lat. 21.50 N, Long. 72 W.), on the Windward Passage out of the old Bahama Channel

<sup>2</sup> Cuba. first circumnavigated in 1508. (by Sebastian de Ocampo)

In 1511, Diego de Velasquez was sent by Diego Columbus, then Governor of Hispaniola and Viceroy of the New World, to conquer Cuba, where he soon made himself practically independent of his superior.

<sup>3</sup> Mexico. In 1518 Velasquez sent Hernando Cortes in charge of an expedition to conquer Mexico, who was even quicker than in shaking off his allegiance. By 1521 Hernando Cortes, having defeated a force sent by Velasquez to bring him back to Cuba, had completed the subjugation of Mexico. In 1522 Mexico was officially separated from Cuba and named New Spain.

Cortes, born in 1485, died in Spain in 1547. The spoils of conquest in Mexico were immense and large quantities of gold and other valuables were sent to Spain. Some of "the richest spoils of Mexico"

sent by Cortes to the King in 1523, were captured by a French squadron. The decline of Hispaniola began from this time, as Mexico, and later Peru, attracted the more enterprising Spaniards.

<sup>4</sup> Caracas Lat. 10.31 N, Long. 66.59 W. (Colonised in 1567. Birthplace of Simon Bolivar, in 1783)

They return to their ship with sufficient meat to provide every man two meals a day, with as much as he can eat, ('without either weight or measure'). The *Steward of the vessel* gives no greater portion of meat or anything else to the Captain, than any one else. ('than the Meanest Mariner').

Once victualled, they call another Council to deliberate where they shall go to seek their desperate fortunes. At the same time, they agree upon certain articles in writing, by way of Bond or obligation, which is signed by all. Herein they specify very distinctly what sums of money each person ought to have for that voyage. "The fond of all the payments of what is gotten by the whole expedition, (that) being the common stock." It is a common law among Pirates, 'No prey, no pay'.

First they mention how much the Captain ought to have for his Ship. Next the salary<sup>1</sup> of the Carpenter or Shipwright who careened, mended and rigged the vessel, this usually amounted to 100-150 pieces of eight<sup>2</sup>. Afterwards, for provisions and Victualling, they draw from the same common stock (fund) about 200 pieces of eight.

Lastly, they stipulate in writing, what recompense each one ought to have in the event of being wounded during that voyage. Thus they order, for the loss of,

- a right Arm, six hundred pieces of eight, *or six slaves*<sup>3</sup>
- a left Arm, five hundred pieces of eight or five slaves
- a right Leg, five hundred pieces of eight, or five slaves
- the left Leg, four hundred pieces of eight, or four slaves
- an eye, one hundred pieces of eight, or one slave
- a finger of the hand, the same reward as for the eye.

As I have said, these sums are first taken from the capital sum, or common stock of what is gotten by their Piracy. A very exact, and equal, dividend is made of the remainder, depending upon qualities and places (rank). Thus the Captain, or chief Commander, is allotted five or six portions (shares), to what the ordinary Seaman hath, the Masters-Mate only two; and other Officers proportional to their employ, after whom they draw equal parts from the highest to the lowest Mariner; the boys not being omitted, for even these draw half a share; because, when the Pirates take a better vessel than their own, it is the duty of the boys to set fire to their own vessel, and then retire on to the prize.

They observe very good order (discipline) among themselves. When they take prizes, it is severely prohibited to usurp anything in particular for themselves, hence all they take is equally divided according to their articles. They make a solemn oath to each other, not to abscond or conceal the least thing they find amongst the prey. Afterwards, if anyone is found to have contravened his oath, he is immediately separated and turned out of the society. Among themselves they are very civil and charitable to each other. Insomuch, that if any wants what another has, with great liberality, they give to each other.

As soon as these Pirates have taken any Prize, the first thing they endeavour is to set on shore the prisoners; detaining only a few for their own service, unto whom they give their liberty, after two or three years<sup>4</sup>

They frequently put into one island or another for refreshment, especially those which lie on the southern side of the Isle of Cuba. Here they careen<sup>5</sup> their vessels, whilst some of the crew go hunting, others to cruise upon the seas in Canoes, seeking their fortune.

Often, they take poor Tortoise Fishermen and make them work for them, for as long as the Pirates please. Four species of Tortoises are found in the several different parts of America. The first is so big, that every

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<sup>1</sup> Independent of any share.

<sup>2</sup> In 1684, the translator noted that 'every piece of eight is about 5s. Sterling' (p.87)

<sup>3</sup> Implies that slaves were considered currency.

<sup>4</sup> Esquemeling does not say if crew so acquired are paid any share of the spoils.

<sup>5</sup> Heel the vessel, or beach it, to clean its underside, (maintain the hull)

one reaches 2-3,000 pounds in weight. The scales are so soft that they may easily be cut with a knife. Yet these are not so good to eat. The second is green, of an indifferent size with harder scales; and this sort is of a very pleasant taste. Similarly the third sort, except that it has a slightly larger head. It is called *Cavana* by the French, and is not good for food. The fourth is called *Caret*, and is very like those Tortoises we have in Europe, and lives amongst the rocks.

These creatures repair to lay their eggs every year, especially in the three Islands called the *Caymanes*<sup>1</sup>, situated in the altitude of twenty degrees, and fifteen minutes, Northern Latitude<sup>2</sup>, being at the distance of five and forty leagues from the *Isle of Cuba*, on the Northern side thereof<sup>3</sup>.

It is worth considering how these Tortoises find these islands, most of them coming from the Gulf of Honduras, 150 leagues (to the South-West).

Certain it is that, many times, the *ships having lost their altitude, through the darkness of the weather*<sup>4</sup>, have steered their course by the noise of the Tortoises, swimming that way, (North-East), and have arrived at those Isles. Having laid their eggs and the season of hatching is over, they retire towards Cuba for food, having eaten little during the month or so in the Caymans. After a month in Cuba, they fatten and Spaniards fish for them, taking so many as to be sufficient to provide their Cities, Towns and Villages. They catch them by making with a big nail a certain kind of dart. This they fix to the end of a long stick, or pole; with which they wound the Tortoises, as with a dagger, whenever they appear above water to breathe fresh air.

The Inhabitants of *New-Spain* (Mexico) and *Campeche*<sup>5</sup> lade their merchandise in large ships and in winter set out towards *Caracas, Trinity Isles and Margarita*<sup>6</sup>, for in summer the winds are contrary. Knowing this, the Pirates cruise accordingly, (with seasonal hunting grounds). In the absence of available prizes and after holding Council, they commonly commit desperate acts. One such remarkable resolution I shall relate.

*Pierre Francois*, or Peter Francis, was a Pirate who had been long at sea with his boat and 26 persons, waiting for ships returning from *Maracaibo* to *Campeche*. Without prey he decided to steer for *Rancherias*, near the *River de la Plata*, in the altitude of twelve degrees and a half Northern latitude, where there was a rich *Bank of Pearl* protected by a fleet of a dozen vessels.

Every vessel has at least a couple of *Negros* (sic), dextrous divers, even to six fathoms<sup>7</sup> where they find pearls. Rather than go home (to Tortuga) with empty hands, Pierre Francois resolved to adventure upon this *Pearl Fleet*. At that time, they were at anchor, at the mouth of the *River de la Hacha*<sup>8</sup>, the Man of war being scarcely half a league from the small ships, and the weather very calm. He lowered his sails and rowed along the coast, to appear as a Spanish vessel passing that way from Maracaibo, then assaulted the Vice-admiral of the fleet, of 8-guns and threescore (60) armed men, and ordered them to surrender, which did after a short skirmish.

Being thus possessed of the Vice-admiral, he resolved next to adventure with a different stratagem upon the Man of War, hoping to get sufficient strength to master the rest of the fleet. He sank his own boat in the river, hoisted Spanish Colours, weighed anchor with a light wind which had begun to stir, having, with promises and menaces, compelled most of the Spaniards to assist him in his design. However, the Man of War, seeing one of his fleet set sail, gave chase seawards. The Pirates laid on too much sail and carried

<sup>1</sup> Islands to the south of Cuba and West North-West of Jamaica (between Longitude 79.50 and 81.20)

Grand Cayman, Lat. 19.15 N, (a.k.a. Great Cayman, British in 1655). Little Cayman, 19.32 N, Cayman Brac, 19.32.N.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly an error in translation, being exactly correct in minutes, Esquemeling was unlikely to have otherwise erred.

[Note. Navigators had no means, other than dead reckoning, for knowing their longitudinal position, until the advent of the Chronometer and 'The Meridian of Longitude' in 1846.]

<sup>3</sup> The Caymans being 135 miles South of Cuba.

