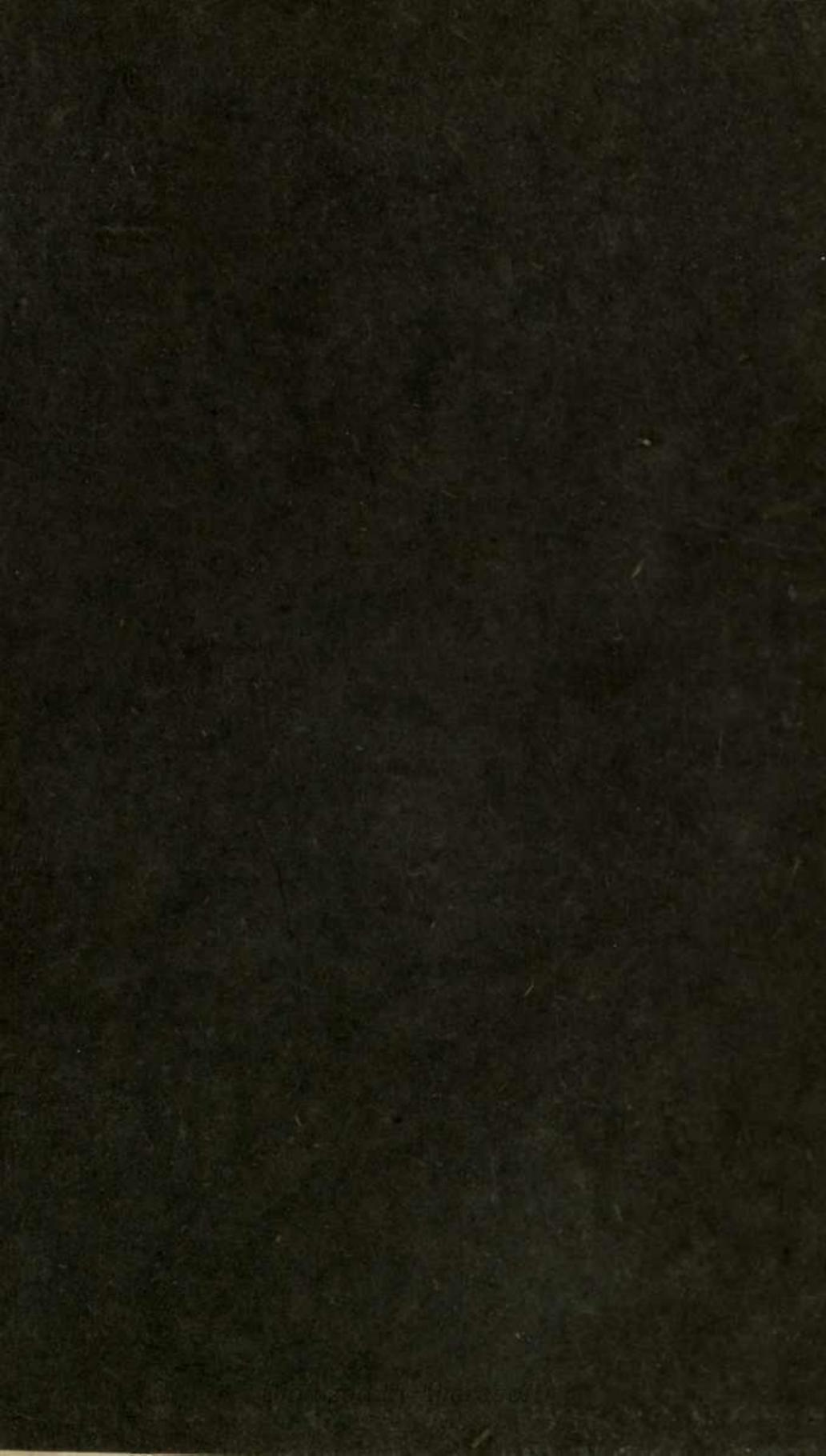


OLD PANAMA



C.L.G. ANDERSON



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VASCO NUÑEZ DE BALBOA TAKES POSSESSION OF THE SOUTH SEA.

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OLD PANAMA AND CASTILLA DEL ORO



NARRATIVE history of the discovery, conquest, and settlement by the Spaniards of Panama, Darien, Veragua, Santo Domingo, Santa Marta, Cartagena, Nicaragua, and Peru: Including the four voyages of Columbus to America, the discovery of the Pacific Ocean by Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, a description of the Aborigines of the Isthmus, accounts of the search for a Strait through the New World and early efforts for a Canal, the daring raids of Sir Francis Drake, the Buccaneers in the Caribbean and South Seas, the sack of the city of Old Panama by Henry Morgan, and the story of the Scots colony on Caledonia Bay

WITH MAPS AND RARE ILLUSTRATIONS

BY

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C. L. G. ANDERSON



DEDICATED
TO
THE BUILDERS
OF THE
PANAMA CANAL

“La mayor cosa, después de la creación del mundo, sacando la encarnacion y muerte del que lo crió, es el descubrimiento de las Indias.”

Francisco Lopez de Gomara, 1552.

“Il n’y point eu d’événement aussi intéressant pour l’espece humaine en général, & pour les peuples de l’Europe en particulier, que la découverte du Nouveau-Monde & le passage aux Indes par le cap de Bonne-Esperance. Alors a commencé une révolution dans le commerce, dans la puissance des nations, dans les moeurs, l’industrie & le gouvernement de tous les peuples. C’est a ce moment que les hommes des contrées le plus éloignées se sont rapprochés par de nouveaux rapports & de nouveaux besoins. Les productions des climats placés sous l’équateur, se consomment dans les climats voisins du pole; l’industrie du Nord est transportés au Sud; les étoffes de l’Orient sont devenues le luxe des Occidentaux; & par-tout les hommes ont fait un échange mutuel de leurs opinions, de leurs loix, de leurs usages, de leurs maladies, de leurs remedes, de leurs vertus & de leurs vices.”

L’abbé Raynal, 1781.

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GLOSSARY

Adelantado—He who goes in advance; the leader of an expedition, or governor of a frontier province; sometimes translated as meaning lieutenant-governor. The verb is *adelantar*, to advance.

Alcalde—Justice of the peace; from the Arabic *al cadi*, the judge, or governor. Besides the *alcaldes ordinarios*, there were *alcaldes mayores*, or district judges.

Alguacil mayor—High sheriff.

Audiencia—From the Latin, *audire*, to hear; a court of oyer and terminer; the highest court of appeal and jurisdiction in the Spanish colonies. The chief judge was known as the *presidente*; the other members of the tribunal were called *oidores*, or hearers. There were eleven Royal Audiences established in Spanish America.

Ayuntamiento—Spanish town-council.

Bachiller—Bachelor of law.

Cabildo—Corporation of a town; chapter of a cathedral.

Casa de Contratacion de las Indias—India House of Trade, established at Sevilla, in 1503, to promote and regulate traffic with Spain's colonies beyond the seas. In time, it became also a court of judicature.

Conquistador—Conqueror.

Consejo Supremo de Indias—Supreme Council of the Indies; a permanent body of learned men finally established at Madrid, in 1524, to deal with affairs relating to the Indies.

Contador—Auditor, accountant.

Corregidor—Magistrate, mayor, councilman.

Corregimiento—Mayoralty, city government.

Encomienda—A charge, or commandery; from *encomendar*, to recommend, or give in charge; an allotment of Indian vassals given in charge to a Spaniard, as a *repartimiento* became vacant. The custom was of ancient usage by the four military

GLOSSARY

orders of Spain in the vassalage of the Moors, and other infidels. An *encomendero* was a Spaniard who held an *encomienda*.

Escribano publico—Notary public.

Escudero—Shield-bearer, squire.

Factor—Agent.

Gobernador—Governor.

Grumetes—Ships' apprentices, or cabin-boys.

Hidalgo—From *hijodalgo*, son of something; nobleman.

Licenciado—Licentiate in law, a degree higher than *bachiller*.

Regidor—Alderman, prefect.

Regimiento—Administration, municipality.

Repartimiento—A distribution; *repartir*, to distribute. First division of the Indians in serfdom to the Spanish conquerors, after the failure of the *per capita* tax system instituted by Columbus on Hispaniola. The term *repartimiento* was later applied to the allotment of lands, the Indians residing thereon being given in *encomienda*.

Residencia—The examination and accounting taken of an executive or judicial officer while in residence within his jurisdiction. This was always done at the expiration of the term of office of a Spanish governor, judge, or other high official; but could be ordered at any time. The inquiry was conducted by a *juez de residencia*, judge of residence, appointed by the King, or in the New World by the Council of the Indies, or by a Viceroy. The *residencia* was intended to encourage good officials and to check mal-administration in office, but the system had its defects and evils. Said Solórzano, in his *Politica Indiana*, "the Prince will not cure his commonwealth with this medicine, if the medicine brings with it greater evils than those which it is intended to remedy." The *residencia* was sometimes called a *visita*, or visit.

Veedor—Inspector, overseer.

FOREWORD

The finding of America was the greatest event in history; the cruel conquest and almost complete annihilation of its people the greatest wrong known to mankind. Human intercommunication and interrelation were never affected so powerfully as when Columbus, suddenly and within a few years, enlarged the known world by the addition of a new continent and another great ocean, together comprising about two-fifths of the surface of the globe. So new and strange to Europe was this half of the earth, that it seemed, indeed, to be another world; and so recent, historically speaking, has been its discovery, that we still refer to the Western Hemisphere as the New World.

The Old World has expended her best efforts in exploiting the shores of the Atlantic, and in founding and trying to maintain and hold distant colonies and protectorates. In a sense, she is finished. Europe fructified, conquered and peopled America. The strife is now on between America and Asia, and future activities pertain to the Pacific where West clashes with East.

The Isthmus of Panama, formerly a part of Castilla del Oro, is the gateway to the Pacific, and the front door of the Three Americas, to which the Antilles lead up as stepping-stones. Here the first white invaders made their "entry" into the new continent, founded their first settlements, penetrated to the South Sea, and roamed in conquering bands up and down the Pacific coast.

For migration, commerce, or war, the Isthmus of America (with or without a canal) is the most important strategic point in the world. Ever since its conquest by Spain, other nations have recognized the value of the Isthmus, and sought to possess this narrow strip of land between the two great oceans.

This part of Central America presents three well-defined historic periods:

1. The early period of Spanish activity, conquest, possession, and exploitation; ending about the year 1700.

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2. An era of apathy, oppression, seclusion, and repose; lasting one hundred years.

3. The modern period, beginning with the nineteenth century, during the first quarter of which all the Spanish provinces on the continent of America declared for independence, and threw off the yoke of the mother country. The pure air of freedom soon inspired the people of the Isthmus to revive the old efforts for better interoceanic communication, and, about 1850, we find active plans for the construction of railroads and canals from sea to sea.

We know less of our sister republics on the south than we do of remote parts of Europe. Had our forefathers as little appreciation as we of the relation of Latin America to the United States of the North, the magnificent Monroe Doctrine never would have been promulgated. We have arrived at a time, today, when everyone cognizant of the trend of current events realizes the great revival of interest in everything pertaining to Spanish America, particularly to the Isthmian region. The prominence to which Panama is now approaching is hers by right of geographic situation and historic interest.

The acquisition of the Canal Zone by the United States, in 1903, and the successful prosecution of the work of constructing a canal, marks the culmination of what I have designated the third period in the history of the Isthmus. For this time there is no dearth of books, dealing mainly with the Panama railroad, and the French and American canals. The middle period—the Dark Ages of Spanish America—has little to offer to English readers. But the first period, when Spain wrote “plus ultra” on the Pillars of Hercules, and later, “non sufficit orbis” on the globe of the earth, is the time most replete with human interest and activity, and the least known to mankind. Where we now are expending such magnificent efforts upon a work to which, in the language of the poet, both heaven and earth have put hand—“al quale ha posto mano e cielo e terra”—the Homeric achievements of the Spanish conquerors, and the fierce struggles of those who strove to wrest that wondrous gateway from its holders, cannot fail to excite our interest if

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not our admiration or approval. The Panama Canal will unify our Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific coastlines, and the short road to India, by the west, will at last lie open.

Barring the monumental work by Bancroft, not in reach of the general reader, there is no book in English dealing fitly with the early history of the Panama region, nor in any language is this information given in a single volume. From many sources, most of them original, in Spanish, French, and English, the writer has garnered accounts of the events narrated in the following pages. They all seem to center in, or radiate from, Old Panama or Castilla del Oro.

About all the average intelligent person knows of Christopher Columbus is that he found America, and made an egg stand on end. Columbus, on his fourth voyage, discovered practically all of the coastline of Castilla del Oro, extending from Cape Gracias á Dios south and eastward to the Gulf of Urabá; and in Veragua, on the Isthmus of Panama, the Admiral made the second, if not the first, attempt at settlement on the continent of America. Panama, too, is so closely related to Santo Domingo, or Española, that the writer believed a brief review of the earlier voyages of Columbus essential to a proper understanding of the history of this portion of Tierra Firme. From Santo Domingo went forth two lines of discovery and conquest of the mainland, one by way of Darien and Panama to Nicaragua and Peru, the other through Cuba to Mexico and Guatemala. With the first, and earlier, of these it is the province of this book to deal.

There is nothing more unjust than the partial way in which much history is written; and there is no more appropriate place than in a book dealing with the beginnings of American history to protest against the habitual application of the term "savages" to the American Race (Amerinds). Ethnologically, only a few insignificant and remote tribes—as the Macus of the Rio Negro, and the Botocudos of Brazil—exhibited what can properly be called a savage stage of culture. As to conduct, the reader is left to form his own judgment as to which displayed the most savagery, the White Man or the Red Man. It will be noted that

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I refrain from calling the Indians "bloodthirsty savages" simply because they defended their homes and attempted to drive out the white invaders. Neither do I designate every petty chief a king, nor his band a nation. When the Spaniards wantonly slew the natives and fed them to their dogs, I fail to see anything heroic in their conduct, and do not hesitate to call them butchers, even though they possessed white skins and professed to be followers of Christ.

I have endeavored to present the facts as they are told to us, and the characters in their true colors. Thus, Vasco Nuñez, Pedrarias, Francis Drake, and Henry Morgan, all were robbers; but Nuñez and Drake were generous, manly fellows, Pedrarias a cunning old monster, and Morgan a tricky and unscrupulous thief. All these actors, destroying people entitled to the same liberty and right of development which they claimed for themselves, and justifying their conduct with the usual cant, were but the pioneers of the enforced expansion of European states in America, and the puppets of kings and princelings. These men must not be judged by our standards, but according to the times in which they performed their parts.

The most senseless and impolitic feature of the Spanish invasion of America was the treachery and cruelty of the Conquistadores to each other, due to the want of a national sentiment among the different provinces of Spain, suspicion and jealousy between the commanders, and the ceaseless rivalry to win the royal favor.

The writer quotes freely, believing the exact words and forms of expression used by the old historians, often participants in or eyewitnesses of the events, would the better transmit the story, and be the more appreciated by the reader. For the same reason, and at the sacrifice of consistency, the names of persons and places are spelled in different ways, indicating the accent or not, according to the fashion of the chronicler whose narrative the author follows at the time. So far as practicable, chapters follow each other in chronological order.

Most of the material for this work, including the old illustrations, was obtained from the Library of Congress, and the

FOREWORD

author takes pleasure in thanking the librarian, Mr. Herbert Putnam, and his capable assistants in that great storehouse of learning, for their uniform courtesy, and willingness to give access to rare books and documents. Like acknowledgments are due the librarians and other officials of the libraries of the War Department, of the Navy Department, of the State Department, of the Bureau of Ethnology, and of the Columbus Memorial Library of the Pan American Union.

Especial thanks are tendered the Isthmian Canal Commission, and Señor I. L. Maduro Jnr, of Panama, for permission to reproduce their photographs; and to the Pan American Union, and the Bureau of Ethnology, for the loan of cuts. The half-tones and etchings, such as are not borrowed, were made for this book by the Maurice Joyce Engraving Co. of this city.

To Dr. John M. Gitterman are due the thanks of the writer for his painstaking efforts at proofreading.

And finally, the author fulfills a pleasant duty in expressing his appreciation of the hearty co-operation of the Sudwarth Printing Company in its efforts to present the product of his labor in a becoming garb.

C. L. G. ANDERSON.

918 Eighteenth Street N. W.,
Washington, D. C., March 31, 1911.

CHAPTER I.

THE ISTHMUS OF PANAMA

Darien—Panama—Veragua

Geography, Orography, History

"Here the oceans twain have waited
All the ages to be mated,—
Waited long and waited vainly,
Though the script was written plainly:
This, the portal of the sea,
Ope for him who holds the key;
Here the empire of the earth
Waits in patience for its birth."

—James Jeffrey Roche.



THE Isthmus of Panama is a narrow sigmoid flexure of land joining North America to South America. No other part of the world records such stirring exploits by such various peoples. Indian, Spanish, English, French, Dutch, Portuguese, and African have all played their parts upon and about the Isthmus of the New World. Cacique and Conquistador, Padre and Buccaneer, Indian, Latin, Teuton, Negro, and Asiatic have come and gone; and in a few years the tropical jungle has closed over their remains and effaced their impress.

Both North and South America are irregularly triangular in shape, being widest at their northern extremities, and becoming very narrow at their southern ends. These two continents, of almost equal area, are joined by a strip of land called the Isthmus; corresponding practically to the limits of the present Republic of Panama.

Darien was the first name of this region, and for a long time was used synonymously with *Panama*. Nowadays, *Darien* means the eastern part of the Republic of Panama, more particularly the section between the Gulf of Darien on the Atlantic, and the Gulf of San Miguel on the Pacific; and also the adjoining territory of Colombia west of the Gulf of Urabá.