<sup>4</sup> Calculation of Latitude requiring regular sightings of the Sun.

[Sir Cloudsley Shovell (on 'Association') & his fleet was wrecked on Scilly, after '3 days in fog']

<sup>5</sup> Campeche, Lat. 19.50 N. Long. 90.32 W. (Gulf of Mexico)

<sup>6</sup> All off the North Coast of Venezuela ('Spanish Main')

<sup>7</sup> One fathom = 6 feet.

<sup>8</sup> 11.37 N, 72.55 W. Colombia.

away their mainmast while attempting to get out of the river with their riches. An action ensued, but with two and twenty person sound, the rest being killed or wounded, the pirates resolved to defend themselves so long as possible until forced to surrender. Yet this was not done without Articles<sup>1</sup>. The Spaniards were glad<sup>2</sup> to allow them not to be taken as slaves or to employ them in other labours for three or four years, but that they should set them on shore; upon free land, without harming them. Upon these Articles, they gave up all that they had taken; which was worth only<sup>3</sup> in Pearls, to the value of above 100,000 pieces of eight, besides the vessel itself, which together, would have made this Pirate one of the greatest prizes he could desire.

I shall relate another bold attempt, no less remarkable, by a Pirate born in Portugal, and from the name of his country called *Bartholemew Portuguese*, who was cruising from *Jamaica* in his boat armed with four small guns and only 30 men. Near the *Cape de Coriente, in the Island of Cuba*, he met with a large ship that came from *Maracaibo* and *Cartagena*<sup>4</sup>, bound for the *Havana*, well provided with 20 great guns, and threescore and ten (70) men, including passengers and crew.

It took two assaults and the loss of 10 killed and 4 wounded before overpowering the larger vessel. Needing water and repairs he steered towards the *Cape of St. Antony*, on the Western end of *Cuba*, near which he met and was retaken by three ships en route from New-Spain to Havana. Thus they were all made prisoners and stripped of their prize, the cargo of which consisted of 120,000 weight<sup>5</sup> of *Cacao-nuts*, the chiefest ingredient of that liquor called *Chocolate*, and threescore and ten thousand pieces of eight<sup>6</sup>. A storm forced the vessels to separate and the Pirates were landed at *Campeche* in New-Spain (Mexico) where many merchants came to congratulate the Captain for capturing the Portuguese pirate 'who had committed innumerable excessive insolences upon those coasts, Murthers [murders], robberies and incendiums<sup>7</sup>' (sic).

The day after their arrival, the Magistrates of the City sent several officers to take the criminal prisoners into custody, but fearing they were more likely to escape when ashore, as they had done before, they left Portuguese safely guarded on the ship while they erected a Gibbet<sup>8</sup>, intending to hang him without trial the next day.

Knowing this, Bartholemew Portuguese, who could not swim, stopped (sealed) two earthen jars, 'wherein the Spaniards usually carried wine from Spain to the West-Indies' intending to use them for swimming; 'as [do] those who are unskilled in that art use *calabacas*<sup>9</sup> or empty bladders'. That night he stabbed and killed a Centry [Sentry] and swam, 'by their help and support', to the shore, where he took refuge in the woods, hiding in a hollow tree for three days.

Evading the Spaniards and making his way along the coast to *del Golfo triste*, forty leagues from *Campeche*, he survived on a few shellfish for a fortnight. By finding an old board with nails, which he fashioned into crude cutting tools, he cut down branches 'the which, with twigs and Osiers<sup>10</sup> he joined together and made a boat, or rather a 'waft' [raft], wherein he wafted over the rivers'. By luck, he found a vessel of Pirates at the *Cape of Golfo triste*, comrades lately from Jamaica. They granted his request for a boat and twenty men to return to *Campeche* intent on taking the ship he had escaped from. Eight days later he succeeded by posing as a shore boat with *contra banda* goods, and sailed the vessel, which was richly laden with merchandise, 'although the Plate had been transported into the city', towards Jamaica. Near the Island of *Pinos*, fortune turned her back on him once more; a storm caused the vessel to be wrecked on the rocks or banks called *Jardines*. The vessel was lost, but Portuguese and his crew escaped death, and made their way to Jamaica in a canoe.

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<sup>1</sup> Written contract.

<sup>2</sup> 'glad' ('willing') Perhaps because the Man of War had thus gained a valuable prize for it's Commander.

<sup>3</sup> 'only' worth £25,000 Sterling ! (c.1670).

<sup>4</sup> Colombia.

<sup>5</sup> 1,200 Cwt. (60 tons).

<sup>6</sup> 70,000 pieces of eight @ 5s Sterling each.

<sup>7</sup> Burning of property.

<sup>8</sup> Gallows.

<sup>9</sup> A type of Pumpkin, used to carry water.

<sup>10</sup> A species of Willow, used in basket-making.

Another Pirate, who at present lives at Jamaica, has ‘enterprized and achieved things very strange’. Born in the City of Groninghen, in the *United Provinces*<sup>1</sup>, his proper name is not known: The Pirates only giving him that of Roche Brasiliano, by reason of his long residence in the Country of Brasil – from whence he was forced to flee when the Portuguese retook those countries from the *West India Company of Amsterdam*; several Nations then inhabiting Brazil (English, French, Dutch and others). Having retired to Jamaica, he entered himself into the Society of Pirates. Under these he served as a private Mariner for some while, behaving himself so well as to be liked and respected; as one that deserved to be their Commander in future.

One day, some Mariners walked off their vessel after a dissension with their Captain; Brasiliano followed the rest, by who was chosen for their Conductor and Leader; who also fitted him out a boat, or small vessel, wherein he received the Title of Captain. A few days after, he took a large ship from New-Spain [Mexico] on which he found much Plate<sup>2</sup>, gaining him instant renown. However, his domestic and private affairs left people in fear of him, (brutish, drunken beatings). He had an inveterate hatred of Spaniards, commanding several of them to be roasted alive on wooden spits; for no other crime, than they would no show him where he might find Hog-yards, where he might steal swine.

In a tempest, his ship was ‘wrackt’ upon the coast, between Campeche and Golfo Triste. He and thirty crew made their way towards Golfo Triste, where Pirates commonly used to repair and refresh. They found themselves having to fight 100 Spaniards on horseback, and despite the odds, after an hour, the Pirates, armed only with Musquets, put the Spaniards to flight, with the loss of only two men dead and two wounded. They completed their journey on horses, which were then killed and salted for provisions, using materials from a woodcutter’s boat they found at anchor and took.

Brasiliano and his companions later took another ship going from New-Spain to Maracaibo, laden with diverse merchandise and a considerable number of pieces of eight, ‘which were designed to buy Cacaonuts’, for their lading home. They took their prize home to Jamaica and, according to their custom, wasted in a few days, in ‘Taverns and Stews’<sup>3</sup> all they had gotten, by giving themselves to all manner of debauchery, with Strumpets and Wine. Such of these Pirates are found who will spend two or three thousand pieces of eight in one night, not leaving themselves a good shirt to wear on their backs, in the morning. I saw one of them give a common Strumpet, 500 pieces of eight, only that he might see her naked. My own Master would buy, on such occasions, a whole pipe of wine, and placing it in the street, would force every one that passed by to drink with him; threatening also to Pistol them if they refused. At other times he would do the same, with Barrels of Ale or Beer. Often, with hands, he would throw these liquors about the streets, and wet the cloathes of such as walked by, regardless of whether he spoiled their Apparel, were they men or women.

Among(st) themselves, these Pirates are extremely liberal. If any one of them had lost all his goods, which often happened in their way of life, they freely give, and make him a partaker of what they have. In Taverns and Ale houses they always have great credit; but *in Jamaica, they ought not to run very deep in debt, as the inhabitants do easily sell one another for debt.*

This happened to my Patron, or Master, to be sold for a debt at a Tavern where he had spent most of his money. In three months, this man had wasted 3,000 pieces of eight in ready cash, and became so poor, as I have described.

Brasiliano, having spent all that he had robbed, was forced to go to sea again, to seek his fortunes once more. He sailed towards Campeche, ‘his common place of Rendezvous’<sup>4</sup>. Fifteen days after arriving there he went in a Canoe, intent on spying the Port of that city, looking for any Spanish vessels he could rob. His fortune (luck) was so bad, he and his men were taken prisoner and the Governour cast them into a dungeon

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<sup>1</sup> Netherlands.

<sup>2</sup> Metal coated with Silver or Gold.

<sup>3</sup> Brothels

<sup>4</sup> ‘favourite hunting ground’

with the intention of hanging them all. Brasiliano 'used a Stratagem', which proved sufficient to save their lives. He writ [wrote] a letter to the Governour, making him believe it came from other Pirates at sea; saying that he should have a care, how he used those persons he had in custody. If he did them any harm, they would never give quarter to any Spaniard that fell into their hands.

The Governor knew that Pirates often entered other Towns and Villages in the Spanish dominions, and feared what mischief (the other) Pirates might cause. He released them, exacting only an Oath of them before hand<sup>1</sup>, that they would leave their exercise of Piracy for ever. He then sent them as common mariners, or passengers, in the *Galoon's*<sup>2</sup> to Spain. 'They got in this voyage all together 500 pieces of eight; whereby they tarried not long there, after their arrival.'<sup>3</sup> They all returned to Jamaica, from where they committed more robberies and cruelties than ever before, especially abusing the Spaniards who happened to fall into their hands.

The Spaniards, realising they could not beat these Pirates. Who were increasing daily, resolved to reduce the number of their trading ships, but the Pirates formed larger Companies [gangs] and targeted whole Cities, Towns and Villages; pillaging, burning and carrying away as much as possible.

The first Pirate to begin invasions by land, was called *Lewis Scot*, who sacked and pillaged the City of Campeche. He almost ruined the Town, robbing and destroying all he could; and only left it after he had 'put it to the ransom of an excessive summ of mony'. After Scot came another, called *Mansvelt*, who planned to set foot in *Grenada*, 'and penetrate with his piracies, *even unto the South Sea*<sup>4</sup>.' Both of which he effected until, for want of provisions, he was forced to return. He first assaulted the *Isle of Saint Catherine* and took some prisoners who showed him the way to *Cartagena*, which is the principal City in the Kingdom of *Nueva Granada*.

The bold attempts and efforts of John Davis born at Jamaica, ought not to be forgotten, especially his rare prudence and valour wherewith he behaved himself in the Kingdom of Grenada. He had cruised a long time in the *Gulf of Pocatauro*, looking for ships that were expected from *Cartagena*, bound for *Nicaragua*. Finding none, he decided to land in Nicaragua, leaving his ship concealed on the coast. He took 80 men, (out of fourscore and ten, the rest being left to keep the ship), in three Canoes, intending to rob the Churches and riches citizens in the Town of Nicaragua. At night they rowed up the river leading to that City, concealing themselves and their boats under the branches of trees, which were thick along the sides of the river. Likewise, the remaining ship's crew put to sea, lest they be seen by Fishermen or Indians.

They arrived at the City the third night, where the Centry [Sentry], who kept the post of the River, thought them to be Fishermen from the Lake. Most of the Pirates were skilful in the Spanish Tongue, so he never doubted when he heard them speak. They had in their company, an Indian who had run away from his Master, who was the first ashore and killed the sentry. They entered the City and went straight to three or four houses of the Chiefest citizens, 'where they knocked with dissimulation'. These, believing them to be friends, opened the doors and were robbed of all their money and plate. Neither did they spare the Churches, and most sacred things, all which were pillaged and prophaned, without any respect or veneration. The Pirates fled with many riches and some prisoners for ransom in the event of any of the Pirates being taken. Before setting their prisoners free, they forced them to procure as much meat as they needed for their voyage to Jamaica. No sooner had they weighed Anchor, when they saw on shore a Troop of about 500 well-armed Spaniards on the shore, from their city, at least 40 leagues from the sea.

On this occasion, these Pirates robbed above 4,000 pieces of eight in ready money [cash], 'besides great quantity of *Plate uncoyned* and many Jewels, all which was computed to be worth the sum of 50,000 pieces of eight, or more. With this great purchase, they soon arrived at Jamaica, but as these people are never

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<sup>1</sup> Signed undertaking?

<sup>2</sup> Spanish vessel

<sup>3</sup> Implies they were paid wages as crewmen on their passage to Spain.

<sup>4</sup> Pacific Ocean ??

Masters of their money, they were soon constrained to seek more by the same means as before. This adventure caused Captain John Davis to be chosen Admiral of seven or eight boats of Pirates; he being now esteemed by common consent, to be an able Conductor for such enterprizes.

He began this new Command by directing his fleet towards the coasts of the North of Cuba, to wait for the fleet which was to pass from *New Spain*. Finding nothing, they determined to go towards the coasts of *Florida*, where they landed some of their men and sacked a small city named *Saint Augustine of Florida*. The Castle of which place, had a garrison of 200 men, which, notwithstanding, could not prevent the pillage of the City.

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*End of the First Part.*

[In the second part of this Work, we shall bend our discourse to describe the actions of two of the most famous Pirates, who committed many horrible crimes, and inhuman cruelties, against the Spanish Nation.]

## PART II

### CHAP. I.

**Francis Lolonois** was a native of France from *Les Sables d'Olonne*, or the *Sands of Olone*. He was transported as a young man to the Caribby Islands, as a servant or slave, according to the custom of France and other countries aforementioned. Being out of his time, when he obtained his Freedom, he came to the Isle of Hispaniola, where he placed himself among the Hunters, before he began his robberies against the Spaniards, which I shall relate, until his unfortunate death.

At first he made two or three voyages as a common Mariner; wherein he behaved so courageously as to deserve the favour and esteem of the Governour of Tortuga, who was *then Monsieur de la Place*. This Gentleman gave him a ship to seek his fortune, with which he soon purchased great riches. His cruelties against the Spaniards were such that he soon became known throughout the Indies, as one they should fight to the end, rather than surrender and submit to his cruelties.

Fortune turned her back on him; starting with the loss of his ship in a storm off the coast near Campeche. The men survived, but many were chased and killed by the Spaniards. Lolonois was wounded and tried to save his life by camouflaging himself with sand and blood<sup>1</sup> from his own wounds, lay among the dead until the Spaniards had left. He recovered in the Woods and went into Campeche disguised in Spanish habit, where he spoke with some slaves, to whom he promised their liberty. Trusting him, they stole a canoe and went to sea, and Tortuga, with the Pirate. Meanwhile, those of his colleagues who had been made prisoner, when asked, told their captors that he was dead.

With Craft and Subtilty (sic) he obtained another ship and 21 crew, and set off for *de los Cayos*, on the South side of *Cuba*. The inhabitants of this town drive [derive] a great trade in Tobacco, Sugar and Hides, and all in boats, as the sea is too shallow for ships. Thinking he should get here considerable prey; but by the good fortune of some fishermen who escaped him, the inhabitants were warned and sent a Messenger overland the Governour in *Havanah*. Despite having previously received letters from Campeche that *Lolonois* was dead, he sent a 10-gun ship manned with 90 armed men under orders to destroy those Pirates, and provided them with a Negro as Hangman. They were ordered to bring *Lolonois* alive to Havanah.

The Pirates, instead of fleeing, went to seek the vessel in the *River Estera*, where she rid [rode] at anchor, hoping soon to obtain a bigger vessel than their two canoes, and thereby 'mend their fortune' (recover their losses). Having lulled the Watch into believing there were no Pirates in the area, by taking some fishermen

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<sup>1</sup> 'Bloud, with which he besmeared his face.'

alongside at two in the morning to tell them so, the Pirates assaulted the vessel at break of day. Although the Spaniards behaved themselves as they ought, and made as good a defence as they could, they were forced to surrender. Lolonois ordered them brought up to the deck on by one and ‘caused their heads to be struck off’. The Negro implored his mercy, telling Lolonois that he was constituted Hangman of the ship. He too was murdered, after telling all he knew. One man was spared, to be sent with a message in writing to the Governour in Havanah: “*I shall never henceforth give Quarter<sup>1</sup> unto any Spaniard whatsoever: And I have great hopes I shall execute on your own person the very same punishment I have done against them you sent against me. Thus I have retaliated the kindness you designed unto me and my Companions.*”

Such insolence caused the Governour to swear in public that he would never grant Quarter to any Pirate that should fall into his hands, but the citizens of Havanah implored him not to persist in that rash Oath, fearing the Pirates had one hundred times more opportunity of Revenge than he. (Many were fishermen in fear of losing their lives.)

Lolonois, having got himself a good ship, but with few crew and provisions, cruised from one Port to another until he came to Maracaibo, where he took, by surprise, a ship laden with Plate, outward-bound to buy Cacao-nuts, with which he returned to Tortuga; ‘where he was received with no small joy by the Inhabitants, they congratulating his happy Success, *and their own private interest.*’ He did not stay there long, ‘but pitched upon new designs, of equipping a whole Fleet, sufficient to carry 500 men.’ He resolved to pillage Cities, Towns and Villages, and to take Maracaibo itself, ‘having prisoners in his service who were acquainted with the ways [paths/roads] and places he designed upon.’