Early writers applied the term *Darien* to both the Gulf of Urabá, and the Atrato river on the Atlantic side, and the Gulf

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of San Miguel, and the Tuira river on the Pacific side; as well as to other rivers in the eastern part of the Isthmus. This has given rise to much confusion, and even to disaster to exploring parties.

The Darien was the first route across the Isthmus by white men, and was seriously considered as a location for an inter-oceanic canal. In the same restricted sense, the low region between the cities of Colon and Panama, through which the canal is now being constructed, is often called the Isthmus of Panama.

Considering Central America as a part of North America, the Isthmus may be said to join the southeastern extremity of the Northern to the northwestern corner of the Southern continent. The 80th meridian of longitude, which passes through the mouth of the Chagres river, and just west of the Canal Zone, bisects the Isthmus from north to south, and runs east of Havana and of the State of Florida. South of the Isthmus, this meridian passes west of almost all of South America, touching the land only within the westernmost cape of Parina.

In studying Panama, one must remember that the Isthmus of the western hemisphere runs east and west; that Colon, on the Atlantic, is not only north, but also west of Panama; and that in the latter city the sun rises out of the Pacific Ocean. As Tracy Robinson says: "There is a suspicion of something crooked about this." The crookedness is in the Isthmus, which, as I have said, is bent twice upon itself like the Greek letter *sigma*.

For a long time after the Pacific was discovered it was called the South Sea, while the Caribbean was known as the North Sea. At the time of the discovery of the Isthmus by Bastidas (1501) and Columbus (1502), they recognized that it was not an island; so named it Tierra Firme. Ferdinand of Spain, in 1509, divided Tierra Firme into two parts; the region extending from the middle of the Gulf of Urabá east to the Cabo de la Vela he named *Nueva Andalucia*, and gave to Alonso de Ojeda; while Diego de Nicuesa was appointed governor of the land extending westward from the Gulf of Urabá to Cape Gracias á Dios, which was denominated *Castilla del Oro*, or Golden Castile. Some ancient maps represent Castilla del Oro as lying east of the Gulf of Urabá, and this error is occasionally repeated in modern publications.

In early days Castilla del Oro was commonly divided into *Darién*, *Panamá*, and *Veragua*.

THE ISTHMUS

Until recently, the Republic of Panama was a state of the Republic of Colombia, and thus was reckoned as being in South America; whereas, geographically, geologically, and now politically, it is in Central America, and a part of the northern continent.

Panama extends from Colombia on the east to Costa Rica on the west, a distance of 725 kilometers, or about 450 miles; and varies in width from 50 to 190 kilometers, or from 31 to 118 miles. On account of its double flexion, it extends from 7° 10' to 9° 41' north latitude. The area of the Republic of Panama is about 32,000 square miles; and it contains a population of about 360,000 souls, not including the 20,000 Indians of pure blood.

The general mountain system of the western hemisphere is continued through the Isthmus; but, unlike the Rocky Mountains in the north and the Andes in the south, it here runs about midway between the Pacific and the Atlantic coasts, and in a direction east and west.¹ The elevation of the divide varies from a few hundred feet to several thousand feet, reaching its greatest height in the Cordillera of Chiriqui. The mountains receive local designations in the different provinces, as the *Cordillera de Veraguas*, *C. de Panamá*, *C. de San Blas*, *C. del Darién*, and *C. de Baudo*.

Panama is unique in being a part of a continent, having two extensive coastlines bordering upon the two great oceans of the world, yet in close proximity to each other. The Atlantic (Caribbean) coastal plain is densely covered with forest and jungle, through which flow numerous streams and rivers. With the exception of a couple of towns, like Bocas, and Colon, this side of the Isthmus is inhabited only by remnants of the old Indian tribes and negroid mixtures. Communication is mainly by means of canoes, and in the rainy season passage by land is practically impossible. Indeed, since the days of the old *Camino Real* (King's Highway) between Panama and Portobelo, there has been nothing like a roadway on the Isthmus till the advent of the Americans in 1904. It is not generally known that the charter of the Panama Railroad contains a clause prohibiting the construction of a highway or other method of transit across the Isthmus, west of a line connecting Cape Tiburon on the Atlantic with Point Garachiné on the Pacific. The convention between the United States and

¹From the San Blas country eastward to the Gulf of Urabá, the Cordillera is nearer the Atlantic shore.

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Panama, November 18, 1903, confirms the monopoly of transit to the United States.

The Pacific (southern) side of the Isthmus is not so low and marshy as the Atlantic (northern) side. Between the mountains and the sea are plains or *llanos*, and *savannas*; which are traversed by clear and rapid rivers. The amount of rainfall on the Pacific coast of the Isthmus is only about six feet, while on the Atlantic shore it averages twelve feet, or more, yearly. Neither is the Pacific coast subject to such violent storms as occur on the Atlantic side. The more elevated land and the better climatic conditions induced the Spaniards to settle on the Pacific slope after failing on the Atlantic coast. The open *llanos* furnish excellent grazing for horses and cattle; and maize, sugar-cane, the legumes, and all the tropical fruits and melons can be raised with little effort. Nearly all the Panamanians live on the Pacific side of the Isthmus, and little towns are frequent, especially in the provinces of Cocolé, Los Santos, Veraguas, and Chiriquí, all in the western part of the Isthmus.

The two coasts of Panama, though but forty to one hundred miles apart, are entirely distinct. With the exception of a few miserable trails across the mountains, the Panama Railroad is the only communication from one side to the other. This gives the railroad a strategic advantage, of which it is not slow to avail itself, and determined the success of the revolution of 1903 and the establishment of the Republic of Panama.

A brief review of the notable points along each coast, and of the famous events which have happened on the Isthmus, particularly in colonial days, may be both interesting and instructive.

Beginning at *Punta Mona*, or Monkey Point, also called *Punta Carreta*, the boundary between Costa Rica and Panama on the Caribbean Sea, and passing eastward, we soon reach the mouth of the *Sixola*;² and a few miles further on is the *Rio Changuinola*.³ Both these rivers drain a rich banana section, and are navigable for small vessels. The next interesting point is the *Boca del Drago*, or Dragon's Mouth, which gives entrance to *Almirante Bay*, discovered by and named after Christ-

² Called also *El Rio Tarire*, the ancient boundary between Veragua and Costa Rica.

³ The Changuinola, or *Rio de la Estrella*, was discovered by Juan Vasquez de Coronado, in 1564; and is described by Fray Augustin de Ceballos, in 1610, as being "*rio prodigioso y el mas rico del mundo.*" The mines of Estrella and Tisingal were considered as rich as those of Potosi in Peru. This river separated Veragua from Costa Rica.

THE ISTHMUS

opher Columbus, High Admiral of the Ocean Sea. Almirante Bay gives deep water anchorage, and is the best harbor in the north coast for large vessels, being much frequented by our naval vessels. Between Admiral's Bay and the Caribbean Sea is Columbus Island, on which is situated the town of *Bocas del Toro*, inhabited mostly by negroes, and a headquarters of the United Fruit Company.* Bocas was founded, about a century ago, by negro immigration from the islands of St. Andrew and Old Providence, and has grown to be the capital of the province and one of the principal ports of Panama. Opposite Bocas is Careening Cay, where Columbus, in 1502, beached and cleaned his ships. Nearby is Nonsense Cay, one of the prettiest places I have seen in the tropics, on which the fruit company has erected their hospital. Further off are Bastimentos (Old Bank) and Pope islands.

Almirante Bay communicates with the *Laguna de Chiriqui*, which is not a lagoon in the ordinary sense, but a large, safe bay, thirty-three miles long, east and west, and fourteen miles wide. On the main shore are *Chiriqui Grande*, a little pueblo; and *Chiriquicito*, which is the terminus of a narrow-gauge railroad running back to the banana farms. Here begins a very rough trail, passable only afoot, crossing the Cerro de la Horqueta, a mountain range six thousand feet high, to the city of David, on the Pacific slope.

When Columbus stopped in the lagoon he gathered provisions, traded hawks'-bells and gewgaws for the golden ornaments of the natives, and inquired anxiously about a rich region to the east, which the Indians called *Veragua*.

The lagoon and neighboring islands were favorite resorts of the buccaneers, and only three years ago a party made expensive diggings on Zapatilla Cay for pirate gold supposed to be buried there. The Chiriqui region was at one time considered as a transisthmian route, and a concession granted therefor.

At the eastern end of the lagoon is the port of *Valiente*, or Bluefield, on a projection of land called the Valiente peninsula. In this section dwell the Cricamola Indians, called Valiente by the Spaniards on account of their valor in resisting the white man, and the fierce duels in which they engage among themselves.

* This place was called Boca del Toro long before a town was started. The name is taken from the *boca*, or channel, leading from the sea to Almirante Bay, and also from the figure of a large resting bull, presented by a cliff when viewed from afar.

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We entered the Laguna on the west by the Dragon's Mouth, and will leave it through Tiger Channel (*Canal del Tigre*), at its eastern extremity; pass around *Punta Chiriqui*, and sail along the coast inside the island known as *Escudo de Veragua*,⁵ which is eight and one-half miles from the mainland. From here the shore makes a dip to the south, forming what is called Mosquito Gulf. It is not much of a gulf, but mosquitoes are very plentiful along the shore. Numerous rivers empty into the sea, and the principal points of land are Buppan Bluff, Point Coaita, and Zapatero Point. It was along this coast that the unfortunate Nicuesa wandered, seeking escape from his Golden Castile.

About sixty miles from the Laguna de Chiriqui we arrive at the mouth of the *Veragua*⁶ river, upon the banks of which the famous Quibian, or head chief of the Indians, made his home, and where he was captured by the Spaniards. A few miles to the eastward is the *Río Belen*, where was made, early in 1503, the second attempt at settlement by Europeans upon the mainland of the New World. It was here that Christopher Columbus planted a colony, called *Nuestra Señora de Belen*, under the command of his brother Bartholomew, the *Adelantado*. Our Lady of Bethlehem was short-lived; as the Quibian, escaping from the Spaniards, collected his warriors and drove the white men to their ships. A few years later, in 1511, Olano and Cueto built a few huts on the site formerly occupied by Don Bartolomé; but starvation soon forced them to abandon the place. Afterwards the Spaniards obtained so much gold from the mines of Veragua that they called this region the *Costa del Oro de Colon*.

The point at the mouth of the Belen is called Cristobal, and the neighboring bay St. Christopher, in honor of the great discoverer. Remnants of the *Guaimi* Indians still inhabit the adjoining country and the mountains of Veraguas.

Further eastward along the coast is the mouth of the *Chagres* river, between *Punta Butata* and *Punta Morrito*. Next to

⁵ This island was once called *Escudo de Nicuesa* (Shield of Nicuesa), because it guarded Castilla del Oro, and marks the spot near which that unfortunate cavalier is believed to have perished.

⁶ Later chroniclers would make it appear that the word Veragua is derived from *Verdes-aguas*, or Green-waters, an etymology to which I do not subscribe. Ulloa, who visited Panama in 1736, writes: "To the river now called Veragua, he [Columbus] gave the name of Verdes-aguas, on account of the green color of its water; or, according to others, because the Indians called it by that name in their language."

THE ISTHMUS

Panama, the name of Chagres is the most familiar of Isthmian names. It was first known as the *Rio Lagartos*, or River of Alligators. For four centuries the Chagres has been the bond of union between the two great oceans of the world, the way between the East and the West, the key to the portal of the South Sea. The ancient history of the Isthmus, like that of the Panama Railroad, and of the French and American canals, centers around this river; and from about 1530 to the present day, the Chagres route has remained the only practicable gateway through the New World. The Chagres river has its origin in the mountains south from Palenque, nearly midway of the Isthmus, and runs a tortuous course of 120 miles, west and then north, to the Caribbean Sea. It drains a watershed of about 1200 square miles. The principal tributaries of the Chagres are the Esperanza, Rio Indio, the large Pequeni with its affluent the Boqueron, the Gatun, the Trinidad, and the Gatuncillo.

The relocated Panama Railroad crosses the Chagres at Gamboa, not far above Gorgona and Matachin. Three miles up the river comes Cruces, and twelve miles beyond is Alhajuela. Ten miles farther up, following the winding course of the river, is Dos Bocas, the junction of the Chagres and Pequeni. The headwaters of the Chagres, Pequeni, and Boqueron, run through box cañons in many places, and rapids and falls are numerous; so that navigation by *cayuco*, or canoe, is very dangerous and often impossible, as in these narrow, rocky gorges the waters may rise from forty to eighty feet during a heavy rainfall. San Juan, the largest settlement in this region, is a pueblo of 350 souls, and is located on the Pequeni, two miles above Dos Bocas, and about eight miles below Boca Boqueron. The old Camino Real, vestiges of which can yet be found, ran northward from Panama by a place called Maria Enrique, then through Venta de Camalilla, crossing the Chagres river at Venta de Chagre, above Dos Bocas. The road then followed the course of the Pequeni to the town of San Juan, to Pueblo de Indio, to Pequeni (on the Rio Pequeni), and to Boqueron. After several fordings of a river called San Juan, and crossing the hills on the north coast, the road turned eastward to Nombre de Dios; or turning in the other direction, joined the Rio Cascajal near El Bujio, and followed that river northwest to Puerto Bello. North of the Chagres river the present trail is impassable on horseback, even in the dry season. Much of the Chagres river and many of the old landmarks along its course will soon be obliterated by the waters of Gatun Lake.

seven

OLD PANAMA

Guarding the entrance of the Chagres river, on the east, is a rocky bluff facing the sea, and washed on two sides by the river. On this height can be seen the ruins of the historic castle of *San Lorenzo*, erected by the engineer Juan Antonelli, by order of Philip II. of Spain. When the buccaneers under Henry Morgan raided Old Panama, in 1671, Captain Bradley went in advance and captured San Lorenzo, after which they all went up the river. The castle was again taken, in 1740, by the English under the command of Admiral Vernon. The mouth of the Chagres is 350 yards wide, and the channel is said to be three fathoms deep; but the depth of water on the bar varies constantly. The point opposite the castle is known as Las Animas. Directly behind the bluff, invisible from the sea, on the right bank of the river, is the village of Chagres. Formerly a busy port, it now is a sleepy settlement of a few hundred people, containing a modern church and a public school.

In early Spanish times the bulky merchandise for transit across the Isthmus from Puerto Bello was taken up the Chagres river as far as Venta de Cruces, and thence by land to Old or New Panama. For a year or two after the discovery of gold in California, and before the construction of the Panama Railroad, steamers anchored off the Chagres in good weather and landed the gold-seekers in lighters.¹ They were then carried up the river in bongoes and canoes to Gorgona, or Cruces, where they left the river and crossed the trail to Panama, and there waited for a steamer going to San Francisco. The journey across the Isthmus often required a week, rates were

¹ As soon as the Panama Railroad reached Gatun, in 1851, the stream of gold-hunters turned from the mouth of the Chagres to Limon (Navy) Bay; and as that road gradually penetrated the jungle, the river traffic became less. When the railroad was completed, in 1855, the fare across was about twenty-five dollars in gold. Passengers were required to pay two dollars a head to the Isthmian Government for the privilege of passing from sea to sea.

During the travel to and from the gold fields of California, the Isthmus was infested with criminals and rough characters from all over the world. The local authorities often were unable to control the unruly crowds. Respectable passengers were robbed, and sometimes murdered, provoking complaints from the various consuls. Conditions became so bad that the best citizens and foreign residents organized an Isthmian Guard, to keep order on the railroad between Aspinwall and Panama. Ran Runnels, formerly a Texan Ranger, the chief of the regulators, invested with absolute authority by Governor Urrutia Añino, rounded up the principal cut-throats, and quietly hanged them; when the rest of the gang hastened to leave the country.



From Jeffreys, *West Indies*, 1762.

MOUTH OF THE CHAGRES RIVER AND CASTLE OF SAN LORENZO.

THE ISTHMUS

high, hardships plentiful, and the dreaded "Chagres Fever" was lurking in every pool.

A few miles east of the Chagres is Punta Brujas, or Witches' Point; and a couple of miles further is the lighthouse on *Toro Point*, marking the entrance to Limon Bay, on which are Colon, Cristobal, and the Atlantic terminus of the Panama Canal. The United States is now constructing a breakwater to protect the port and canal entrance from northerners. When the Isthmus was a colony of Spain, Limon Bay was known as the port of Naos (Ships), and later as Navy Bay. In 1849 the newly organized Panama Railroad Company selected Manzanillo Island, in Limon Bay, as the beginning point of their road. A town soon sprang up, which was called *Aspinwall* by the Americans. The part of the town about the railroad offices was known as *Washington*. When the French started the construction of the Inter-oceanic Canal, in 1881, they adopted the official name of the place, *Colon*, and for a time it was generally written *Aspinwall-Colon*. In 1890 the Government of Colombia, in order to put a stop to this confusion of names, directed the return of all correspondence not superscribed simply *Colon*. It is thus seen that Colon is a very young town as compared with most other places on the Isthmus. It should be remembered that Colon is within the territory of Panama; while *Cristobal*, the American settlement in the Canal Zone, is under the jurisdiction of the United States. When the French had the canal they called *Cristobal*, *Cristophe*.