## Part II. CHAP. II.

Lolonois gathered above 400 men, including a Pirate called *Michael de Basco*, who had, by his Piracy, ‘gotten riches sufficient to live at ease, and go no more to Sea, having withal the Office of *Major* of the Island of Tortuga.’ He entered into a ‘streight League of Friendship.’ In return for making him Captain by Land (*for he knew the Country and all its Avenues*), he would take part in his Fortunes and accompany him. They both agreed upon Articles, which pleased Lolonois, knowing that Basco had performed great actions in Europe, and had gained the repute of a good Souldier [Soldier].

About the end of April, they embarked in 8 vessels, that of Lolonois being the biggest ‘having ten guns of indifferent carriage’ and ‘six hundred and threescore persons.’ They sailed for *Bayala*, on the North of Hispaniola, collecting some French Hunters who voluntarily offered to go along with them. Here they provided themselves with victuals for that voyage, setting sail the last day of July in the direction of the Eastern Cape, called *Punta de Espada*. Seeing a ship from Puerto Rico laden with Cacao-nuts, and bound for New-Spain, Lolonois, the Admiral, commanded the fleet wait for him near the *Isle of Savona*<sup>2</sup>, to the East of the Cape Punta de Espada. Combat lasted three hours before the Spaniards surrendered. Their ship was mounted with 16 guns and had 50 fighting men on board. They found in her 120,000 weight<sup>3</sup> of Cacao, 40,000 pieces of eight, and the value of ten thousand more in Jewels. Lolonois sent the vessel to Tortuga, to be unladed and with orders to return to Savona, where he would await their coming.

In the mean while, the rest of the fleet, at Savona, met and took without resistance, though mounted with 8 guns, a vessel from *Comana* carrying Military Provisions to Hispaniola; and with money also to pay the Garrisons there. On board were found 7,000 weight<sup>4</sup> of [Gun] Powder, great number of Muskets and 12,000 pieces of eight in ready money. These events gave great encouragement to the Pirates.

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<sup>1</sup> Mercy. Act of sparing a surrendered enemy.

<sup>2</sup> Saona Isle. 18.60 N. 68.45 W. (Later Dominica.) West side of the Mona Passage.

<sup>3</sup> 1,200 Cwt., or 60 tons.

<sup>4</sup> 70 Cwt., or 3.5 tons.

When it returned from Tortuga, Lolonois removed to the (16-gun) ship, leaving *Antony du Puis* in command of his vessel. They set sail for *Maracaibo*, which Port is in *the Province of Nueva Venezuela*, in the Altitude of 12 degrees and some minutes of Northern Latitude.

This Island<sup>1</sup> is in length 20 leagues, and 12 in breadth. Unto this Port belong the islands of *Omega*<sup>2</sup> and *Monges*. The East side is called *Cape. St. Roman*<sup>3</sup>, and the Western side *Cape of Caquibacoa*<sup>4</sup>. 'The Gulf is called by some, the *Gulf of Venezuelo*; but the Pirats usually call it the *Bay of Maracaibo*.'

At the beginning (entrance) of this Gulf are two islands. One to the East called *Isla de la Vigilia*, or the *Watch-Isle*; because in the middle is an high hill, upon which stands a house in which a Watchman lives 'perpetually'. The other is called *Isla de la Palomas*, or the *Isle of Pigeons*. Between these two islands runs a Lake of fresh water, being 60 leagues in length and 30 in breadth; which disgorges into the Ocean. Between them is the best passage for ships, no broader (wider) 'than the flight of a Gun of eight pound carriage, more or less.' A Castle stands on the Isle of Pigeons, to impede the entry of any vessels which must pass under the Castle because of two sandbanks on the other side, 'with onely (sic) fourteen feet of water'.

There are many other sandbanks in this Lake, such as that called *el Tablazo*, or the *great Table*, which is no deeper than ten foot; but this lies 40 leagues within the lake. Others with between 6 – 8 foot in depth are dangerous, especially to Mariners unacquainted with the lake.

On the West side of the Lake is the '*Citie of Maracaibo, being very pleasant to the view, by reason its houses are built along the shore, having delicate prospects every-where round about.*'

The City may possibly contain 3 or 4,000 persons, the Slaves being included in this number; which makes a Town of reasonable size. Among these are judged to be 800 persons able to bear Arms, all of them Spaniards. Here also is one Parish Church, of very good Fabrick<sup>5</sup> and well adorned; four Monasteries and one Hospital. The City is governed by a Deputy-Governour, substituted here by the Governour of *Caracas*, as being his Dependency. The main commerce is in Hides and Tobacco and the inhabitants possess large numbers of Cattel (sic) and many Plantations, which extent 30 leagues inland, (mostly) on that side which looks towards the great and populous Town of *Gibraltar*, at which place are gathered huge quantities of Cacao-nuts, and all other sorts of Garden-fruits 'which greatly regale and sustenance the inhabitants of Maracaibo.' Gibraltar is supplied with meat from Maracaibo, and is inhabited with 1,500 persons, of which 400 may be capable of bearing Arms. Most of the inhabitants keep open Shops 'wherein they exercise one mechanick<sup>6</sup>(sic) Trade or another.'

The plantations around this Town are cultivated with Sugar and Cacao, and have many tall and beautiful trees, which provide timber for building Houses and Ships. These are built with only one great (main) sail, and are called *Piragua's*. The country[side] is sufficiently furnished with Rivers and Brooks, useful in times of 'Drowths' [Droughts] - the inhabitants opening on that occasion many little channels, through which they lead the Rivolets [rivulets] to water their fields and Plantations.

They plant there large areas of Tobacco which is esteemed in Europe, called there *Tabaco de Sacerdotes, or Priests Tobacco*. They enjoy nigh 20 leagues of Jurisdiction; which is bounded by very high mountains that are perpetually covered with snow, the other side of which is a big city called *Merida*, unto which the Town

<sup>1</sup> Unclear.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly Oruba (later Dutch ) or L' Aruba. 12.25 N. 70.0 W.

<sup>3</sup> Northern tip of the Paraguana Peninsula

<sup>4</sup> Goajira Peninsula

<sup>5</sup> Well built, probably of stone. (History of the West Indies, by Sir Alan Burns, refers to Bahía Isabella, Hispaniola, having 'a church, a storehouse and a house for Columbus, all built of stone.' (in 1493)

<sup>6</sup> Skilled workman, artisan.

of *Gibraltar* is subject. All the merchandise is carried<sup>1</sup> on Mules, which return from the direction of *Peru*, by way of *Estaffe*, with 'Flour of Meal'.

- Lolois succeeded in capturing Maracaibo, but the inhabitants had fled to Gibraltar and warned the Governor of Merida, 'who was a valiant Souldier and had served his King in *Flanders* in many Military Offices'. He arrived at Gibraltar with 400 well-armed men and strategically placed gun batteries facing the sea and on the road into the town. The Pirates were driven by the belief that the inhabitants of Maracaibo had absconded to Gibraltar with their riches. Anchoring close to the shore and landing at dawn, his men suffered heavily from the Governor's forces, but, by retiring suddenly and appearing to flee, he lured the Spaniards from their positions then rounded on them, killing over 200 Spaniards in hand to hand fighting, before returning to take Gibraltar. In all they had killed over 500 Spaniards, wounded many more and took custody of 150 prisoners, 500 slaves, and many women and children. The Pirates lost only 40 men and as many wounded, most of whom died 'through the constitution of the air, which brought Fevers and other accidents upon them.'

Within 18 days most of their prisoners had died of hunger and torture. Women were forced to '*serve them in their sensual delights*' and messengers were sent to those who had fled into the woods, that their houses would be burnt unless a ransom of 10,000 pieces of eight were paid within two days. Unable to gather such a sum in such a short time, they saw part of their town being burnt, including the Church belonging to the Monastery, which was destroyed. The Pirates took to their ships with many slaves, on which a ransom had been set. They returned to Maracaibo, and similarly demanded a ransom, of 30,000 pieces of eight, and robbed 'the Images, Pictures and Bells of the great Church' (Cathedral). The Pirates accepted the offer of 20,000 pieces of eight and 500 Cows, 'the one and the other being delivered<sup>2</sup>, they set sail with the whole fleet, causing great joy to the inhabitants of Maracaibo to see themselves quit of these sort of people.'

Having been two months in these two towns, they sailed for Hispaniola, arriving eight days later at *Isla de la Vaca, or Cow-Island*, which is mostly inhabited by French Bucaniers who sell meat to the Pirates requiring victuals. Here they unladed the whole *Cargazan*<sup>3</sup> of riches they had robbed,; the usual store-house of the Pirates being under the shelter of the Bucaniers. 'Here they made a Dividend amongst them of all their Prizes and Gains' –In ready money, 260,000 pieces of eight, of which every one received his share; and also in Silk, Linen and other commodities to the value of over 100 pieces of eight. Those wounded received recompense for their injuries.