From the sea⁹ can be viewed the entrance of the canal, the quarters of the Americans under the cocoanut palms in Cris-

⁹The following graphic description is from the pen of a former United States Minister to Colombia, and a gentleman thoroughly familiar with the Isthmus:

"As we lay at anchor by the wharf, the scorching rays of the sun had already drawn up the mists and vapors of the forenoon into great banks of clouds, which hung heavily on the mountain sides, or floated in broken fragments over intervening swamps and watercourses. It was easy to trace the serpentine course of 'the deadly Chagres' through the mountain fastnesses by the dense volume of white vapor which hovered just above the surface. Very soon these floating masses of steam (for they were little else) began to cohere and darken the sky, and in a few moments the sun was completely obscured. Then came a gust of damp, chilly wind, followed by a blinding flash of lightning and a deafening roar. The next moment the whole vapory mass came down in perfect torrents. I had witnessed many midsummer thunderstorms on our Gulf coast, but never before had I seen anything like this. The water seemed to come down not in a community of well-defined rain-drops, but in solid sheets, which soon covered the already wet and smoking earth to the depth of many inches.

OLD PANAMA

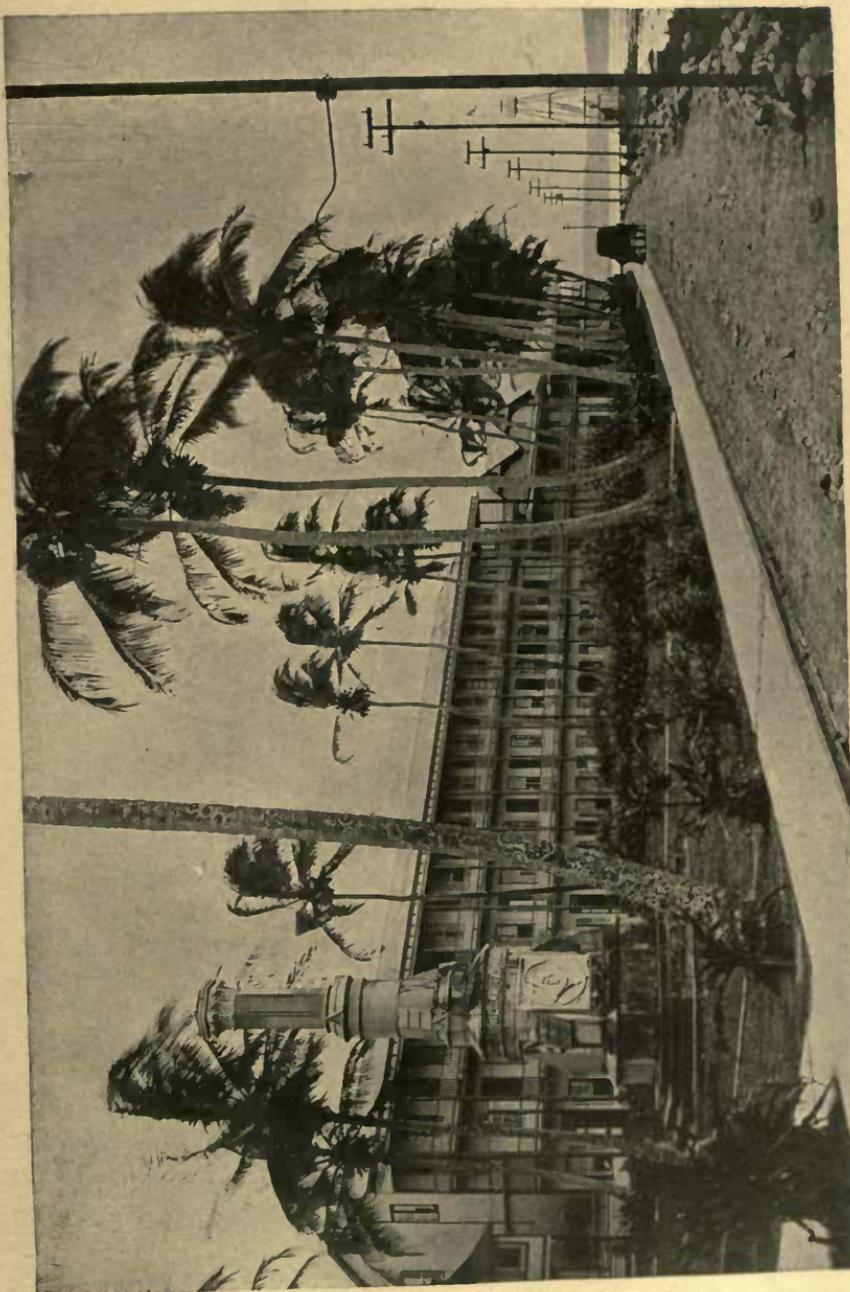
tobal, the stations of the Panama Railroad, steamship docks, Christ Church, the I. C. C. Hospital, and masts of the wireless station.

The Panama Railroad, now the property of the United States, is not standard gauge, but five feet; and there is a story current on the Isthmus that the foundation of Cristobal Point was made largely with standard-gauge locomotives erroneously ordered by the French management. I look upon the construction of the Panama Railroad, in 1850, by a few individuals, as being as great, if not greater, an undertaking as the building of the canal by the United States at the present time. This was the first transcontinental railroad in the world, and from its completion, January 27, 1855, until the last spike was driven in the Pacific Railway, May 10, 1869, it remained the only rapid transit across the Western hemisphere. The Panama Railroad, between Gatun and Miraflores, is now being relocated above the level of the 85-foot contour, which will be the elevation of the completed Gatun Lake.

In front of the Washington House, in Colon, facing the sea, is a triangular monument erected, in 1867, to the memory of William H. Aspinwall, John L. Stephens, and Henry Chauncey, founders of the road. Stephens gave his life to the toll of the Isthmus, as did Lieutenant Strain, Hosier, and many other

"This downpour continued without cessation for about an hour, and then ceased altogether, quite as suddenly as it had begun. The sun now shone out with such dazzling brightness and power as to almost benumb the senses. The heat was intense beyond description. Very soon the hot, murky vapors began to rise in dense and sickening folds from the fever-laden earth. The lagoons and watercourses smoked like so many cauldrons. The perspiration streamed from every pore of the body. Bathe and shift your clothing never so often, you were always wet and clammy. A strange feeling of suffocation came over you as you attempted to inhale the wet, poisonous atmosphere; and one was made to think of the 'Carboniferous period,' when the earth was yet too new and crude and too densely enveloped in rank and noxious vapors to be a fit habitation for man—the era when birds were yet slimy reptiles, and the remote ancestors of the human race were without treetops in which to gambol.

"This interval of roasting, or rather boiling, was of short duration, for very soon there was another sudden and ominous darkening of the sun, another chilly gust of wind, another blinding flash of lightning, followed by another downpour of the floods. And thus the long summer day was made up of regular alternations of drenchings and roastings, with an ever-varying temperature ranging between the seventies and nineties, resulting in the usual complement of liver and stomach disorders, the end of which usually was violent and often fatal ague and fever."—*The Colombian and Venezuelan Republics*, p. 5. By WILLIAM L. SCRUGGS.



Courtesy of the *Pan American Union.*

TRIANGULAR MONUMENT AND WASHINGTON HOUSE, COLON.

A new hotel is now erected upon this site.



Statue of Columbus at the mouth of the Canal Colon.

Photo by *Maduro*, Panama.

BRONZE STATUE OF COLUMBUS ON CRISTOBAL POINT.

THE ISTHMUS

noble men from Nicuesa, Balboa, and Francis Drake, down to the present time.

On Cristobal Point, in front of De Lesseps's old palace, is a bronze statue presented to the Isthmian people by the Empress Eugénie. It represents Christopher Columbus, in heroic size, clasping an Indian maiden, emblematic of *America*, about the waist, to whom he is pointing out the grandeur of European civilization. The beautiful red maiden shrinks from the embrace of the white man, and is loath to view the wonders unfolded to her timid gaze. Her whole attitude is prophetic of the extermination of her race by so-called civilized people. This beautiful piece of art reached Aspinwall in 1868, long before the advent of Ferdinand de Lesseps and the French Canal Company.

Colon has experienced about a dozen fires,^{*} the ultimate effects of which have been beneficial. The population of Colon, with Cristobal, is now over 15,000.

Two miles back of Colon is seen the cemetery of *Mt. Hope*, commonly known as Monkey Hill, the involuntary sepulchre of so many luckless souls. Racial strife continues even in the jungles of Panama, and we find Gentile, Jew, and Chinaman occupying separate lots in this famous burial ground. Every evening the railroad runs a funeral train from Colon to the cemeteries.

About eighteen miles northeast from Colon is the old fortified town of Portobelo. This place was first visited by Columbus in 1502, and, on account of the beauty and security of the harbor, he named it *Puerto Bello*, or *Belpuerto*. In former times it was a populous and busy port, being the Atlantic terminus for most of the travel and commerce across the Isthmus.

^{*} March 30, 1885, Colon was entirely consumed, with the exception of the buildings of the Panama Railroad, the French Canal Company, and the Pacific Mail Steamship Line. The loss was estimated at \$6,000,000, and 10,000 persons were left shelterless. This fire was started by Pedro Prestan and a horde of dark-skinned insurgents, at the outset of a so-called "revolution." Prestan was a mulatto from Cartagena, and formerly was a member of the Assembly from Colon. He arrested Mr. Wright, the American consul; Captain Dow, general agent of the steamship company; the local agent, Mr. Conner; and Lieutenant Judd and Midshipman Richardson of the U. S. S. *Galena*, then in port. During the night Captain Kane of the warship landed a force, and the next day Colombian troops came over from Panama. Prestan and his gang were routed, but not before setting fire to the town. Prestan was afterwards captured, brought to Colon, and hanged, on the 18th of August, with several of his companions, the noose being adjusted by Captain Rountree, a notorious character in the old days.

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To defend his bullion and galleons from the attacks of the pirates and buccaneers, Philip II. of Spain constructed at *Puerto Bello* four forts, or *Castillos*, called San Felipe, Santiago, San Jeronimo, and San Cristobal. San Felipe defended the entrance of the harbor, and was famous for being constructed in a superior manner.¹⁰

In spite of these defenses, Portobelo suffered half a dozen invasions at the hands of the buccaneers, or of the English Navy. Francis Drake, in 1596, was the first to capture the town; William Parker, in 1602; Henry Morgan, in 1669; Coxon and La Sound, in 1679; and Edward Vernon, in 1739. Englishmen seldom mention the capture of the place, in 1819, by the filibuster, Sir Gregor MacGregor, from which he was ignominiously driven three weeks later by the Spaniards, under Governor Hore. A number of the English officers were shot at Cana, and the rest put in the chain gang. The body of Sir Francis Drake was placed in a leaden coffin and buried in the Caribbean Sea, a short distance off Portobelo, in 1596. A point of land, a little island, and a small port in the neighborhood, are called after him. In the palmy days of Portobelo the city held an annual fair, lasting sixty days, to which resorted merchants from all over the world. In modern times the population has dwindled away, and now it serves only as a place to procure stone for making concrete with which to build the locks for the American canal. Rock drills and dynamite now bombard the rocky north shore of Portobelo, and famous old San Felipe, the Iron Fort, has made its final surrender to the ruthless demands of utility and progress. The walls of their brag fort demolished and made into concrete! Surely, Felipe Segundo and Juan Antonelli must have turned in their graves! Upon the approach of a violent storm shipping from Colon often seeks the better harbor at Portobelo.

A few miles east and north of Portobelo is *Punta de Manzanillo*, the northernmost land of Panama; and nearby is *Isla Grande*, on which is a lighthouse, showing alternate white and red light. Its exact position is 9° 39' north latitude, and 79° 35' west longitude. Several miles from this light, in the direction of Portobelo, is a little port called *Bastimento*, which should not be confounded with the anchorage of *Bastimentos*, off *Nombre de Dios*, much frequented by the early navigators.

East of *Point Manzanillo* is the exposed bay of *San Cristobal*,

¹⁰ San Felipe, *todo de hierro*; called the Iron Fort by the British. "Notwithstanding all the pains taken to fortify it, there are few places which have fallen oftener into the hands of an enemy than Porto Velo."

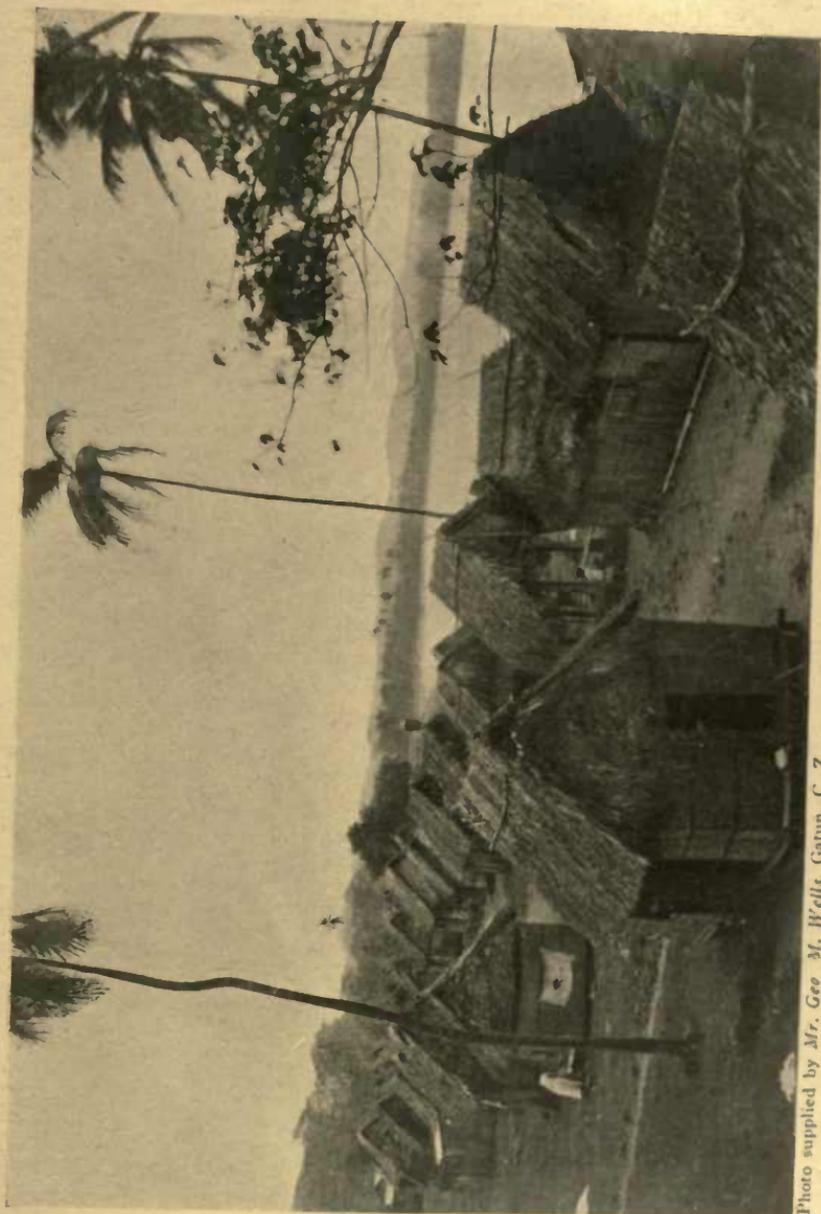


Photo supplied by Mr. Geo M. Wells, Gatun, C. Z.

NOMBRE DE DIOS, IN 1909.

THE ISTHMUS

upon the shore of which Nicuesa started a settlement in 1510. When the first governor of Castilla del Oro arrived at this place he exclaimed: "*Detengámonos aquí, en nombre de Dios!*" ("Let us stop here, in the name of God!") Thus was named in advance the town of *Nombre de Dios*, which for fifty years remained the Caribbean port for transisthmian commerce, and the beginning of the trail leading to Old Panama, on the South Sea. The harbor was unsheltered, and the site unhealthy, and after Sir Francis Drake, in 1572, showed how easy it was to rob the place, which he called "The Treasure House of the World," the people and business of *Nombre de Dios* were moved to Puerto Bello, between 1584 and 1597, by command of Philip II. *Nombre de Dios* is often identified with the Puerto de Bastimentos of the great admiral. The present pueblo of *Nombre de Dios*, also known locally as *Fato*, consists of about 200 houses and shacks on the shore of the Caribbean Sea, between the *Nombre de Dios* river, on the west, and the *Fato* river, on the east. The population, as in other coastal towns about the Caribbean, is mostly negro. Here, as elsewhere, the North Americans have wrought radical changes among time-honored conditions. They show no veneration for age, nor respect for the achievements or romance of antiquity. United States engineers are dredging sand at *Nombre de Dios* for use in making the canal locks in the Gatun dam. Giant machinery is now upturning the soil trod by Nicuesa, Pizarro, Espinosa, Drake, and other famous men. The Americans are introducing, as some believe, a better order of things; and screened houses, water-works, sanitation, and a modern hospital are replacing the old *costumbres del país*.

On the night of April 8, 1910, a spark from an I. C. C. locomotive, used in connection with the sand dredging operations, started a fire in the town, which destroyed seventy-three buildings. All the burnt houses have been rebuilt by the Commission with material brought from the Canal Zone, in a better manner and upon a more salubrious site, 450 yards from the beach. Deposits of excellent sand underlie the burned area, to which the dredge is now working from the mouth of the river. The port, never a safe haven, has been somewhat filled up since early Spanish times, but the dredging will leave behind it a very good little harbor. Recently, the hull of a ship, centuries old, has been uncovered.

One mile east of *Nombre de Dios*, opposite the islet called Playa Dama, is a landing, or wharf, from which a little railroad runs back to some manganese mines in the foothills. Three

thirteen

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miles eastward along the coast is situated the hamlet of *Viento Frio*, and ten miles beyond we come to the port and village of *Palenque*, originally settled by fugitive negro slaves. They were called *Simeroons*, and frequently joined with the Indians and buccaneers in assailing the Spanish colonists.