'Afterwards they weighed all the **Plate that was uncoined, reckoning after the rate of ten pieces of eight for every pound**<sup>4</sup>. Jewels were prized with much variety, either too high or too low rates; being thus occasioned by their own ignorance.' This being done, every one put to his Oath again, that he had not concealed anything, nor subtracted from the common stock. Hence they proceeded to the Dividend of what shares belonged to those who died, in battel [Battle]or otherwise. These shares were given to their friends to deliver in full to their nearest relatives or whoever should appear to be their lawful Heirs.

Within three weeks of their return to Tortuga, he Pirates had spent their money on things of little value, or at play of Cards or Dice. Two French ships had just landed Wine and Brandy, which was being sold cheap and soon consumed. **The price of a gallon of Brandy rose to four Pieces of Eight.**[20 shillings] The Governor of Tortuga bought the whole of a cargo of Cacao off the Pirates for one twentieth of what it was worth, the Taverns and Stews getting the most part.

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<sup>1</sup> Mealie (Maize)

<sup>2</sup> It is not clear what they did with so many 'cattell'

<sup>3</sup> Cargo, (presumably including cows)

<sup>4</sup> Valuing (silver)Plate at 50/= per pound (c.1670)

## PART II. CHAP. III

Lolonois resolved to go on a second voyage, this time to Nicaragua, to pillage as many towns as possible. Having published his new preparations, he gathered 700 men, 300 of whom he took on the ship he took at Maracaibo, the rest on five smaller vessels. First they sailed to *Bayaha*, in Hispaniola, to victual the fleet, from where they sailed to *Matamana* on the South side of *Cuba*. There they took canoes from disconsolate tortoise fishermen from Havanah, anticipating their need to navigate shallow waters, and steered for *Cape Gracias a Dios*<sup>1</sup>, on the continent in the altitude of 15 degrees, Northern latitude, one hundred leagues from the *Island de los Pinos*.

They were taken by a sad and tedious calm; and by the agitation of the Waves alone<sup>2</sup>, were thrown into the *Gulf of Honduras*. Short of provisions, they were forced to put into the first Port or Bay they could reach to re-victual their fleet. Thus they entered with their canoes into a River called *Xagua*, inhabited by Indians, who they totally robbed and destroyed; finding amongst their goods great quantity of Millet, many Hogs and Hens. While waiting for a change in (seasonal) weather, they decided to pillage the towns and villages along the Gulf, coming at last to *Puerto Cavallo*, in which the Spaniards had two storehouses for goods from the inner parts of the country, until the arrival of the ships. At the time, there was a Spanish ship, which they seized, mounting 24 guns and 16 *Pedrero*'s, or Mortarpieces (sic).

Burning the store and other houses, they took and tortured prisoners, some being forced onto the Rack<sup>3</sup> in an effort to extract discovery of the places fugitive Spaniards (and their possessions) lay hidden. All but two prisoners were thus annihilated.

Lolonois led 300 men who marched 12 leagues to the Town of *San Pedro, or St. Peter*, leaving Moses van Vin as his Lieutenant to govern the rest in his absence. Several times, on their way they met with troops of Spaniards who lay in Ambuscade<sup>4</sup> for their coming.

All were overpowered by Lolonois and his men, but with the reduction of their numbers, which the Spaniards had planned, 'assaulting them by degrees' by posting themselves at various places along his route. The Spaniards in San Pedro were 'compelled to hang forth a white Flag, in token of Truce, and that they desired to come to a *Parly*.' The only conditions they gave for delivering the town were, that the Pirates should give them quarter<sup>5</sup> for two hours, to enable them to take their possessions and leave. This was agreed and adhered to by the Pirates, who later tried to follow and rob those who had fled the town, finding though 'only a few leather sacks that were filled with *Anil*<sup>6</sup> or *Indigo*.' They left San Pedro in ashes and returned to where they had left their comrades, who had busied themselves in cruising upon the fishermen from the *River of Guatemala*, learning that a ship was expected to come there from Spain.

Deciding to cross the Gulf to some islands to seek provisions and 'there to cleanse and careen their vessels', leaving two canoes near the mouth of the river Guatemala to await the arrival of the ship from Spain. Tortoises were known to be plentiful in the islands<sup>7</sup> where they divided into troops, 'each party choosing a post for that fishery. Every one of them undertook to knit a Net with the Rinds of certain Trees, called in those parts, *Macoa*. *Of these Rinds they make also Ropes and Cables for the service of ships*: Insomuch that no vessel can be in need of such things, whensoever they can but find the said trees.' They also find *Pitch* in great abundance, running down to the sea, being melted by the sun and congealing in heaps, like small islands in the water. Unlike that we have in Europe, but similar in colour and shape (?) to 'that froth of the

<sup>1</sup> North-east tip of Nicaragua, close to Honduras.

<sup>2</sup> Taken by the Current.

<sup>3</sup> Instrument of torture, on which men were stretched and dislocated.

<sup>4</sup> Ambush

<sup>5</sup> Mercy. (Act of sparing a surrendered army)

<sup>6</sup> Indigo shrub or dye. (deep blue)

<sup>7</sup> Possibly Utila, Roatan and Bonacal, off the coast of Honduras.

sea which is called by the Naturalists, *Bitumen*. But in my judgement, this matter is nothing more than Beeswax, being mixed with sand and having the smell of *Black Ambar*<sup>1</sup>, such as is sent us from the Orient.’

[Esquemeling expounds; ‘In these parts are found great quantities of bees, who make their Honey in trees. When tempests arise they are torn away, and by the fury of the winds, carried into the sea. Some Naturalists are willing to say, that between the honey and the wax is made a separation by means of the salt water; from whence proceedeth also the good Ambar. This opinion is rendered the more probable, because the said Ambar being found and tasted, it affordeth the like taste as wax.’]

The Pirates spent some time cruising the coasts of *Jucatan*, inhabitant by many Indians, ‘who seek for the Ambar abovementioned in those seas.’ These Indians have now been 100 years under the dominion of the Spaniards, serving them as slaves or servants. By the Spaniards they were initiated at first in the Principles of Christian Faith and Religion. Every Sunday and Holiday, a Priest was sent to perform a divine service among them, but for whatever reasons they cast off Christian Religion again, (resulting in) the Spaniards imprisoning many Indians following the beating of a Priest. The Pirates took many canoes from the Indians in the Island of *Sambale*, five leagues from the coast of Jucatan, in which are found large quantities of Ambar. After three months in that Gulf, (Honduras) the Pirates received word that the Spanish ship had arrived. They also decided to send some of their boats to hunt for a small vessel that was expected with a cargo of **Plate, Indigo and Cochineal**.

The Spaniard carried 42 guns and 130 men, who were prepared for the Pirates in a 22-gun vessel with only a small *Saetia*, or *Flyboat* in support. The Pirate’s assault was repelled, however, by attacking with men sent in canoes in a thick Fog or mist, the Spaniards were boarded and forced to surrender, only to find she was almost completely unladen. Their haul was merely 50 bars of Iron, a small parcel of Paper and some earthen Jars full of Wine.

Calling a Council of the Fleet, when Lolonois resolved to go to Guatemala, the majority, by now disillusioned, left the fleet and headed back to Tortuga. Their Ringleader was Moses Vanclein<sup>2</sup>, who was joined by Pierre le Picard, and together they sailed to Costa Rica and landed a force on the River of *Veraguas*, taking a town of the same name. Besides prisoners they only found seven or eight pounds of gold, which was mined [panned] and washed in the rivers locally. Thoughts of marching overland to take the town of *Nata*, were dispelled when they saw a large force of Spaniards who had gathered to resist them.

Lolonois remained alone in the Gulf of Honduras, his vessel too deep to get out ‘at the time of the reflux of those seas’, and, forced to obtain provisions daily from ashore, the men had to live by eating monkeys and other animals, such as they could find. At last, making the Cape of *Gracias a Dios*, his ship struck a sandbank near the *Isles de la Pertas*. Lightening the vessel proved to no avail and they were forced to break it up in order to build a boat to save themselves. The Islands are populated by Indians, who are properly Savages, as not having known or conversed with any civil people. Tall, nimble quick runners and dexterous and hardy divers. From the bottom of the sea, **I saw them take up an Anchor that weighed 600 lb, by tying a cable unto it with great dexterity, and pulling it from a Rock**<sup>3</sup>.