Ten miles further on is the little port of *Escribanos*, visited by Columbus, and named by him "*El Retrete*" (The Closet).

A dozen miles to the east of *Escribanos* you round *Point San Blas*,¹¹ within which is the Bay of San Blas, or Mandinga Bay, as it is frequently called. Along this coast for fifty miles is a string of little islands and keys, known as the *Archipelago de las Mulatas*, called by Columbus *Islas Barbas*, "more numerous than the days of the year," according to a local saying.

But little accurate information is available concerning this part of the coast, as the country is inhabited by the San Blas Indians, and they have held their country inviolate for centuries. These Indians will trade with outsiders, but strangers, whether white or black, are not allowed to remain among them over night. The San Blas are fine seamen, and often travel to Colon in their dugouts. They are occasionally seen with the nose-ring, or plate, described by the early visitors to these parts.

When Nicuesa first sailed along this coast he stopped in a small port on the river Pito, in the Indian province of Cueba, and said mass, the first in Castilla del Oro, in honor of which he called the place Misas. The early Spaniards called Cueba the land of confusion, because it had no chief.

When the Spaniards first came to Tierra Firme the Caciques Pocosora, Comagre, Ponca, and Careta held dominion along this coast. The white men's inhumanity soon turned their simple friendship into bitter enmity. Ayora started the settlement of *Santa Cruz* on this shore, but Pocosora drove them out after six months, only five Spaniards escaping to Antigua.

After leaving the *Mulatas* you come to a projection of the mainland called *Punta Mosquito*, from which the coast dips southeast to the entrance of the Gulf of Urabá. About ten miles from Mosquito Point is the elevated Island of Pines, a favorite rendezvous of the old buccaneers.

¹¹ *Lionel Wafer* states that three leagues west of Point Samballas (San Blas) was Port Scrivan, and that it was there that Captains Coxon, La Sound, and other privateers landed in the year 1678-9 when they went to take Portobel, so as not to be discovered by the Spanish scouts. A little west of Port Scrivan came the river of Conception, off which was La Sound's Key, and Springer's Key, favorite resorts of the buccaneers because they furnished good water upon digging wells, and afforded safe shelter for careening.

THE ISTHMUS

Late in the year 1515, Pedrarias sailed from Antigua, and, somewhere west of the Indian village of Careta, started the first of a line of posts to extend to the South Sea. The place was called *Acla*, signifying, in the Indian language, "Bones of Men." It has been variously located opposite the Island of Pines, near the present Puerto Carreto, and opposite Isla de Oro. At Acla, in 1517, Balboa, who discovered the Pacific Ocean, was beheaded by order of the infamous Pedrarias.

Nearby is Caledonia Bay¹² and *Puerto Escocés*. The cape commanding the approach to the bay is still called Punta Escocesa (Scotch Point). Here, in 1698, William Paterson, founder of the bank of England, established a well-planned colony of Scotch people, with the intention to control the trade of the two oceans. The hardy northern colonists disappeared rapidly in this torrid climate, and the Spanish Government forced them to retire. In January, 1854, the United States Darien Expedition, under Lieutenant Strain, started out from Caledonia Bay on its ill-fated journey across the Isthmus.

This brings us to *Puerto la Miel*, which marks the limit of Panama; beyond which, in the territory of Colombia, is *Cape Tiburon*, and the Gulf of Urabá (or Gulf of Darien), into which empties the Atrato river.

In Anachucuna Bay, west of Cape Tiburon, is a little anchorage, called Puerto Escondido. There were other *escondidos*, or hidden ports, mentioned by the older writers, one of which is located on the western shore of the Gulf of Urabá.

At the time of the Discovery, this entire region, the Indians inhabiting the same, and their chief town, were all called *Darien*. The principal cacique was named Cémaco.

¹² Geographically and historically, Caledonia Bay is one of the most important spots on the Isthmus. The mouth of the bay is between Punta Escocesa, on the east, and Isla de Oro (called also Santa Catalina), four miles to the northwest. Caledonia Bay is almost tideless. Within the shelter of the peninsula forming Scotch Point is Puerto Escocés (Scots Harbor). Between Isla de Oro (Golden Island) and Punta San Fulgencio, on the mainland, is the entrance to the anchorage of Caledonia or Sasardi, a stretch of water about seven miles long, protected by Golden, Sasardi, and other islands. On the northwest this channel is limited by the prominent headland called Sasardi Point.

It is sometimes stated that Caledonia Bay is the old Puerto Carreto, usually placed three leagues to the eastward. Most likely the old settlement of Acla (Aglá) was on the Rio Aglaseniqua, which empties opposite Golden Island. West and north of Sasardi Point is the Island of Pines, covered with trees, and on it a rivulet of fresh water. Westward for three leagues come rocky keys, and then a little sandy bay, called by the privateers "Tickle Me Quickly Harbour."

OLD PANAMA

On the left bank of the *Atrato*, about a league and a half from its mouth, is where the shipwrecked Bachiller Encisco and his companions landed, captured Cemaco's village, and there started, early in 1510, the first permanent settlement of white men on the continent of the New World. This honor is sometimes claimed for Nombre de Dios, the exact dates of the two settlements being unknown.³⁸ In homage to the celebrated image, Nuestra Señora de la Antigua, in Seville, they called the place *Santa Maria de la Antigua del Darien*, an appellation which it could not long survive. With Encisco were Balboa and Pizarro, both destined to win fame in the new continent. Antigua was settled after the failure of Ojeda's colony at San Sebastian, on the east shore of the Gulf of Urabá. Antigua, being west of the mid-line of the gulf, was in Castilla del Oro, and thus subject only to Nicuesa, a point which Balboa made when he deposed Encisco. From Antigua went Balboa to discover the South Sea, and from here he departed in search of the fabled temple of gold, called Dabaibe, somewhere up the great river of Darien, now known as the Atrato. He found no golden temple, but did encounter a tribe of Indians, whose chief was Abibeiba, making their homes in the treetops. The Darien section of the Isthmus, like much of Veragua, is less known today than it was four hundred years ago.

Cabo Tiburon is the western headland of the Gulf of Urabá (Darien), and it is claimed that about this point Columbus, on his last voyage, on account of the rottenness of his ships, gave up his vain quest for the strait which was to bear him to the splendors of the court of Kubla Khan.

The boundary between Colombia and Panama begins at Port Miel, before mentioned, passes up the Rio la Miel, and then follows the *serrania*, or mountain chain, of Darien to the Altos of Aspave, between Points Arditá and Cocalito, on the Pacific. From here the coast line of the Isthmus runs northwest, passing Punta Piñas and Punta Caracoles, till it reaches Point Garachiné, at the entrance of the Gulf of San Miguel, into which empties the large *Tuira* river. On the left bank of this river, in colonial days, was *Santa Maria*, or *Villa Maria*, the

³⁸ I believe Antigua was the first to be settled. The location of this town has never been determined with certitude. Antigua was on a river emptying on the west side of the Gulf of Urabá, and the settlement was a league from the entrance to the river. Some believe this river was the one now called the Tanela, or Tarena.

THE ISTHMUS

depository for the gold from the rich mines of Cana" (*Santa Cruz de Cana*). For vessels of light draft the Tuira is navigable for one hundred miles.

When the buccaneers first extended their depredations on the land from the North Sea, they followed the San Miguel route, and Santa Maria fell a frequent prey to their spoliation. For this reason the mines were closed by royal decree in 1685.

It was from the mountain top of *Pirre* that Vasco Nuñez de Balboa first saw the Pacific Ocean (*Mar del Sur*), on the 25th day of September, 1513. On the 29th of the same month, St. Michael's day, he waded into the Gulf of San Miguel, and took formal possession of the sea, and all the lands and islands bordering upon that sea, from pole to pole, for his sovereign of Castile and Leon, till the day of judgment.

From a like summit further west Drake first viewed the South Sea, and prayed that God might some day permit him to sail an English ship on that sea. His prayer was granted, for Sir Francis Drake was the second navigator to go around the world, and his vessel, the *Golden Hind*, the first ship to completely circumnavigate the earth. With Drake at that time was John Oxenham, with the same longing filling his breast. He beat his commander to the South Sea, and was the first Englishman to launch a ship on the Pacific. Oxenham was captured shortly afterwards by the Spaniards, and executed as a pirate in Lima, as related in another chapter.

The south coast of Panama makes a big bend towards the north, forming the large *Gulf of Panama*, which is 2° of longitude wide, and nearly 2° of latitude deep. About the center of the gulf is the *Archipelago de las Perlas*, or Pearl Islands, composed of thirty-nine islands and many more keys and rocks. The largest island of the group is now called *Isla del Rey*, San Miguel, or Columbia; but was named *Isla Rica* by Balboa, who was the first white man to view these islands. *Terarequi* was the Indian name for this island.

Along the coast towards Panama, guarding the mouth of the *Chepo*, is the little island of *Chepillo*. On the Rio Mamoni, a branch of the *Chepo*, is the town of *Chepó*, named after the

"The richest gold mines ever yet found in America," writes Dampier, in 1684. The place is situated in the *Espiritu Santo* mountains, and was founded by Captain Meneses, with the name of *Santa Cruz*, during the reign of Pedrarias Davila. At one time the mines attracted a population of 20,000 souls. The raids of the buccaneers, followed by the Indian insurrection of 1724, caused the Spaniards to abandon the settlement. An English outfit, countrymen of the old buccaneers, is now exploiting these old mines.

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cacique of that name. The place was invaded four times by the buccaneers, the first attack being in 1675, by a party of 120 men, led by Captain La Sanda (La Sound).

At the top of the gulf is situated the present city of *Panama*, founded in 1674 by Don Alonso Mercado de Villacorta, three years after the destruction of *Old Panama*. Unlike the old city, the new town was protected by strong seawalls,¹⁸ mounted with bronze cannon. Besides these, there were four bastions on the land side, called La Merced, Jesus, San José, and San Carlos. Later, another fortification was constructed, named Mano de Tigre. The new city was better situated than Old Panama and grew rapidly. It was regularly laid out about a central plaza, after plans drawn by the Council of the Indies for the founding of cities. The cathedral, the governor's house, and bishop's palace faced upon the plaza, and there was the usual proportion of churches and convents throughout the city.

The masonry of the old Spanish-American churches always excites our admiration. These structures were erected by the sweat and blood of toiling Indians; temples to the creed of another people constituting their own monuments. The flat arch of the ruined church of Santo Domingo is one of the wonders of architecture, continuing to stand in defiance of the laws of gravity and the trembling of earthquakes. The oldest church still in use is San Felipe Neri, built in 1688. One of the finest ruins is that of the Jesuits' college. The cathedral, with its two high towers, was erected in 1760. The palace of the President, foreign legations, municipal offices, and leading business houses are all within a short distance of Central Park (*Plaza de la Catedral*). Until recently the Canal Headquarters, formerly the Grand Hotel, faced upon this plaza. The buildings, mostly of two stories, are constructed mainly of *mamposteria*, a kind of concrete. Modern Panama possesses public schools, a good market, the Chiriqui barracks, Santo Tomás hospital, and cemeteries for every race and creed. The university was established in 1751.

It was in the old Cabildo, still fronting the plaza, that the Junta declared the Isthmus independent¹⁹ of the Spanish Gov-

¹⁸ The fortifications cost so much money that the King of Spain, gazing out his palace window, inquired of his ministers if the walls of Panama were not visible.

¹⁹ At the instigation of Simon Bolivar, *El Libertador*, a call was sent out, in 1822, for a junta of Americanists to meet at Panama, with the object of opposing the machinations of the so-called "Holy Alliance" towards the resubjugation of Spain's revolted colonies in America. In addition to the Spanish republics, the United States, England, and

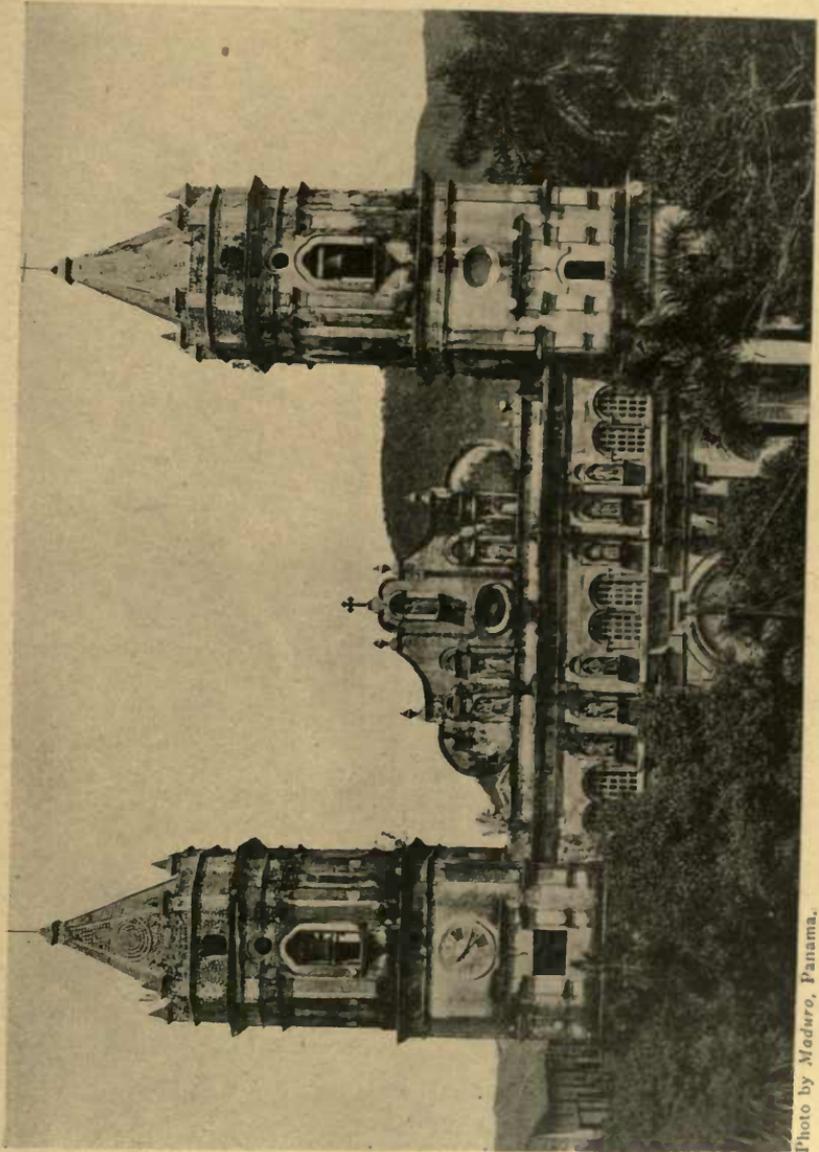


Photo by Moduro, Panama.

CATHEDRAL OF PANAMA.

THE ISTHMUS

ernment, on November 28, 1821.¹¹ At that time a great many people of the Isthmus wished to establish an independent republic, instead of joining with Colombia, but the fruition of their desires did not occur until November 3, 1903. Until the latter occurrence, the 28th of the same month remained a great *fiesta* on the Isthmus.

Under the Hay-Bunau-Varilla treaty, formulated November 18, 1903, the United States secured from Panama sovereign rights in the *Canal Zone*—a transisthmian strip of land extending for five miles on each side of the projected canal—a monopoly of transit from sea to sea, the control of sanitation in the cities of Panama and Colon, power to erect defenses for the canal, and authority to condemn and use property necessary for the construction and maintenance of the canal. The United States guarantees the independence of the Republic of Panama, and declares the ports at either end of the canal to be forever free. Both governments soon ratified this treaty, and on February 26, 1904, the ratifications were exchanged at Washington.

The present city of Panama, capital of the republic, is situated at the foot of Ancon Mountain, on a rocky peninsula of land jutting out into the bay. Its population at this time is 35,000.

The Americans have introduced sewerage, water-works, and paved streets. Fumigation and screening against mosquitoes are required, and it is a crime to breed these pests on one's premises. The general sanitary supervision of Panama is better than that of Philadelphia or Chicago. Joining Panama is the American colony of Ancon, and extending up the sides of Ancon Hill are the numerous pavilions of Ancon Hospital, in which are treated most of the sick of the Canal Commission.

In former times the present city has witnessed carnivals of

Holland were invited to send delegates. Those from the United States took no active part in the deliberations. R. G. Anderson, then our minister at Bogota, died in Cartagena, on his way to attend the junta. The congress met at Panama June 22, 1826. Before that time, December 2, 1823, President Monroe, in his message to the United States Congress, promulgated the American doctrine of *Noli-Me-Tangere*—a warning to European powers not to meddle in the affairs of the Western hemisphere.

¹¹ Colonel José de Fábrega, an *istmeño* by birth, became Governor of Panama, with the title of *Jefe Superior del Istmo*. The new government forbade the importation of African slaves. Negro children born after June 21, 1821, were free. Slaves were allowed to purchase their freedom; and those remaining in bondage in 1850 were redeemed by the government and given their liberty.

nineteen

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crime, like the massacre¹⁸ of the passengers of the steamship *Illinois*, on the evening of April 15, 1856, over which it were well to draw the veil of oblivion.

Five miles east of the modern Panama is the site of the famous city of *Old Panama*, called the "Gold Cup," on account of the riches it contained. Captains Diego de Albites and Antonio Tello de Guzman, while raiding the south shore of the Isthmus late in 1515, arrived at a fishing hamlet, called *Panamá*. The name in the aboriginal tongue means "A place where many fish are taken." In 1517, Gaspar de Espinosa, the *alcalde mayor*, established at Panama the southern terminus of the line of stations to extend across the Isthmus. On August 15, 1519, Pedrarias, the governor, formally founded the city of Old Panama. The same year Nombre de Dios, which had been abandoned, was reoccupied by Albites, and a permanent road, or trail, was made from sea to sea, between the two settlements.