Some are of the opinion that these Indians eat human flesh, which seemed to be confirmed by what happened when Lolonois was there. Two of his companions, one Frenchman, the other a Spaniard, who disappeared following his capture by Indians. Twelve Pirates led by the Frenchman found signs of a small fire near where he was last seen, and the ‘bones of the said Spaniard very well roasted. From hence they inferred that they had roasted the Spaniard, of whom they found more, some pieces of flesh ill scraped<sup>4</sup> off from the bones; and one hand, which had only two fingers remaining.’

<sup>1</sup> Amber – yellow-brown fossil resin used for ornamental purposes, or (more likely),

Ambergris – grey or black waxy substance from the intestines of the Sperm-whale. Used in perfumery.

<sup>2</sup> Earlier (translated as) Moses van Vin.

<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately he does not detail the method of purchase the Indians used. (Spanish Windlass ?)

<sup>4</sup> ‘They Indians use no other arms than such as made of wood, without any Iron, unless that some instead do fix a Crocodile’s tooth, which serveth as a point.’ (Apparently the Indians has no cutting utensils.)

The Pirates took on board their ships five men and four women, and used all the means they could invent to make themselves understood and gain their affections, giving them small trifles, as Knives<sup>1</sup>, Beads and other things. They refused to taste victuals and drink given them, and it was noticeable that they spoke not a word to each other. These Indians were released by the pirates, and were not seen again. Meanwhile, considering how long it would take to construct their long-boat, some of the Pirates sowed *French Beans*, which came to maturity in six weeks. They had good provision of *Spanish Wheat*, *Bananas*, *Racoven*<sup>2</sup>, and other things. With the wheat they made bread, and baked it in portable Ovens, which they had brought with them to this effect.

After five months the long-boat was ready, and they cast lots to decide which half of the men would sail in it and a skiff they had from before. Intending to see if they could take some canoes to return for their companions, Lolonois having set sail, arrived in a few days at the mouth of the *River of Nicaragua*, where he was set upon by both Spaniards and Indians who killed most of the Pirates. Lolonois escaped, and despite the loss of so many men, he did not return to the *Isle of Pertas* for his companions, but sailed on to the coasts of *Cartagena* looking for Canoes.

God Almighty had appointed the *Indians of Darien* to be the Executioners of Lolonois. These Indians are esteemed to be *Bravo's*, or wild savage Indians, by the neighbouring Spaniards who could never reduce them to civility. One of his companions gave me an account of how Lolonois was captured and torn to pieces and burnt alive by the Indians. Those who awaited the return of their Captain, on the Isle de las Pertas, were rescued by a Pirate ship from Jamaica which they joined, intent upon taking the City of Cartagena, glad to be delivered from ten months on the island. In all 500 men took to canoes, without provisions, (on what proved to be a fruitless enterprise) with only a few who survived hunger and sickness returning to their boats on the coast a fortnight later.

#### CHAP. IV. Captain Henry Morgan

'Captain Henry Morgan was born in the Kingdom of England, and there in the Principality of Wales. His father was a rich Yeoman or Farmer, and of good quality in that Country, even as most who bear that name in Wales are known to be. Morgan had no inclination to follow the calling of his father; and therefore left his Country and came towards the sea-coasts to seek some other employ more suitable to his humour'

He joined some ships bound for *Barbadas* (sic) and, according to what is commonly practised in those parts by the English and other Nations, was sold as soon as he came on shore. He served his time at *Barbadas*; and when he had obtained his liberty, thence transferred himself to the Island of *Jamaica*. He joined one of two vessels ready for sea and soon learned their manner of living. After three or four successful voyages he agreed to pool his money with some of his comrades and buy a ship, they unanimously chose him to be the Captain and Commander.

He had the fortune to take several ships off the coast of *Campeche*, with which he returned triumphant to Jamaica. Here he found an old Pirat, named Mansvelt who was equipping a fleet of ships with design to land upon the Continent, and pillage whatever came in his way. Mansvelt judged Morgan by his actions to be of undaunted courage; and 'hereupon was moved to chuse [choose, select] him for his Vice-Admiral in that Expedition. Thus having fitted out 15 ships, large and small, they sailed from Jamaica with 500 men, both *Walloon*<sup>3</sup> and *French*.'

They arrived at the Island of *St. Catharine*, near the coast of *Costa Rica*, in the altitude of twelve degrees and a half Northern latitude, and 35 leagues from the River of *Chagre*.

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<sup>1</sup> (Tempting fate somewhat !)

<sup>2</sup> Previously spelt 'Racoven'

<sup>3</sup> From South-East Belgium.

\_\_\_\_\_ end of direct text ----- notes only;

*Cuba:* The city and Port de la Havana. 'Tis esteemed to contain 10,000 families.  
Merchants trade in New Spain [Mexico], Campeche, Honduras and Horida (Florida?)

**Havana is a required stop for vessels to victual on their route to the South of Europe.**

The Plate-Fleet of Spain, which the Spaniards call 'Flota' being homeward bound, toucheth here yearly, to take in the rest of their full cargo, as Hides, Tobacco and Campeche-wood.

P.86. Captain Morgan demanded a ransom (in Cuba) of 500 Oxen or Cows, with sufficient Salt and men to kill and salt the Beeves (sic). ("The English enjoy Bone Marrow")

Captain Morgan takes Puerto Velo, with 400 French and English Pirates and obtains a ransom of 100,000 pieces of eight. He left for Cuba, promising to return and take Panama a year later, divided their 250,000 Pieces of Eight in spoils and returned to Jamaica.

In April 1669. Captain Morgan was confronted by Don Alfonso del Campo and Espinola, Admiral of the Spanish Fleet, at Maracaibo. He planned to escape Maracaibo by using a Fire-ship against the Spanish Admiral, which was effected by gathering all the Pitch, Tar, Powder and Brimstone<sup>1</sup>, quantities of Palm-leaves, very well ointed with tar. Wooden dummies, dressed with hats, swords, muskets and *Bandealers* were placed on the **Brulot or Fire-ship**. All their prisoners were put on one ship, all the Women, Plate and Jewels on another. Morgan thus set sail to break out from Maracaibo on 30<sup>th</sup> day of April 1669. [See insert drawing of the action p.137.) The plan worked, and afterwards a pilot told Captain Morgan that 6 ships of war had been sent by the King of Spain to capture the Pirates who had sacked Porto Velo, following several complaints to the English Court. The King of England's constant answer was that he never gave any letters-patent nor Commissions for the acting of any hostility whatsoever against the subjects of the King of Spain. The fleet sent comprised: *Na.Sa. de la Soledad* with 48 large and 8 small guns, on which was Admiral Don Augustin de Bustos, the Vice-Admiral was Don Alfonso, who commanded *la Concepcion*, with 44 large and 8 small guns. The other four ships were *Magdalen* 36 large and 12 small guns, having on board 250 men, *St. Lewis*, 26 large, 12 small guns and 200 men, *la Marquesa*, 16 large, 8 small guns and 150 men, *Na. Sa. Del Carmen*, with 18 large, 8 small guns and 150 men.

The Pilot related to Captain Morgan, 'Arriving at Cartagena, the two largest ships received orders to return to pain, as being judged too big for cruising upon these coasts. Of four ships, the last named ship was lost in a northerly storm after leaving Campeche. They arrived at Santo Domingo, Hispaniola, with news there of the Jamaica Pirates under Morgan, Don Alfonso weighed anchor and set sail for the Continent<sup>2</sup>, to Caracas, where he learned Morgan was in the Lake of Maracaibo.

The Pilot also said Don Alfonso had not believed information given by a Negro, advising him of Captain Morgan's intention to break out by using a fire-ship; 'How can this be? *Have they, peradventure, wit enough to build a Fire-ship? Or what instruments do they to do it withal?*'

**Morgan demanded a ransom for not returning to burn Maracaibo**, and obtained 20,000 pieces of eight and 500 'Beeves'. He also took *15,000 pieces of eight from the 'wrack' [hull] of one of the men of war, 'besides many other pieces of Plate, as Hilts of Swords, also a great quantity of Pieces of Eight that were melted and run together by the force of the fire.'*

Morgan held council and divided the 250,000 Pieces of eight in money and jewels, which was then dispersed among his captains and their boats. To get past he armed castle, now fortified with guns of the men of war

<sup>1</sup> Sulphur. 'fuel of Hell-fire' (Bibl)

<sup>2</sup> Now South America.

and under the command of Don Alfonso, Morgan tricked watchers from the Castle into believing he was landing hundreds of men in canoes, in preparation for a land attack on the Castle. Guns were moved to defend against such an attack, and Morgan drifted his fleet on the ebb tide at night, only raising sails when under the Castle and then too late for the guns to be returned and brought to bear on him!