Pedrarias moved his household over to Panama, leaving the *veedor*, Oviedo—afterwards the historian of the Indies—in command at Antigua. Probably in 1521, Bishop Peraza, the successor of Quevedo, moved his Episcopal chair from Antigua to the new city.

By royal decree dated at Burgos, September 15, 1521, the Emperor Charles V. created Panama a city with the title of "*Nueva Ciudad de Panama*." He gave it a coat-of-arms, consisting of a shield bordered with castles and lions, surmounted by a crown. On the shield a golden field divided; on the right

¹⁸ The *Panameños* call this unfortunate encounter, The Question of the Slice of Watermelon ("*La Cuestion de la Tajada de Sandia*"). It was really a race riot, the local blacks and negroes assaulting the white passengers who had just come over from Aspinwall and were waiting to board a steamer for California. Jack Oliver, a drunken passenger, disputed the price of a piece of melon in a shop in La Cienaga. Oliver called the *frutero* bad names in worse Spanish, and the native loungers took sides with their countryman. Crying "*Mueron los blancos!*" the negroes attacked the 250 or 300 white passengers, of both sexes, from the *Illinois*. The whites sought shelter in the railroad station, near the bay shore, where they were besieged for hours by the negroes. When the soldiers finally arrived they acted in sympathy with the mob, and it was a long time before the fight ended. The United States warship *St. Mary*, then in Panama Bay, assisted the passengers, and stood ready to bombard the city. Estimates of the killed vary from fifteen to sixty, nearly all being white passengers. For a long period after this bloodshed travelers hurried over the Isthmus without spending their money in Panama. Years of vexatious diplomatic correspondence followed; the matter was referred to a mixed Commission; and finally settled by New Granada paying the United States \$400,000 in gold, as indemnification for the injuries suffered by American citizens.

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a yoke, the device of the Catholic kings, and a handful of arrows; on the left two caravels, with the north star above. A decree of December 3, 1581, dated at Lisbon, added the title "*Muy Noble y Muy Leal*" (Very Illustrious and Very Loyal).

The *regidores*, or councilmen, enjoyed the title of *veintecuatros*, and the royal tax was reduced from one-fifth to a tenth. Old Panama (*Panama Viejo*) was the first settlement by Europeans on the western shore of America. It was here that Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Hernando de Luque, in 1525, made their historic contract for the discovery and conquest of Peru. For many years it was the metropolis of the South Sea, and was the entrepot for the bullion of Peru and the silks and spices of the Orient. From Panama Viejo they were carried across the Isthmus to be loaded on the Spanish galleons at Nombre de Dios or Puerto Bello. *Venta de Cruces*¹⁹ and *Venta de Chagre* (where the road crossed the Chagres river) were halfway stations to the north coast. They used to pack silver and gold over this road like cordwood. It was near Cruces that Francis Drake, privateer, or pirate, as you choose to call him, made his bootless capture of the plate-train on the night of February 14, 1573. Nearly a century later, in 1671, the buccaneers, under Henry Morgan, ascended the Chagres as far as Cruces, and then proceeded overland to Old Panama. The buccaneers assert they found Cruces in flames, while Spanish writers affirm that the pirates set fire to the town.

The population of the city of Panama at this time comprised at least 30,000 souls. Old Panama was not fortified, but it was protected on three sides by the sea and marshes, and on

¹⁹ Called Venta Cruz by the pirates and privateers, and later abbreviated to Cruces. Situated on the south bank of the Chagres river, surrounded by hills, and at an altitude of 78 meters. This old town is only a few miles east of Bas Obispo Station, on the P. R. R., but is seldom visited nowadays. For three centuries it was a resting-place for travelers, and a general depository for merchandise in transit. Vice-roys and vice-queens, as well as adventurers and cut-throats of all nationalities, have traveled over the old highway leading through Venta de Cruces. The town possessed a fine church, custom-houses, warehouses, and stables for the King's *recuas*. At Drake's visit, Cruces contained about fifty houses. The present village consists of a like number of shacks, covered with thatch. By the tumble-down chapel, on the hill, built on the ruins of the old church, went the Camino Real, the paving stones of which are still in place; and nearby can be seen a couple of old anchors, half buried in the earth, relics of the early days. The dwellers in modern Cruces are well tinted with black, and look as if they might be descendants of the Cimarrones who infested this region. In colonial times the jurisdiction and incomes from Cruces appertained to the illustrious house of the Urriolas.

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the land side was a causeway, in which was a bridge, still in existence, permitting the tidal water to pass under. It is hard to understand why the Spaniards left their natural stronghold to fight Morgan's men in the Savannas.

The Spaniards, always excellent horsemen, sallied out in two squadrons to meet the pirates. The *boucaniers*, or cattle hunters of Tortuga, had been placed in front, and, being excellent marksmen, rapidly depleted the Spanish horse. The cavalry fell back on the Spanish foot and threw it into confusion. At the same time a herd of wild cattle, which had been collected to drive over the pirates, stampeded in every direction except towards the enemy, and the pirates soon possessed the city. This was the 18th day of January, 1671. Before night the city was in flames, an act generally ascribed, erroneously, I believe, to the commands of Morgan. The buccaneers remained in Panama nearly a month, during which time they visited the islands of the bay and the neighboring country. February 14, 1671, Morgan departed from Old Panama for the mouth of the Chagres, with 600 prisoners and 175 mules loaded with loot.

At the time of its destruction Old Panama contained a magnificent cathedral, and several beautiful churches, and eight convents. There were more than 200 warehouses stocked with foreign goods, 200 residences of European elegance, and 5000 houses of the common sort. Besides, the city possessed a mint, a large hospital, the King's stables, and a market for slaves, conducted by some Genoese.

The tower of the old Cathedral of San Gerónimo,²⁰ still standing, four stories in height, is visible from the present city of Panama, and from far out in the bay. The rest of the ruins are hidden with rank tropical growth.

A few miles west of modern Panama, on the other side of Ancon and Sosa hills, is *La Boca*, or *Balboa*,²¹ at the mouth of

²⁰ In this I agree with Markham. Robinson gives the French designation, St. Jerome. Both Nelson and Masefield call the tower St. Anastasius. The first cathedral, destroyed by fire, was named Santa Maria La Antigua del Darien, after the first church in Antigua. Governor Guzman, describing the fall of the city, writes of the Cathedral of St. Francis. A recent writer calls it St. Augustin.

²¹ At the suggestion of the Minister from Peru (the nation most benefited by Balboa's discovery), the United States authorities at Panama, on April 30, 1909, changed the name of the Pacific end of the Isthmian Canal from the simple *La Boca* (The Mouth) to *Balboa*, to commemorate the discoverer of the South Sea; just as Cristobal Colon, at the Atlantic entrance to the canal, honors the memory of Christopher Columbus, the discoverer of America, and the first European to visit Limon Bay and the western half of the Isthmus.

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the Rio Grande river, the Pacific end of the Isthmian Canal. La Boca has extensive piers for docking ocean steamers, shops, and quarters for American employees.

In front of Panama and Balboa, several miles from the shore, are the islands of Naos, Flamenco, Perico, and Culebra, which give protection to the shipping in the bay. The tide²² frequently rises to a height of twenty feet. At low water small vessels rest on the sands beneath the city walls, and are unloaded into carts. Farther out are the islands of Taboga, Taboguilla, and others.²³ It was from the little port of *Taboga* that Pizarro's expedition sailed for Peru. The Canal Commission now maintains a convalescent sanitarium on Taboga. Turtles and whales were formerly seen in the vicinity of the island.

The *Bay of Panama* has been the scene of exploits unsurpassed in the legends of Greece, and needing only a Homer to make them appear heroic.

The success of Morgan induced the buccaneers to make other expeditions over the Isthmus, and into the South Sea. The next large party, consisting of 331 men, mostly English, under Captains Coxon, Sawkins, Sharp, and others, left Golden Island on the 5th day of April, 1680, and were guided across the land by friendly Indians. Disappointed in not finding more booty at Santa Maria, most of them continued down the Gulf of San Miguel into the Bay of Panama. Seizing some small vessels, they had a fierce naval fight before Panama with three Spanish ships, two of which were captured. After committing other depredations, they dispersed up and down the west coast.

²² As the difference between high and low water at Colon is only about eighteen inches, this introduces a conspicuous factor in the consideration of a lockless or sea-level canal through the Isthmus. The mean levels of both oceans being equal, it follows that when it was low tide in Panama Bay there would be a current from the Colon side; and during high tide at Panama the flow would be towards the Atlantic end of the canal.

"El movimiento de las mareas en el puerto de Colon tiene un atraso de nueve horas con respecto al de las de Panama; por consiguiente cuando es pleamar ó bajamar en Panama, no hay más que media marea en Colon, y cada día la diferencia máxima de nivel entre los dos mares es igual á la media amplitud de la marea del Pacifico, menos el cuarto de la amplitud total de la marea del Atlántico, ó sea, reduciéndolo á cifras, 3. m 20—0. m 15=3. m 05."—Valdés.

²³ The islands in the bay were called the gardens of Panama, because they supplied much of the provisions for the city.

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Lionel Wafer, surgeon to the buccaneers, describes the two Panamas, as seen from their ships at that time.²⁴

May 28, 1685, Edward Davis, commanding 1000 buccaneers, had an encounter with a Spanish Armada of eighteen vessels off the Pearl Islands.

August 22, 1686, Captain Townley, while lying at Taboga, came near being taken by Spanish ships, but won out after a bloody fight. He died of wounds shortly after, but not before he had sent a demand for supplies to the Commandant of Panama (the new city), accompanied by a canoe-load of Spanish heads. As late as 1819, Captain Illingsworth and his party of Chilians landed on Taboga, and sacked and burnt the village.

From Panama the land makes a sweep to the south and west to *Punta Mala*, marking the western headland to the gulf. *Parita Bay* projects into the west shore, between the provinces of Cocolé and Santos. This was the region ruled by Paris, whose name it commemorates, one of the few Indian chieftains who successfully repulsed the Conquistadores.

From the west coast of the Gulf of Panama empty many rivers, which give access to towns of fair size a few miles inland, like Chorrera, Chamé, Penonomé, Natá, Aguadulce, Los Santos, Parita, and Pesé. Near *La Chorrera*, famous as a

²⁴ "Between the River of *Cheapo* and *Panama*, further West, are three Rivers, of no great Consequence, lying open to the Sea. The Land between is low even Land, moft of it dry, and cover'd here and there by the Sea, with fhort Bufhes. Near the moft Wefterly of thefe *Old Panama* was feated, once a large City; but nothing now remains of it, befides Rubbifh, and a few Houfes of poor People. The Spaniards were weary of it, having no good Port or Landing-place; and had a defign to have left it, before it was burnt by Sir *Henry Morgan*. But then they no longer deliberated about the Matter; but inftead of rebuilding it, raifed another Town to the Weftward, which is the prefent City of *Panama*. The River of *Old Panama* runs between them; but rather nearer the new Town than the Old; and into this River fmall Barks may enter. The chief Advantage which New *Panama* hath above the Old, is an excellent Road for fmall fhips, as good as a Harbour; for which it is beholden to the Shelter of the neighbouring Ifles of *Perico*, which lie before it, three in number, in a Row parallel to the Shore. * * * *

"*Panama* ftands on a level ground, and is furrounded with a high Wall, efpecially towards the Sea. It hath no Fort befides the Town-Walls; upon which the Sea beats fo ftroingly, fometimes, as to throw down a part of them. It makes a very beautiful Profect off at Sea, the Churches and chief Houfes appearing above the reef. The Building appears white; efpecially the Walls, which are of Stone, and the Covering of the Houfes red, fo probably they are Pan-tile, which is much used by the *Spaniards* all over the West-Indies."

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health resort, is a beautiful little waterfall in the Rio Caimito. *Chamé*, a name of Indian origin, abounds in maize and fruits, which are marketed in Panama.

Penonomé is another town named after an aboriginal chief-tain. *Natá* is one of the oldest European settlements on the Isthmus, being established on the site of an Indian village, whose chief was *Natá*, taken by Gaspar de Espinosa in 1517. Destroyed by the natives in 1529, Governor Pedrarias re-established it under the name of Santiago de los Caballeros²⁵ (St. James, City of the Gentlemen), but the primitive designation has survived. The old church at *Natá* is a fine example of the style in vogue at that period.

Aguadulce was formerly known as Trinidad. It is a shipping point for salt and cattle, and also for the coffee raised about Santa Fé.

Los Santos, called Villa in colonial days, was the first place on the Isthmus, in 1821, to declare for independence; since which it has been known as the Heroic City. It was settled by people from *Natá*, on the site of an Indian village ruled by Guazan. La Villa de Los Santos became, in 1851, the capital of the short-lived province of Azuero.

Parita is situate upon the river and gulf of the same name. The district is noted for stock-raising and agriculture.

Pesé has grown from an aboriginal settlement of the same name to a place of culture and refinement.

From Punta Mala the coast trends west again as far as *Punta Mariato*, where the land turns directly north, making the beautiful gulf or bay of *Montijo*, which gives entrance to Puerto Mutis, Soná, and Santiago.²⁶ The mouth of the bay is protected by the Island of Cébaco, probably the island first visited, in 1516, by Hurtado, to whom Cacique Cébaco gave a golden armor, valued at 1000 castellanos.

Farther west, and twenty-five kilometers from the coast, is *Coiba*, the largest island in Panaman waters. It was formerly called *Quibo*,²⁷ and was much frequented by the buccaneers when they operated in the South Sea.

²⁵ According to Ulloa, "*St. Jago de Nata de los Cavalleros*" was discovered by Captain Alonso Perez de la Rua, in 1515, when *Natá* was prince of this district.

²⁶ Santiago was the capital of the old province of Veragua. In 1862 Governor Guardia, when driven out by the black "liberals," removed his government from Panama to Santiago. He was killed shortly afterwards, and Santiago was plundered.

²⁷ When Lord Anson made his celebrated circumnavigation of the world, he stopped at *Quibo*, on the 3d of December, 1741. He found there tigers, deer, plenty of birds, hawk's-bill and green turtles, sharks,

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From here the coast line extends westward to Punta Burica, the entrance to Golfo Dulce. Near the coast are the towns of Remedios, San Felix, San Lorenzo, David, and Alanje.²⁸

Remedios,²⁹ which is also called Pueblo Nuevo, was one of the first Spanish settlements in the western part of the Isthmus. Some of the old mines about Remedios are still being worked. It was here that Captain Richard Sawkins was killed, and the buccaneers repulsed, in 1680.

San Felix was originally called Las Lajas, from the lava beds in the vicinity. Near the town are some thermal springs.

San Lorenzo is noted for the salubrity of its climate and the good quality of the tobacco raised in the neighborhood.

A group of islands marks the entrance to Pedregal, the port of the city of *David*. Vessels drawing ten feet can go in the river and tie up to the bank, or at the new pier at Pedregal. David is the capital of *Chiriqui* province, and contains about 9000 souls. It is situated on an extensive *llano*, or plain, three miles from the landing, and is one of the most delightful and interesting of Spanish-American towns. The Panamanian Government is now surveying a route for a railroad between David and Panama, which will pass through many of the towns just mentioned. The line, 275 miles in length, differs somewhat from the Pan-American survey of fifteen years ago, and will cross the canal at Empire, C. Z. The most prominent feature of this province is the Volcano of Chiriqui, rising to a height of 10,265 feet. It was formerly called *El Volcan de Barú*, and has been inactive for many years. "El Volcan" is about twenty-five miles from either coast, and plainly visible from both oceans. In the mountains, behind the volcano, is the pretty little valley of *Boquete*, famous for the excellence of its coffee, and the healthfulness of its climate.

and a waterfall 150 feet high. In 1794, Captain Collnett visited the island, and was bitten by the dreaded hooded snake, from which he nearly died.

²⁸ Travelers who see only the Canal Zone, and the cities of Panama, Colon, and Bocas del Toro, should not infer that nearly all Panamanians are negroes or black mixtures. Most of the inhabitants of the smaller towns are Spanish, or *mestizos* (Spanish and Indian), generally called Cholos. When I was last in David, there was but one negro in the place; and if the Chiriqueños are wise, they will keep Africans out of their province.

All over the warm regions of America the imported African has become a voracious parasite, like the giant tree-killing vine known as the *matapalo*, destroying and replacing the white man and the Indian.

²⁹ Ulloa calls the place "*Nuestra Señora de los Remedios de Pueblo-Nuevo*." In 1685, Pueblo Nuevo was taken and sacked by Francois Grognet and his French filibustiers.

twenty-six



From Harper's Magazine, Jan., 1859.

SURVEYING FOR THE PANAMA RAILROAD.

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In many places in Chiriqui are found the old Indian graves, or *guacas*, which contain beautiful pottery and golden ornaments. The principal *guacales* are near Bugaba and Bugabita, about fifteen miles west of David. Southwest of the latter place is *Alanje*, in early times the capital of Chiriqui. It is on the Rio Chico, and the town is better known locally as Pueblo Rio Chico. On the authority of Ulloa, the name Alanje is a contraction of *Santiago al Angel*, a town founded by Benito Hurtado in 1521. At one time it was called Chiriqui, and was the last settlement towards the confines of Nicaragua.

Most maps give *Punta Burica* as the beginning of the boundary between Panama and Costa Rica. The old line between Colombia and Costa Rica, as determined by the President of France, September 11, 1900, was unsatisfactory. The new Republic of Panama, and Costa Rica, on March 6, 1905, came to an agreement on a new line, which gives Panama title to a large strip of land bordering on Golfo Dulce, while Costa Rica acquires a corresponding addition to her territory on the Atlantic side.

January 25, 1907, both governments ratified this treaty, and the boundary between them now runs as follows:²⁰

Beginning in the Rio Golfito, in the Gulf of Dulce, the line passes along the divide between the rivers Chiriqui Viejo and Coto de Terraba, over the summit of the Santa Clara Mountains, through a point called "Cerro Pando" to the Rio Sixola, and thence to Punta Mona on the Caribbean. This is the point from which we started on our circuit of the Isthmus.²¹

²⁰ This year, 1910, the boundary line between Panama and Costa Rica still remains in dispute. (See Note 8, Chapter 17.)

²¹ "What is to be the future status of the Isthmus? A strong government is doubtless a necessity, and must be provided from abroad. Shall it assume the form of a quasi-independent state, under the protectorate of the chief commercial nations, eliminating Colombia from participation therein, or must the United States, as the power most interested in preserving the independence of the highway, take upon themselves the whole control for the benefit of all nations? Time will tell."—*History of Central America*, vol. 3, p. 558—H. H. BANCROFT, 1887.

Of the Chagres river, Ulloa writes, in 1735:

"Este Rio, cuyo proprio nombre es de Lagartos, aunque ahora conocida mas bien por el de Chagre, tiene fu origen en aquellas Cordilleras, no lexos de Cruces. Fue descubierta el año de 1510. por *Lope de Olano* fu defembocadura en el *Mar del Norte*, que es á los 9. Grados, 18. Minutos, 40 Segundos de *Latitud Septentrional*, y 295. Grados, 6 Minutos de *Longitud* contada desde el Meridiano de Tenerife. Por la parte de *Cruces* lo descubrió Diego de Alvitez; pero el primer *Espanol*, que baxó navegando, para reconocerlo hafta fu Boca, fue el Capitan *Hernando de la Serna* el año de 1527. Está defendida fu

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Entrada con una Fortaleza fabricada en la Costa del Este, sobre un Peñafco escarpado a lá Mar, con el nombre de *San Lorenzo de Chagres*: gobiernala un *Castellano*, á quien acompaña un *Teniente*, nombrados por el Rey, y la guarnecen Soldados de Tropa Reglada, que se destacan de Panamá."—tomo 1, lib. III, cap. 1, pag. 146.

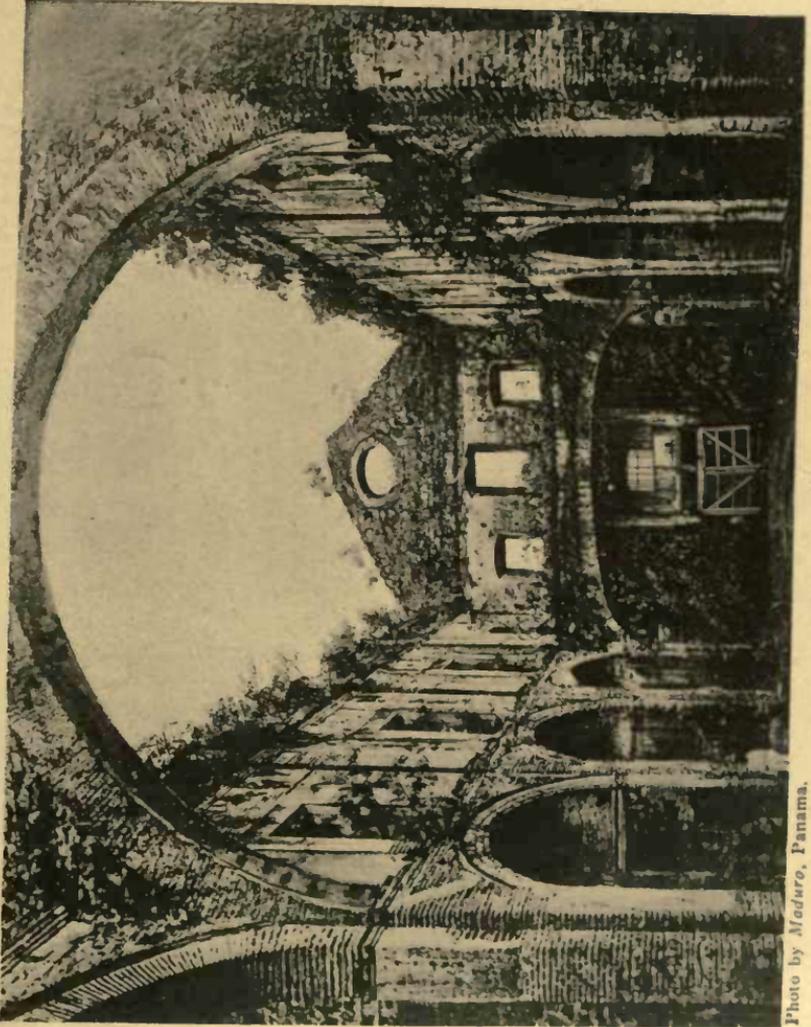


Photo by *Maduro*, Panama.

RUINED CHURCH OF SANTO DOMINGO, PANAMA, SHOWING FLAT ARCH.

CHAPTER II.

COLUMBUS AND HIS DREAM.

"A time shall come, tho' it be late,
When the proud ocean shall abate
Of its vast empire; men descry
New isles, new countries where they lie;
Nor shall bleak Thule longer stand
To us the last discovered land."

Prophecy in the *Medea* of Seneca.



CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, as the world knows him, Cristóbal Colón, as he called himself in Spanish, or Cristoforo Colombo, as he was baptized, was the eldest son of Domenico Colombo and of Susanna Fontanarossa, his wife. His brothers were Bartolomé, Giovan (John) Pellegrino, and Giacomo (James), written Diego in Spanish. Giovan Pellegrino died in early manhood; but Bartolomé and Diego followed the fortunes of their elder brother in the New World he discovered.

Columbus had one sister, named Bianchinetta, who became the wife of Giacomo Bavarello, a cheesemonger. Doubtless her life was placid and happy, as it excited no human interest.

Columbus was an Italian, being born in the ancient city of Genoa, some time between the years 1430 and 1456, say about 1446. His father's house in Genoa, in which Christopher was born, has been identified; and in the Piazza Acquaverde, in front of the railway station, stands an imposing statue to his memory.

Possibly of illustrious ancestry and connection, his immediate family were humble wool-combers and weavers. The boy Cristoforo helped his father in his trade, and attended a school established by the wool-combers for the education of their children. It is claimed that Columbus studied for a time at Pavia; and that famous Lombard university has erected a monument to commemorate the glory of having had him as a student. While at school he learned the common branches, and some Latin, geography, geometry, and astronomy.

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His schooling could not have been extensive, as when but fourteen years of age, so he tells us, he went to sea, for which he had a natural inclination; and followed a maritime career, on and off, for the remainder of his life.

At this time Columbus was a red-haired, freckled-faced boy, large for his age, and full of energy.

For a number of years he probably followed the usual life of a sailor about the Mediterranean, rising rapidly, no doubt, to positions of command.

Columbus must be rated as a self-made man; or, more correctly, a genius. He was a great reader and student of history, cosmography, mathematics, and astronomy. In navigation and seamanship he stood without a peer. He was a fine penman, and, at times, obtained a livelihood as a cartographer.

Previous to the entry of Columbus into Spain, about 1485, but little is known of him. Many recorded incidents in his life are of questionable historical accuracy. Fernando Columbus, raised among courtiers, and sensitive of the lowly origin of his father, would have it appear that Columbus was related to the famous admirals or corsairs, the Colombos of Italy, or the Coulons (Casanove) of France.

Columbus served under René of Anjou in his sea-fights against Naples. *Colombo el Mezo*, said to be a nephew of Columbus, commanded the squadron, and was such a terrible corsair that Moorish mothers hushed their unruly children with the mere mention of his name. In an encounter with four Venetian galleys off the coast of Portugal, the ship commanded by Columbus caught fire, and he saved himself only by swimming two leagues to land, with the aid of an oar.

This latter event, which did not occur until 1485, is often given as the manner in which he arrived in Portugal. But we know that Columbus came to Lisbon in 1470, to avail himself, according to Bernaldez, of the new facts concerning the west coast of Africa, brought to light by the Portuguese, then the foremost in maritime discovery. His brother Bartholomew was there with him, and together they made and sold charts, maps, nautical instruments, and books.

The world at this time, as known to Europeans, was still defined by the geography of Ptolemy and of Marinus of Tyre. The continent of America and the great Pacific Ocean were unheard of. What was not Europe or Africa was Asia, of course. It was supposed that Africa was joined to Asia on the south, and enclosed the Atlantic Ocean, which was depicted on the maps as extending to the eastern shores of Asia. The

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Mediterranean was well known, and voyages were made along the shores of Europe; but the hardy mariners hugged the coast and dreaded to lose sight of land. A few degrees out the Strait of Gibraltar marked the limit of the world to the west. To venture far from land was to face the dangers of the unknown, peopled with the demons of ignorance.

There were vague stories afloat that, beyond the Pillars of Hercules, somewhere out in the great Sea of Darkness, as the Atlantic was still called, were the large island of *Atlantis*, as told to Plato by an Egyptian priest; *Antillia*, or the island of the Seven Cities, founded by the Seven Bishops driven out of Spain and Portugal by the Moors; and the mirage island of *St. Brandan*, said to have been visited in the sixth century by St. Brandan, a monk from Ireland. An Englishman named Macham, "who, sailing out of England into Spaine, with a woman that he had stolen," was driven out of his course, and came, it is said, in 1344, upon the island of Madeira. The Isles of the Blest, or Fortunate Islands, probably meant the Canaries. There is little doubt but that Dante's description of the mount of repentance, "Purgatorio," is the Pico di Teneriffa, so far from the center of Tuscany that it was quite easy to place it at the antipodes of the center of the earth from Jerusalem.

A few years before the advent of Columbus, Prince Henry of Portugal, surnamed the Navigator, and who lived from 1394 to 1460, became convinced, from what he learned from the Moors while in Africa, that great discoveries could be made down the African coast; and from study of the works of the Ancients he came to the belief that Africa was circumnavigable; and that the produce of India and of the Spice Islands, now coming by caravan, and through the Persian gulf and Red Sea, could be reached and brought to Europe by way of the Sea of Darkness.

According to traditions, Hesperus, a King of Spain, had discovered as far as Cape Verde as early as 650 years after the Flood. Phenician sailors sent out by Necho, King of Egypt, and Hanno, the Carthaginian, had sailed from the Mediterranean around Africa to Arabia; and Eudoxus of Cyzicus had circumnavigated in the other direction from the Red Sea to the Pillars of Hercules. It was even related by Strabo that Menelaus, spouse of the fair Helen, had sailed around Africa, after the fall of Troy.

Prince Henry, who was half English by his mother Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt, deliberately planned to discover

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new lands for Portugal, with the hope of ultimately rounding the southern extremity of Africa, and reaching China and India by sea. For this purpose this enlightened prince established a school for the study of navigation and astronomy, in 1418, at Sagres, near Cape St. Vincent, the extreme southwestern point of Europe.

The farthestmost place down the African coast then known was Cape Nam (or Not); and it was a grim joke among Mediterranean seamen that "He who sails to Cape Nam will either return or not." The Prince ordered two of his young gentlemen, Varco and Texeira, to sail down the Barbary coast and see what they could find. They bravely passed Cape Nam; but sixty leagues beyond, where the Jebel-khal, or Black Mountain, juts out from the great Desert of Sahara, they encountered a bold promontory, which they called Bojador. Its aspect was so forbidding, and the sea so turbulent, that they were frightened back; and for a number of years Bojador, meaning the "Outstretcher," defied further exploration to the south.

When Gil Eannes, in 1433, rounded the Bojador and lived to return, his efforts were likened to the labors of Hercules. Subsequent ventures discovered Rio de Oro, La Mina, the mouth of the Senegal, Sierra Leone, and the Guinea coast about the equator. The discovery of Porto Santo and the Azores, and the rediscovery of Madeira, followed.

In 1445 one of the Prince's vessels reached Cape Verde; and five years later the Cape Verde Islands, 320 miles west of the Cape, were brought to light.

Such was the knowledge of geography and the stage of discovery about the year 1470, when Columbus arrived at Lisbon. No better environment could have been found for completing and perfecting the education of the navigator destined to discover the New World.

Columbus at this time was in the full maturity of his manhood. He is described by his son Fernando as follows: "The Admiral was a well-made man, of a height above the medium, with a long face, and cheek-bones somewhat prominent; neither too fat nor too lean. He had an aquiline nose, light-colored eyes, and a ruddy complexion. In youth he had been fair, and his hair was of a light color, but after he was thirty years old it turned white. In eating and drinking he was an example of sobriety, as well as simple and modest about his person." Columbus had a grave and dignified bearing, and took himself and the world seriously on all occasions.

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His accepted portrait is as sad and severe as that of Dante, and reminds one of some faces we see among the American Indians. He commanded admiration and respect from his men, but never love nor enthusiasm.

In Lisbon, Columbus attended mass at the Church of the Convent of All Saints, where he first saw and met Doña Felipa Moñis, niece of Isabel Moñis de Perestrello, whom he soon married. Columbus lived with his wife's aunt, who was the widow of Bartolommeo Perestrello, a distinguished Italian navigator, who died in 1457, and who had found the islet of Porto Santo for Prince Henry, and over which he was appointed governor. She told Columbus of her husband's voyages, and showed his charts and papers. Soon after their marriage, Columbus moved to Porto Santo with his wife, who owned a share in the island. While here their son Diego, the heir of Columbus, was born, about 1470.

It was not long before they returned to Portugal, where Columbus continued to make maps and charts. According to the records, he visited his father in Genoa, in 1472, and again in 1473, rendering him monetary assistance.

Columbus made occasional voyages, at one time going as far south as Guinea, and again, in 1477, sailing to 100 leagues west of Thule, supposed to be Iceland, or possibly the Farøes, where he met English merchants from Bristol.

Just when Columbus conceived the notion of reaching India and the Spice Islands by sailing to the west, it is impossible to state. As he extended his voyages and heard of lands farther west, he probably thought that a little more sailing would bring him to the islands lying off the shores of Asia, described in such glowing terms by Marco Polo in the thirteenth century, and by Sir John Mandeville. He calculated that the Island of Cipango lay near where Cuba and Haiti were afterwards discovered, and that Mangi (the mainland) was about where he found the Isthmus of Panama.

Long study of the ancient cosmographers and philosophers confirmed him in this belief. Aristotle, Seneca, Strabo, Pliny, Solinus, and other writers held that the Atlantic extended to the eastern shores of Asia. Pedro de Aliaco (Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly), and Julius Capitolinus stated that India could be reached in a few days' sail from Spain.

Ptolemy divided the circumference of the globe into twenty-four hours of 15 degrees each, making 360 degrees in all. The map of Marinus of Tyre showed fifteen hours as known to the ancients. The city of Thinae, in Asia, the eastern limit of the

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world given by Marinus, had been much extended by the travels of Marco Polo, Sir John Mandeville, Rabbi Benjamin ben Jonah of Ludela, and certain wandering friars.

Discovery of the Azores, and Cape de Verd Islands by the Portuguese, added another hour, or 15 degrees, on the west; so only eight hours, 120 degrees, or one-third the circumference of the earth, remained to be discovered.

Moreover, both Ptolemy and Marinus, supported by Alfergany, the celebrated Arabian astronomer, held the circumference of the earth to be much less than the other cosmographers made it; a view in which Columbus concurred. This opinion found religious support in the Book of Esdras, which affirmed that six-sevenths of the earth was land; so the sea between the western shores of Europe and the eastern coast of Asia could not be so extensive, after all.

Pedro Correa, who had married the sister of Doña Felipa, told Columbus of picking up pieces of strangely carved wood on Porto Santo, after a period of westerly winds. Trunks of unknown trees and giant reeds were found on the shores of the Azores and other islands, or encountered far out at sea.

There is no evidence that Columbus, while on his voyage to the north, learned anything about the discovery of America by the Norsemen, about the end of the tenth century; much less had he ever heard of the nebulous report of the voyage of Madoc, the Welshman.

After the death of Columbus, a baseless story was started saying that he had obtained information of the islands he later discovered from a Spanish sea captain named Sanchez, who, driven far out of his course, had lived to return, but only to die in the house of Columbus, at Terceira, one of the Azores. Before breathing his last, it was said, he told Columbus of the new lands in the west, and gave him his log-book and charts.

Belief in the sphericity of the earth, and in the possibility of sailing round it, did not originate with Columbus, but had been expressed by wise men from Plato, Aristotle, and Hipparchus to Roger Bacon. Columbus was the first man to make the venture, and prove the truth of their reasoning and deduction.

It detracts nothing from the honor and credit due Columbus to believe that had he not made the discovery, someone else would have found America in a very short time. "The man who becomes the conspicuous developer of any great world-movement is usually the embodiment of the ripened aspirations of his time."

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The whole tendency of the times was towards new and further ventures into the Atlantic; and events in the life of Columbus seemed to be preparing him for the undertaking of greater feats than had yet been accomplished. To unusual skill and experience as a mariner, he added an exceptional knowledge of geography, astronomy, and cartography. Stories of new discoveries excited his enthusiasm and strengthened his belief, until he developed religious fervor and delusions; so that in later years he came to believe that he acted in obedience to Divine commands, and had been selected by Deity to chart the way to India by the west; to carry the Gospel to millions of benighted heathen; and with the rich spoils of the East to raise and equip an army with which to rescue the Holy Sepulchre from the infidel Turk.