Captain Morgan and his fleet of Pirates survived a severe storm in shallow waters, and returned to Jamaica.

## PART III CHAP.I

Captain Morgan goes to the Isle of Hispaniola to equip a new fleet, with intent to pillage upon the coasts of the West-Indies. On 24<sup>th</sup> October 1670, his ships and volunteers met as agreed at *Port Couillon*, on the *Island de la Vaca*, where called a Council to decide how to find provisions for so many people now gathered. They concluded to send four ships and one boat manned with 400 men over to the Continent, to rifle some Towns and get all the *Corn or Maiz* they could gather. These set sail for the *River de la Hacha* and a village called *la Rancheria*, 'where is usually to be found the greatest quantity of Maiz of all those parts.' In the meantime Captain Morgan sent his men to hunt in the woods a huge number of beasts, and salt them, while the rest had to '*clean, fitt and rigg them out to sea.*'

## CHAP. II

A Spanish ship, fully laden with Corn was captured as she tried to escape, and despite resistance the Pirates took a village and obtained a ransom of 4,000 *Hanegs, or Bushels* of Maiz. Within 5 weeks of leaving Captain Morgan, they returned with flesh [meat], Corn and an additional vessel. Thus he set sail for *Cape Tiberon* and was met on the way by more ships that came from Jamaica to join them. In whole, the fleet consisted of 37 ships and 2,000 men, besides Mariners [Sailors] and Boys. Captain Morgan divided the fleet into two, giving all his officers 'Letters, Patents or Commissions to act in all manner of Hostilities against the Spanish Nation – as if they were open and declared enemies (as he term'd it) of the King of England, his pretended Master.'

Articles were signed which stipulated he would 'the hundredth part of all that was gotten, to himself alone; that every Captain should draw the Shares of 8 men for the expenses of his ship, besides his own: That the Surgeon, besides his Ordinary Pay, should have 200 pieces of eight, for his chest of Medicaments: And every Carpenter, above his common Salary, should draw 100 pieces of eight.

As to recompense and rewards, they were regulated in this voyage much higher than was expressed in the first part of this book. Thus, for the loss of both legs, they assigned 1,500 Pieces of Eight, or 15 slaves, the Choice being left to the election of the Party. For the loss of both hands, 1,800 pieces of Eight, or 18 slaves. For one leg, whether the right or the left, 600 pieces of Eight, or 6 slaves. For a hand, as much as for a leg. And for the loss of any eye, 100 pieces of Eight, or 1 slave. Lastly, to him that in any Battel should signalise himself, either by entering the first any Castle, or taking down the Spanish Colours, and setting up the English, they constituted 50 pieces of Eight for a Reward. Recompenses or Rewards were stipulates to be paid out of the first Spoil or Purchase they should take.

Captain Morgan ordered his Captains to attempt one of three places, **Cartagena, Panama or Vera Cruz**. Panama was considered the richest of al three: notwithstanding this city being such a distance from the Northern Sea<sup>1</sup>. They also agreed that the first (Senior) Captain to take a Spanish ship would have for his reward, one 10<sup>th</sup> part of whatsoever should be found within her.

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<sup>1</sup> Furthest from Jamaica and Hispaniola (Northern Caribbean, Greater Antilles.)

### CHAP. III

Captain Morgan and his Companions weighed anchors from the Cape of Tiburon, the 16<sup>th</sup> day of December, in the year **1670**. For days later they arrived within sight of the Isle of St. Catharin, which was now in the possession of the Spaniards again. Morgan landed 1000 men, in a Bay called Aguada Grande, who divided into four squadrons which marched through the woods to the Governour's residence. About Midnight it began to rain so hard, those men '*having no other cloaths, than a pair of Seaman's Trowzers, or Breeches, and a shirt, without either shoes, or stockings.*' They began to pull down a few thatched houses to make fires, and withal, could then have been overpowered by 100 men.

[The Governor, fearing annihilation of the inhabitants of St. Catharin, proposed a mock battle, and allowed himself to be captured and surrender nine fortresses on the island. "the false Alarum or Battel began, with incessant firing of great guns from both the castles, against the ships, but without Bullets." The Pirates found 30,000 pounds of ammunition, which together with other arms they loaded onto their vessels. Morgan ordered four vessels to take 400 men under Captain Brodley, to go and take the Castle of Chagre, seated on the River Chagre, while he remained on the Island, and awaited their return. The Governor of Panama, hearing of the gathering of Pirates planning to attack his city, sent 164 men to reinforce the 150 in the Castle in Chagre, all but 30 were killed (of 314), and the Pirates lost 100 men.]

Captain Morgan arrived at **Chagres**, and ordered the garrison manned with 500 of his men, and some ships he left in the river manned with a further 150. On 18 August, 1670, he sailed from the Castle of Chagre with 1,200 men, 5 boats with artillery and 32 Canoes, making only 6 leagues that day, before having to stop (at *de los Bracos*) to allow his men some sleep, and stretch their limbs caused by overcrowding in the boats.

By day 5, on their route to Panama, men were reduced to eating leather pouches they found left behind by some Spaniards at *Torna Cavallos* and *Torna Munni*, and, at *Barbacoa*, some wheat, meal, fruits called *Platanos*, and two great Jars of Wine. On their march, day 6, surviving by eating leaves of trees, and green herbs, or grass, they found a barn full of Maiz 'and fell to eating it dry'.

On day seven, they crossed a river and came upon a settlement called *Cruz*, ('*Cruzes* on the map on p.35) still smocking from houses fired by fleeing Spaniards, except 'store-houses and stables belonging to the King' – in which they found 15 or 16 Jars of *Peru* Wine and a leather sack full of bread, from which they were sick, (from being so undernourished). This village is seated in the Altitude of 9 degrees, and 2 minutes, Northern Latitude, being distant from Chagre, '26 Spanish Leagues, and 8 from Panama. This is the last place unto which Boats or Canows can come; for which reason they built the store-houses, wherein to keep all sorts of merchandize, for transport to Panama upon the backs of mules. Here, Captain Morgan was obliged to leave his canows, [canoes] and land all his men, who he forbid to go out of the village, except in whole companies of 100 men.

On the 8<sup>th</sup> day, Morgan sent 200 men before the body of his army 'to discover the way to Panama, and see if (the Spaniards and Indians) had laid any *Ambuscades* (Ambushes) there'. After marching 10 hours, they came to *Quebrada Obscura*, where 3 or 4,000 arrows were shot at them

By Indians from above their path. Armed with a Javelin (*Azagaya*), the Indian 'captain' was shot to death with a pistol, 'this was the fate of many of his companions', rather than be taken prisoner. 'Yea, had the Indians been more dextrous in military affairs, they might have defended their passage'.

On the 9<sup>th</sup>, about break of day, Captain Morgan continued his march 'while the fresh air of the morning lasted' – coming to a high mountain, which when they ascended, they discovered from the top thereof, the **South-Sea**. This happy sight caused great joy among the Pirats. From hence they could descry also one ship, and six boats, which were set forth from **Panama**, and sailed towards the islands of *Tovago* and *Tovagilla*. In a vale below the mountain they found a great quantity of cattel, which they killed 'horses, bulls, and chiefly asses, of which there were a great number – thus cutting the flesh of these animals into convenient pieces, or goblets<sup>1</sup>, eating them half carbonado'd, or roasted.

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<sup>1</sup> Goblet – a drinking vessel (should read 'Gobbet' – a morsel of food)

About evening, they discovered a troop of 200 Spaniards, who halloo'd unto the Pirats, but these could not understand what they said. Then they came within the sight of the highest Steeple of Panama, and began to signs of extream joy, casting their hats into the air, leaping for mirth – just as if they had already obtained the victory.

On the 10<sup>th</sup> day, 'betimes in the morning', they put all their men into convenient order, and marched towards the city with drums and trumpets sounding. The Governor of Panama put his forces in order, consisting of 2 squadrons, 4 Regiments of Foot and a huge number of wild bulls, which were driven by a great number of Indians, with some Negroes and others, to help them. Morgan sent 200 **Bucaniers**, '*which sort of people are infinitely dextrous at shooting with guns*' firing directly towards the Spaniards, who were posted in a spacious field. As they drew nigh, the Spaniards moved horses against the Pirats, but the field being full of Quaggs<sup>1</sup>, and very soft under foot, they could not ply to and fro, and wheel about, as they desired. The Bucaniers, putting one knee on the ground, gave them a full volley of shot. The Spaniards attempted to drive the bulls against them at their backs, to put them in disorder, 'but he greatest part of the cattel ran way'. After 2 hours the Bucaniers put the Spaniards to flight, later learning the forces of Panama consisted of 400 horses, 24 companies of foot, each being 100 men compleat, 60 Indians, and some Negro's, who were to drive 2000 wild bulls. Of the Spaniards were found 600 dead, besides wounded and prisoners.