The economic necessities of the western world required a westward thrust. The conquest of Constantinople by the Osmanli Turks, in 1453, carried with it the mastery of the overland trade routes from Asia. The sea-power of the inland Mediterranean cities fell as their power to exploit their former subjects had ceased. The pressure of population for new lands, checked by the closing of the East, pushed westwards, so that those states where the Crown had centralized power were in the pathway of utilizing the popular demand for newer lands and peoples.

As contributory aids to the discovery of America at this time were the improved use of the mariner's compass, and the recent introduction by John II. of the astrolabe, the forerunner of the quadrant, with which navigators could tell their distance from the equator; as well as the general revival of learning, fostered by the introduction of printing presses.

As early as 1474, Columbus wrote to Dr. Paulo Toscanelli, a famous physician and astronomer of Florence, known to be an authority on cosmography, who sent Columbus a chart of the Atlantic, or Western ocean, and the eastern coasts of India, together with the copy of a letter recently written to the ecclesiastic Martinez on the same subject for the information of Affonso V. The learned doctor's reply is so interesting that it is given in full at end of chapter.

It was this chart of Toscanelli, substantiated by his well-thumbed copy of the *Imago Mundi* by Cardinal D'Ailly (called by Irving the Vade Mecum of Columbus), that formed the sailing directions of Columbus in his discovery of the Western hemisphere.

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The map of Martin Behaim, which depicts the geography of that day, was issued from Nürnberg just after Columbus sailed. It will be observed that both maps estimate fairly well the width of the Atlantic, and roughly outline the islands and eastern coast of Asia; but express not the vaguest suspicion of the continent of America and the great Pacific Ocean (say two-fifths of the circumference of the earth) intervening between the Atlantic Ocean and Asia.

It is almost inconceivable that Europeans, up to Columbus and Balboa, knew but one ocean, and remained in total ignorance of another hemisphere. Had the actual distance between Spain and Cipango and Cathay (Japan and China), 12,000 miles, been known, and supposing no land in between, neither Columbus nor anyone else would have dreamed of sailing there; nor could the vessels and crews have lived through such a long voyage. As it was, some figured the distance to be 4000 miles; while many, including Columbus, believed it to be much less.

The profound religious nature of Columbus found in Holy Writ confirmation of his faith in a western route to India, and he became convinced that his discovery was foretold by the prophets, and that he was to be the agent in the hands of God for accomplishing the Great Discovery.

Columbus thought it was first necessary to receive the approval and financial support of some government or prince to carry out his great undertaking.

Tradition says he first offered his discovery to his native State of Genoa; but either she was too poor, or Columbus too obscure, for Genoa to consider the proposition. Probably he carried his scheme to the Republic of Venice; and with like result.

We do know, however, that Columbus applied to John II. of Portugal, who had come to the throne in 1481, and was refused, largely owing to the counsel of his confessor, Ortez de Calzadilla. By the advice of that bishop, King John got possession of the charts of Columbus and secretly sent out a caravel to test his theory; and it is a pleasure to read that the sailors soon became frightened and hastened back to Portugal, claiming that one might as well expect to find land in the sky as out in the great ocean.

Hurt and offended at such mean treatment, Columbus departed from Lisbon in 1484, taking his boy Diego with him. Doña Felipa and the other children were left behind; all of whom probably died within a short time, as they disappear from history.

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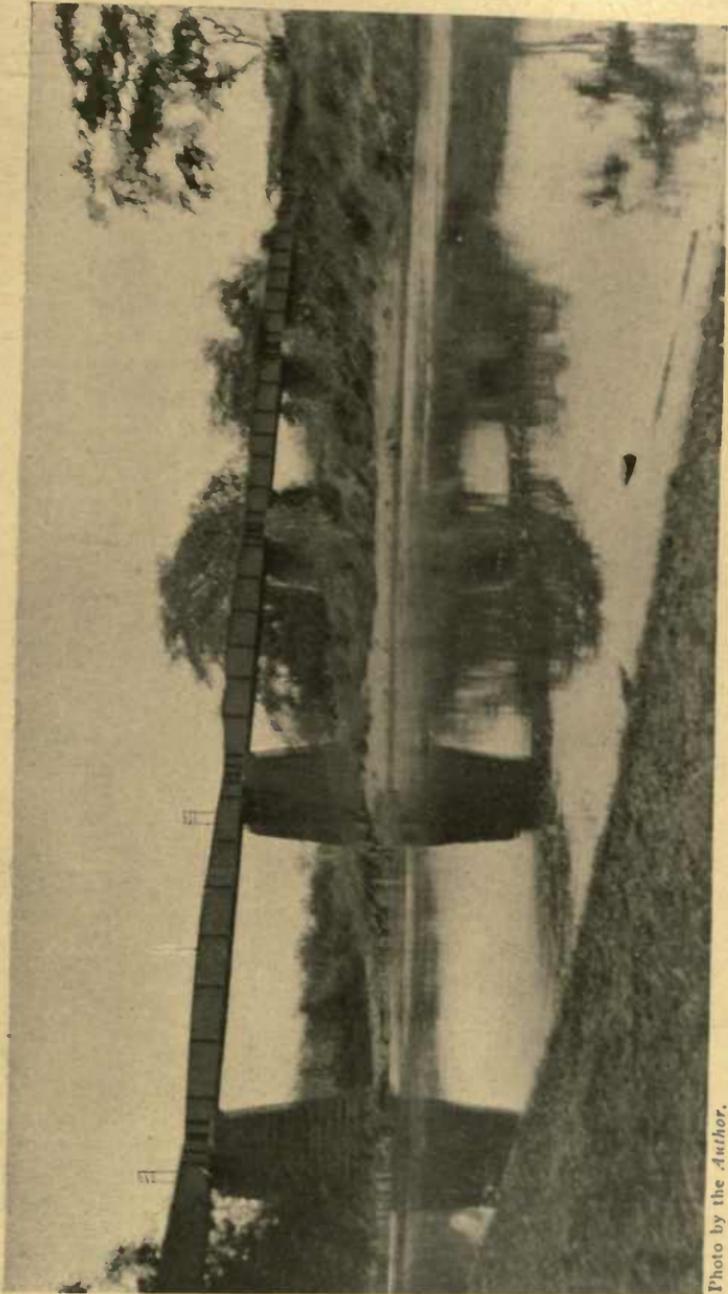


Photo by the *author*.

RAILROAD BRIDGE OVER THE CHAGRES AT BARBACOAS. TAKEN DURING THE DRY SEASON, 1906.

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In 1485 Columbus visited his father, his only surviving parent, and made provision for his welfare and the education of his younger brother, Diego.

It is said that he again applied, this time in person, to the republics of Genoa and of Venice to carry out his plan. Failing to receive any encouragement from these sources, Columbus decided to try his fortune in Spain; "nor is it one of the least interesting circumstances in his eventful life that he had, in a manner, to beg his way from court to court, to offer to princes the discovery of a world."—(IRVING.)

About the end of the year 1485, Columbus entered Spain, placed young Diego with his aunt Mular, at Huelva, and set out for the Spanish Court. For seven long years this vain-glorious dreamer followed their Highnesses from place to place, importuning everyone in authority to give him assistance. No doubt he made himself a nuisance to most everybody, and was considered what we now call a crank.

Through the influence of Alonso de Quintanilla, controller of the treasury of Castile; Alessandro Geraldini, the papal nuncio; and the great Cardinal Mendoza, called by Peter Martyr "the third King of Spain," Columbus was enabled, in 1486, to appear before the Court at Cordova; and later was received by Ferdinand at Salamanca. The united kingdoms of Ferdinand and Isabella were expending their utmost endeavors to drive the Moors from Spain, and had but little time or money to devote to such a visionary enterprise. Nevertheless, Talavera, confessor to the Queen, was directed to assemble a council of learned men to consider the subject. They met in the Convent of St. Stephen, at Salamanca, and gave Columbus a hearing. This *junta* was composed principally of churchmen, and soon found the project contrary to Scripture and the teaching of the Fathers.

Concerning the sphericity of the earth and the existence of Antipodes, St. Augustine had written: "It is contrary to the Scriptures, for they teach that all men are descended from Adam, which would be impossible if men lived on the other side of the earth, for they could never have crossed the wide sea." Likewise Lactantius, who had said: "Is there anyone so foolish as to believe that there are Antipodes, with their feet opposite to ours; people who walk with their heels upwards and their heads hanging down—where everything is topsy-turvey; where the trees grow with their branches downwards, and where it rains, hails, and snows upwards?"

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Accordingly, the junta reported the project "vain and impossible, and that it did not belong to the majesty of such great princes to determine anything upon such weak grounds of information." Indeed, Columbus was considered fortunate in escaping Torquemada and the Inquisition for daring to entertain such heretical opinions. A small minority of the junta, among whom was Diego Deza, preceptor to the Infanta, were friendly to Columbus. He remained about the Court and continued his solicitations.

Columbus received appropriations from the royal treasury, was entertained by Quintanilla and other eminent persons, and was not in such dire want and misery as often described. His condition was not so mean but that he could successfully prosecute a suit in another court. Rejected by the Court of Spain, Columbus was yet a victor in the Court of Love. While waiting at Cordova, he won the favor of Beatrix Enriquez, a noble lady in reduced circumstances. She was the mother of his second son, Fernando, born in 1488, whom he always considered equally with his legitimate son, Diego; and who, after the death of Columbus, became his biographer.

In 1486 Bartolomeu Dias reached Cape Bona Speranza, which opened up the probability of reaching India by sailing to the east. This epoch in navigation not only stimulated the endeavors of Columbus to reach India by the west, but inclined the Spanish Court, jealous of the many discoveries made by Portugal, to listen more favorably to Columbus, and finally to accede to his high-flown demands.

Bartolomé Colón, who was with Dias when he found the Cape of Good Hope, returned with him to Portugal, in December, 1487. Late the next year Columbus availed himself of the invitation of King John to return to his kingdom, and went to consult with his brother at Lisbon. It was probably at this time that Bartholomew was dispatched to England to enlist the support of Henry VII.

In 1489 Columbus is back in Spain prosecuting his appeal to their Highnesses. He entered actively in the war against the Moors, and was present at the siege of Beza, where, says Zuñiga, he "took a glorious part, giving proof of the great valor which accompanied his wisdom and profound conceptions."

Almost discouraged, Columbus sought aid from the powerful dukes, Medina-Sidonia, and Medina-Celi. The latter was

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friendly to Columbus, took care of him at his castle, and brought the matter again before Isabella.

In 1490 the *junta* of wise men reported finally that the proposition of Columbus was simply impossible.

In 1491, completely disheartened, Columbus decides to leave Spain and peddle his notions at some other court. He goes to Huelva, gets Diego, and they set out on foot for the little neighboring seaport of Palos. When they arrive at the Franciscan Monastery of Santa Maria de la Rábida, standing then, as now, on the hill by the shore, a couple of miles from Palos, Columbus asks the brother porter for a little bread and water for the tired boy Diego. Former writers give this touching incident as taking place on the entry of Columbus into Spain, five or six years anterior to this time.

Juan Perez de Marchena, the worthy prior of the covenant, happened to notice Columbus, and, observing that he was no ordinary wayfarer, entered into conversation with him. Surely some good angel must have led Columbus to La Rábida, for he had at last found someone who would listen to him, and he told the good father of all his hopes, his weary waitings, and his disappointments. Juan Perez was a learned man, and from the observatory on the roof of his convent had studied the heavenly bodies, and looked out over the western sea and conceived of other lands and people across the wide waters.

Columbus is invited to remain at the monastery; and that very night Padre Juan sends for Dr. Fernandez Garcia, the village doctor, and other friends in Palos, among them Martin Alonzo Pinzon, the leading navigator and ship-owner of the place. This was the most appreciative and sympathetic audience Columbus ever had; and you can imagine the force and earnestness with which he argued his case. To the learned and erudite ecclesiastics of the cloister the plan of Columbus was visionary and impossible; but to these men, familiar with the sea and recent discoveries, it appeared both reasonable and probable.

As a result of this meeting Juan Perez, formerly confessor to the Queen, successfully interceded with Isabella that Columbus be given another hearing, stating, no doubt, the judgment of the sailor folk of Palos. With funds furnished by the Queen, said to have been 1180 dollars, Columbus buys himself a mule and a new suit of clothes, and starts back to Court. He found their Highnesses at the new city of Santa Fé, built before Granada, the last stronghold of the Moslems in Spain. January 2, 1492, *Boabdil el Chico*, the Moorish King, yielded

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up the keys of the Alhambra; and the power of the Moors in Spain, enduring for 778 years, fell, never to rise again.

The termination of the long-continued wars with the Moors gave the King and Queen time to examine into the plan of Columbus; and they were about to grant his request, when the matter was again dropped on account of the preposterous rewards demanded by Columbus. He required that he be given the rank and title of Admiral; to be Governor and Viceroy over the regions discovered; to receive a tenth of the revenue thereof; and to enjoy the privileges of the aristocracy; all to be hereditary in his family.

Fernando de Talavera, now elevated to the new Archbishopric of Granada, takes advantage of these exorbitant demands by a beggarly foreigner, and ridicules his case out of Court. In February, 1492, Columbus mounts his mule, again turns his back on the Spanish Court, and sets out across the Vega, or plain of Granada, intending to go to Cordova or La Rábida, and then apply to the Court of France.

In the meantime, his friends, Alonzo de Quintanilla, the Marchioness de Moya, and particularly Luis de Santangel, Treasurer of Arragon, have so worked upon Isabella that she exclaims: "I undertake the enterprise for my own Crown of Castile, and will pledge my jewels to raise the necessary funds." Whether Isabella ever uttered this pretty phrase, and really proffered her jewels, is a mooted question with the historians, as it is claimed they were pledged already for the expenses of the late war. We do know, however, that Isabella was always friendly to Columbus, while Ferdinand was either lukewarm, calculating, or positively opposed to him.

As a matter of fact, funds and equipment for the first voyage of Columbus were furnished by the treasury of Arragon, the town of Palos, and the Pinzon brothers. The money from Arragon, amounting to 17,000 florins, was charged to the Kingdom of Castile, and was repaid out of the first gold brought from the New World, Ferdinand using it to gild the royal saloon at Saragossa.

A royal messenger overtook Columbus, when but two leagues on his journey, at the old stone "Bridge of Pines" (Piños Puente), still spanning a small stream in the Vega. When informed of the resolve of Isabella, he returns, somewhat reluctantly, to the city.

Columbus is given the title of Don; and on April 17, 1492, at Santa Fé, Ferdinand and Isabella signed articles granting all his conditions. Columbus also receives a credential letter,

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signed in blank, accrediting him to the Court of the Grand Khan, Prester John, or any other potentate he may encounter. The letter is such a delicious bit of diplomatic affectation that I quote it entire:

"Ferdinand and Isabella to King"

"The Spanish Sovereigns have heard that You and Your subjects have great affection for Them and for Spain. They are further aware that You and Your subjects are very desirous to hear news from Spain. They accordingly send their Admiral, Ch. Columbus, who will tell You that they are in good health and perfect prosperity.

"GRANADA, April 30th, 1492."

The port of Palos was selected as a place to fit out the expedition, not for the reason that it was the abode of friends of Columbus, but because that town was under sentence to furnish the Crown on demand the service of two armed caravels, for the space of twelve months. On May 23, 1492, the royal command was read from the Church of St. George in Palos; but neither vessels nor mariners appeared. Sailors were afraid to make the venture; and many had to be pressed into service, and criminals taken from the jails.

After considerable delay and difficulty, Columbus was able to assemble three vessels, and 120 men, for the voyage. Martin Alonzo Pinzon and Vicente Yañez Pinzon, both well-to-do sea captains, saved the day by volunteering for the expedition and furnishing one of the vessels, the *Niña*. Probably it was this contribution by the Pinzon brothers which constituted the eighth of the expenses supplied by Columbus, and enabled him to receive an eighth of the revenue, instead of one-tenth, as first agreed. The *Pinta* was seized from her owners, Rascon and Quintero, who went with the party. Palos provided the *Gallego*, which Columbus made his flagship and placed under the special protection of the Mother of God, and so renamed the *Santa Maria*. She was the largest of the three, and the only one completely decked. The *Pinta* and *Niña* were open caravels, being undecked in the waist, but having a cabin in the stern and forecastle in the bows.

Before sailing, Columbus confessed himself to his good friend Fray Perez, and partook of the Holy Communion: an example which was followed by his officers and men in the presence of the awed and mourning town-people.

Young Diego was taken from La Rábida and placed in charge of friends in Moguer, a few miles away, to be prepared to act

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as page to the Infante, Prince Juan, to which office Isabella had graciously appointed him.

Columbus then goes aboard his little fleet, and prepares to sail into the Sea of Darkness.

Letter of Dr. Paulo Toscanelli to Christopher Columbus:

"To Christopher Columbus, Paul the Physician wisheth health.

I perceive your noble and earnest desire to sail to those parts where the spice is produced; and therefore, in answer to a letter of yours, I send you another letter, which some days since I wrote to a friend of mine, and servant to the King of Portugal, before the wars of Castile, in answer to another he writ to me by his Highnesses order, upon this same account, and I send you another sea chart like that I sent him, which will satisfy your demands. The copy of that letter is this:

"To Fernam Martins, Canon of Lisbon, Paul the Physician wishes health.