Morgan marched upon the town, which 'saluted' his men with large guns, some of which were charged with small pieces or iron, and others with musket-balls. Notwithstanding, the Spaniards were forced to deliver the city after a space of three hours. The Pirats now possessed themselves with silks, cloths and linnen from the warehouses. Reasoning the wine may be poisoned, Captain Morgan forbade his men to drink or taste any wine, howbeit, in the opinion of many, he gave these prudent orders to prevent the debauchery of his people, which he foresaw would be great after so much hunger sustained on the way. Fearing withal least the Spaniards, seeing them in wine, should rally their forces.

## CHAP. VI

Captain Morgan ordered 25 men to seize a great boat, stuck in the mud of the port for want of water at a low tide, so she could not put to sea. The same day, he caused men to set fire to the city, and endeavoured to make the publick believe the Spaniards had been the cause thereof. All the houses were built of Cedar, being of a very curious and magnificent structure, and richly adorned within, especially with hangings and paintings, whereof part were already transported<sup>2</sup> out of the Pirats way, and another great part were consumed by the voracity of the fire.

There belonged unto this city, which is also the Head of the Bishoprics, 8 Monasteries, whereof seven were for men, and one for women; two stately Churches and one Hospital. The churches were all richly adorned with Altar-pieces and Paintings, huge quantities of Gold and Silver, all of which the Ecclesiasticks had hidden. Besides, there were 2,000 houses, magnificent and prodigious buildings, (mostly) inhabited by Merchants of that Country, who are vastly rich. For the rest, of lesser quality, and Tradesmen, this city contained 5,000 houses more. Here were also a large number of stables, for horses and mules, that carry all the Plate belonging as well unto the King of Spain, as private men, towards the coasts of the *North-Sea*. The neighbouring fields are all cultivated with fertile plantations and pleasant gardens 'which afford delicious Prospect unto the inhabitants the whole year long.'

The *Genoeses* had in this city of Panama a stately and magnificent house, belonging to their Trade and Commerce of Negro's. This building likewise was commanded by Captain Morgan to be set on fire, whereby it was burnt to the very ground. The fire was seen to continue for four weeks. Only one church was left standing, containing the wounded Pirats. Captain Morgan sent a convoy of 150 men to Chagres to carry the news of his victory against Panama. He re-entered the city, having camped without, fearing Spaniards would come and fight them anew, and his men fell to seeking very carefully among the ashes and ruins for

<sup>1</sup> 'quag' – a marshy ground.

<sup>2</sup> 'the inhabitants had caused the best of their goods to be transported unto more remote and occult places' (p.53)

utensils of Plate or Gold, which peradventure were not quite wasted by the flames. They found no small number, especially in wells and cisterns<sup>1</sup>. Morgan sent 150 men with orders to seek the inhabitants of Panama who had escaped. Although they returned with 200 prisoners, men, women and slaves, one certain Galleon had escaped, being richly laden with King's Plate, gold, pearls, jewels and other most precious goods, of all the best and richest merchants of Panama. On board this Galleon were also the religious women belonging to the Nunnery, all the ornaments of their Church and other things of great value.

The Galleon was nothing considerable, having only 7 guns, and 10 or 12 Muskets for its defence. Being on the other side very ill provided of victuals, with ant of fresh water, 'and having no more Sayls than the uppermost Sayls of the main Mast.' – this description from 7 Mariners belonging to the Galleon when they came ashore in the Cockboat<sup>2</sup> to take in fresh water.

The Pirats were impeded from following this vastly rich prize, by the lascivious exercises wherein they were totally at that present (time) involved with Women, which unto this effect they had carried with them, and forced onto their boat. Unto this vice was also joyned that of Gluttony and Drunkenness, having plentifully debauched themselves with several sorts of rich wines, they found there ready to their hands. They chose rather to satiate their lust, than to lay hold on the occasion of such an huge advantage – this only prize would have been of far greater value and consequence, than all they had purchased at Panama. The next day, repenting of their negligence, they set forth to sea another boat well armed, to pursue the Galleon, (in vain).

Notwithstanding, the Pirats returned from the Islands of Tavoga and Tavogilla with much merchandize. They made an exact relation of all that had passed to Captain Morgan; the prisoners confirmed what was said. Morgan ordered all (4) boats at Panama to seek the Galleon. For 8 days they cruised to and fro, before returning to the isles of Tavoga and Tavogilla, where they found a 'reasonable good ship had arrived from *Payta*, being laden with Cloth, Soap, Sugar and Bisket, with 20,000 pieces of Eight in ready Money.' This and a Boat they seized and returned together with some slaves, to Panama.

Meanwhile the convoy had returned from Chagre with good news. Those men he had left there hoisted Spanish flags at the castle, and lured a Spanish vessel, being chased by two of the Pirats boats, to seek shelter under their guns. Their cargo consisted of victuals and provisions that were all eatable things. Nothing could be more opportune than this prize for the garrison in the castle of Chagre, and afforded Captain Morgan to remain longer at Panama, sending daily parties of 200 men to gather in a short time huge quantities of riches and many prisoners, who were tortured to confess other peoples goods as well as their own.

One poor wretch was found in the house of a Gentleman of great quality, who had put on, in the confusion of things, a pair of Tassety Breeches. Belonging to his Master, with a little silver key hanging at the strings thereof. The Pirates asked him, where was the cabinet of the said key? He knew not. Not being able to extort any other confession out of him, they first put him upon the Rack, wherewith they inhumanely dis-joynted his arms. After this, they twisted a cord about his forehead, which they wrung so hard, that his eyes appeared as big as Eggs, and were ready to fall out of his Skull. Soon after, they hung him up by the Testicles, giving him infinite blows and stripes, under intolerable pain and posture of body. Afterwards they cut off his nose and ears, and singed his face with burning straw, till he cold speak nor lament his misery no longer. Losing all hopes of hearing any confession from him, they commanded a Negro to run him through with a Lance, which put an end to his life. After this execrable manner, did many others of those miserable prisoners finish their days.

(p.68) – it was rumoured that many of the Pirats intended to leave Captain Morgan, when he commanded things be put in order for his departure from Panama, and, by taking a ship which was in the port, they determined to rob upon the South-sea, then turn homewards by way of the East-Indies; into Europe. Captain Morgan foiled the scheme by cutting down the main mast, and burning the vessel. Before leaving Panama, he sent some Spaniards into the country 'to ransom not only themselves, but also all the rest of the prisoners,

<sup>1</sup> 'cistern' – artificial reservoir or tank.

<sup>2</sup> Cockboat – a small boat towed behind a ship.

as likewise the Ecclesiasticks, both Secular and Regular.' Moreover, he commanded all the artillery of the town to be spoyled, that is to say, nail'd and stopt-up.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of February **1761**, Captain Morgan departed from the place where the city of Panama did stand. Of the Spoys he carried with him, 175 Beasts of Carriage, laden with Silver, Gold, and other precious things, besides 600 prisoners, (who thought they were to be transported to his own country as slaves). Some managed to obtain their ransom, under threat of transportation to Jamaica. Morgan left Cruz, on the banks of the river Chagre on the 5<sup>th</sup> of March having collected maize and rice to victual his ships, but not before all the Pirats swore they were not hiding 'not so much as a six-pence' on their person, and submitted to a search. The French Pirats that went on this expedition with Captain Morgan, were not well satisfied with this new custom of searching, yet their number being less than that of the English, they were forced to submit unto it. They embarked on canoes and boats, reaching the Castle of Chagre on 9<sup>th</sup> March.

From Chagre, Morgan sent a large boat to *Puerto Velo*, to demand of the prisoners he had taken at *St. Catharin*, a considerable ransom for the Castle of Chagre. Their reply was that the English might do with it as they pleased. The Dividend was made of all the Spoyle they had purchased on that voyage. Thus every person received their portion of what was gotten, or rather, what part Captain Morgan was pleased to give them. For so it was, that the rest of his companions, even of his own nation, complained of his proceedings in this particular, and **feared not to tell him openly** to his face, that **he had reserved the best jewels to himself**. They judged that **no greater share should belong to them than 200 pieces of Eight per capita**. **Which sum, they thought too little reward for so much labour**. But Captain Morgan was deaf to these and many other complaints, having designed in his mind to cheat them of as much as he could.

[Excerpts by Andy Campbell 1997, courtesy of Dom Penrose (see also LOVELL Packet Captains)]

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<sup>i</sup> In 1527 Spanish settlers occupied Curacao. (later a Dutch colony)