I am very glad to hear of the familiarity you have with your most serene and magnificent King, and though I have very often discoursed concerning the short way there is from hence to the Indies, where the spice is produced, by sea, which I look upon to be shorter than you take by the coast of Guinea, yet you now tell me that his Highness would have me make out and demonstrate it so as it may be understood and put in practice. Therefore, tho' I could better show it him with a globe in my hand, and make him sensible of the figure of the world, yet I have resolved to render it more easy and intelligible to show this way upon a chart, such as are used in navigation, and therefore I send one to his Majesty, made and drawn with my own hand, wherein is set down the utmost bounds of the west from Iceland, in the north, to the furthest part of Guinea, with all the islands that lie in the way; opposite to which western coast is described the beginning of the Indies, with the islands and places whither you may go, and how far you may bend from the north pole towards the equinoctial and for how long a time; that is, how many leagues you may sail before you come to those places most fruitful in all sorts of spice, jewels, and precious stones. Do not wonder if I term that country where the spice grows *west*, that product being generally ascribed to the *east*, because those who shall sail westward will always find those places in the west, and they that travel by land eastwards will ever find those places in the east. The straight lines that lie lengthways in the chart show the distance there is from west to east, the other cross them show the distance from north to south. I have also marked down in the said chart several places in India where ships might put in upon any storm or contrary winds or any other accident unforeseen. And, moreover, to give you full information of all those places which you are very desirous to know, you must understand that none but traders live or reside in all those islands, and that there is there as great a number of ships and seafaring people with merchandise as in any other part of the world, particularly in a most noble part called Zacton, where there are every year an hundred large ships of pepper loaded and unloaded, besides many other ships that take in other spice. This country is mighty populous, and there are many provinces and kingdoms and innumerable cities under the dominion of a prince called the Great Cham, which name signifies king of kings, who for the most part resides in the province of Cathay. His predecessors were very desirous to

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have commerce and be in amity with Christians, and 200 years since sent ambassadors to the Pope desiring him to send them many learned men and doctors to teach them our faith; but by reason of some obstacles the ambassadors met with they returned back without coming to Rome. Besides, there came an ambassador to Pope Engenius IV, who told him the great friendship there was between those princes, their people, and Christians. I discoursed with him a long while upon the several matters of the grandeur of their royal structures and of the greatness, length, and breadth of their rivers, and he told me many wonderful things of the multitude of towns and cities founded along the banks of the rivers, and that there were 200 cities upon one only river with marble bridges over it of a great length and breadth, and adorned with abundance of pillars. This country deserves, as well as any other, to be discovered; and there may not only be great profit made there, and many things of value found, but also gold, silver, all sorts of precious stones, and spices in abundance, which are not brought into our ports. And it is certain that many wise men, philosophers, astrologers, and other persons skilled in all arts and very ingenious, govern that mighty province and command their armies. From Lisbon, directly westward, there are in the chart 26 spaces, each of which contains 250 miles, to the most noble and vast city of Quisay, which is 100 miles in compass—that is, 35 leagues; in it there are 10 marble bridges. The name signifies a heavenly city, of which wonderful things are reported, as to the ingenuity of the people, the buildings, and revenues. This space above mentioned is almost a third part of the globe. This city is in the province of Mango, bordering on that of Cathay, where the King for the most part resides. From the Island Antilia, which you call the Seven Cities, and whereof you have some knowledge, to the most noble island of Cipango, are 10 spaces, which make 2,500 miles, or 225 leagues, which island abounds in gold, pearls, and precious stones; and you must understand they cover their temples and palaces with plates of pure gold. So that, for want of knowing the way, all these things are hidden and concealed, and yet may be gone to with safety. Much more might be said, but having told you what is most material, and you being wise and judicious, I am satisfied there is nothing of it but what you understand, and therefore I will not be more prolix. Thus much may serve to satisfy your curiosity, it being as much as the shortness of time and my business would permit me to say. So I remain most ready to satisfy and serve his Highness to the utmost in all the commands he shall lay upon me.

Done at Florence, June 25th, 1474."

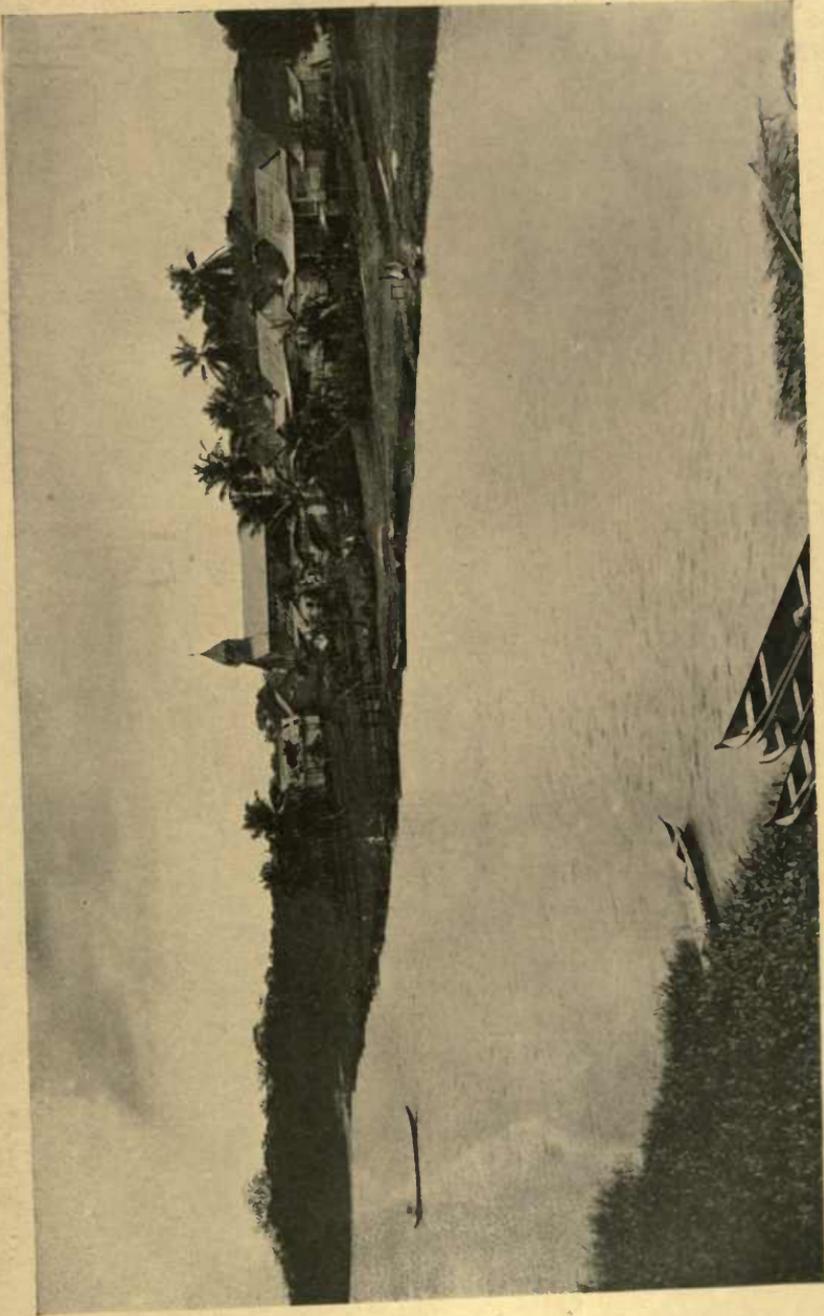


Photo by Isthmian Canal Commission.

GATUN ON THE CHAGRES, IN 1907.
This site now is occupied by the Gatun Dam, the populace having been removed to New Gatun, on the relocated Panama Railroad.

CHAPTER III.

FIRST VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS TO AMERICA

1492

Discovery of the Bahamas, Cuba and Haiti

"Ere we Gomera cleared, a coward cried,
*Turn, turn; here be three caravels ahead,
From Portugal, to take us: we are dead.
Hold Westward, pilot, calmly I replied.*
So when the last land down the horizon died,
Go back, go back! they prayed: *our hearts are lead.*
Friends, we are bound into the West, I said.
Then passed the wreck of a mast upon our side.
See (so they wept) God's Warning! Admiral, turn!
Steersman, I said, hold straight into the West.
Then down the night we saw the meteor burn.
So do the very heavens in fire protest:
Good Admiral, put about! O Spain, dear Spain!
Hold straight into the West, I said again.
Next drive we o'er the slimy-weeded sea.
Lo! herebeneath (another coward cries)
The cursed land of sunk Atlantis lies!
This slime will suck us down—turn while thou'rt free:
But no! I said, Freedom bears West for me!"—Sydney Lanier.



RIDAY, the 3d day of August, 1492, amid the tears and prayers of the populace, Columbus set sail from Palos, and the memorable voyage had begun. The Admiral took immediate charge of his flagship, the *Santa Maria*, while Martin Alonso Pinzon commanded the *Pinta*, and his brother, Vicente Yañez Pinzon, was captain of the *Niña*.

The three small vessels, the largest not over seventy-five feet in length, dropped down the Rio Tinto and the Odiel, and anchored for the night. The next morning they passed out to sea and steered for the Canaries, which they reached August 9th. Here the *Pinta* was supplied with a new rudder, the old one having been disabled intentionally by the impressed seamen; and the lateen sails of the *Niña* were changed to square rig. At the Great Canary, smoke and flame issuing from the peak of Teneriffe increased the alarm of the crews. Fresh water, fresh meat, and wood were taken in at Gomera.

On September 6th Columbus made his final start; in a few days passed by Ferro, the last known outpost of land, and

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headed due west into the Sea of Darkness, sailing about on the 28th parallel of north latitude.

At this time the great ocean was believed to be inhabited by curious and frightful monsters, such as we see pictured on the old charts. Even the air was supposed to be peopled with gigantic birds, like the "roc," which could pick up a ship and bear it away in its talons, to dine upon the mariners at leisure. As the ships sail farther and farther into the Unknown, the sailors are alternately depressed or cheered by a commotion of the sea, or balmy breezes, a shower of falling stars, or shoals of fishes, a piece of wreckage, or the flight of birds.

Columbus made several discoveries before he discovered land. When about 200 leagues from the Canaries he noticed the variation of the needle from east of the pole star to the westward. He was also the first to traverse that weedy sea which his men named Sargasso, and the first European to note the trade winds of the tropics.

When about a month from the Canaries, the pilots reckoned they had come 580 leagues, whereas the true but secret log kept by Columbus showed over 700 leagues. On Sunday, the 7th of October, Columbus was induced by the Pinzons, and the flight of birds to the southward, to change his course to the southwest; but resumed a more westerly direction after a few days. Had he not made this deviation his ships would have sailed north of the Bahamas, and reached the coast of Florida near the Indian river, and Columbus would have discovered the mainland of America on his first voyage, in 1492, instead of on his third and fourth voyages, in 1498 and 1502, respectively. As is well known, Columbus made four voyages to America.

Every now and then a cloud-bank on the horizon, simulating an island, would give rise to a false cry of "Land." The frail caravels showed the effects of the long voyage; provisions were running low, and the sailors became more frightened and homesick from day to day. Wednesday, the 10th of October, their superstitious terrors break out into a general clamor to put about the ships and return to Spain. It was getting warmer all the time, and they appeared to be approaching the equatorial regions of the earth, where it was thought life could not exist on account of the great heat, and even the ocean boiled beneath the vertical rays of the sun. If the world were flat, as was the general belief, then it must have limits, and there was danger of getting too near the edge and gliding over into some bottomless abyss. If it were round, as Columbus affirmed, it would be impossible to sail back up the mountain of water to Spain, especially as the wind blew constantly from that direction.

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For answer, Columbus tries to make them understand the sphericity of the earth, points out the increasing signs of proximity to land, and paints the grandeur and wealth of the East in the language of Marco Polo, embellished by his own vivid imagination. He offers a velvet doublet as an additional reward to him who first announces land, and orders the unruly men to their duties.

About 10 o'clock the next night, October 11th, the Admiral, from the top of his lofty cabin, fancied he saw a light moving in the distance, and called Pedro Gutierrez, a gentleman of the King's bedchamber, who also thought he saw it. Rodrigo Sanchez is then called, and he, too, believed he saw a light.

The White Man's history on the Western hemisphere began at 2 a. m. on the morning of Friday, October 12, 1492, when Rodrigo de Triana, of Lepe, a sailor on the *Pinta*, gave the cry of "Land!" This time the alarm was true, as a low, dark mass on the horizon was plainly visible in the moonlight about two leagues away. The *Pinta*, which was in the lead, as usual, fired a gun, the signal of discovery of land, and the little fleet hove to and impatiently awaited the morn. Martin Alonzo Pinzon and his men sing the "Gloria in Excelsis," and the other crews join in the thanksgiving.

The annual pension of 10,000 *maravedis* (only about 61 dollars), promised by the Crown to the person first sighting land, was later awarded to Columbus, because he saw the light a few hours before Rodrigo announced the discovery of land. Whether the moving light was on shore or in a canoe was not ascertained. The acceptance of this reward by Columbus was a tactless and ungenerous act, highly characteristic of the man. We are glad to read that Rodrigo escaped the fate of his comrades who remained at Navidad, and returned in safety to Spain. They say that he felt so much wronged in not receiving the reward that he forsook his country and religion, crossed over into Africa, and turned Mussulman.

What do you suppose these Christian white men, representing the highest culture and civilization of Europe, did while waiting for day? In the Journal of Columbus we are told they spent the time in furbishing their arms. Every nationality of Europe which came to America, whether to seek their fortunes or a refuge from oppression, or with the avowed intention to propagate the Gospel, always furbished their arms before landing. In almost every instance the natives welcomed them as heavenly visitants, offering food and drink, gold and pearls, and such other commodities as the region afforded. It was not

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long before their trust and innocence were abused, and the massacre of the Indians soon followed, as a matter of course.

At daybreak on this memorable Friday, Columbus, who delighted in ceremony, made a landing in all the state he could muster. The principal personages were in armor, and carried swords; the common sailors wore their best clothes and went armed. Each of the Pinzons bore a green cross flag, inscribed with the letters F and Y (standing for Fernando and Ysabel), and above each letter a golden crown.

The Admiral attired himself in scarlet, and bore a sword in his right hand, and the royal standard in his left. When he stepped ashore he fell upon his knees, and then forward upon his face and kissed the earth. The whole company kneeled about him, while Columbus, with tears of joy streaming down his face, offered the following prayer:

“Lord God, eternal and omnipotent, by Thy sacred Word the heavens, the earth, and the sea were created; blessed and glorified be Thy name; praised be Thy majesty, which is exalted through Thy humble servant, in that by him Thy sacred name may be made known and declared in this remote part of the earth.”

By royal command, this prayer was used by Balboa, Cortes, Pizarro, and other Spaniards when they made discoveries of new regions.

Rising from his knees, Columbus planted the flag of Castile, and with drawn sword, and without consulting the wishes of the rightful owners, who were hovering near, took possession of the island in the name of their Catholic Majesties.¹

The native name of the island was *Guanahani*, but Columbus called it San Salvador (Holy Saviour), thus inaugurating the regrettable renaming of American localities, which has continued to the present time.

A cross was erected, and the royal notary, Rodrigo de Escobedo, wrote down a full account of the proceedings. The officers and crews now swore allegiance to Columbus as Ad-

¹“And here was the beginning of these four centuries of such rank injustice, such horrible atrocities inflicted by the hand of our much-boasted Christian civilization upon the natives of the New World, as well might make the Almighty blush for ever having created in his own image such monsters as their betrayers and butchers. It is the self-same story, old and new, from Española to Darien and Mexico, from Brazil to Labrador, and from Patagonia to Alaska, by sailor and cavalier, by priest and puritan, by gold-hunter and fur-hunter—the unenlightened red man welcoming with wonder his destroyer, upon whom he is soon forced to turn to save himself, his wife, his children; but only at last to fall by the merciless arm of development beneath the pitiable destiny of man primeval.”—H. H. BANCROFT.

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miral and Viceroy of the new country. The craven souls, who a few days before had threatened mutiny, now knelt at his feet and kissed his hands, begging pardon for their offenses, and asking to be remembered when he distributed his favors.

The timid natives cautiously gazed on these queer performances by their visitors. They were filled with awe and wonder of these strange people, who had white skins, and hair on their faces, and wore so much bright and colored clothing; who carried such dangerous-looking weapons, and who had arrived in gigantic ships with immense wings. The very natural inference was that the Spaniards were celestial beings who had flown down from the skies, and who must be honored and obeyed accordingly. This was the first impression created by the Spaniards everywhere they landed; but it was never long before they showed themselves to be very human and very vulnerable.

As the natives lost their fear, they gathered about the white men and tendered food and drink.

Columbus was much disappointed in finding naked, brown-skinned natives, instead of the cultivated and opulent people of the East he had pictured. Nevertheless, believing he had found one of the numerous islands described by Marco Polo as lying in the sea of Chin (China), off the mainland of India, he called the natives "Indians," a misnomer by which they are still designated.

While with the Portuguese along the coast of Africa, Columbus had learned the value of colored cloth, glass beads, and gew-gaws in dealing with savages. He distributed a lot of these trifles among the natives of Guanahani and completely won their hearts. The Indians were particularly charmed with the little tinkling hawk-bells which the Admiral gave them. In return, the natives freely offered tame parrots, balls of yarn made from cotton which grew on the island, fruits and fish, and cassava² bread, made from the tuberous roots of the yuca which they cultivated. The Indians also gave Columbus some dry leaves which they seemed to value very highly.

²"Cazabi, cazabe, casabe, que de todas estas maneras se encuentra escrito, es una especie de pan que hacian los indios del magnoc, de la tucubia ó yuca y de otras raices."—Note in *Col. de Doc. Ined.* tomo iv, p. 185.

At another place in this same *Coleccion* we read that "pan cacabi, or cassava bread, was a bread of little sustenance made by the Indians from the root of the yuca, which was very abundant in Cuba, Jamaica, Brasil, and other parts. Yuca yielded much profit to the Spaniards; the monthly ration of a man being one pack-load, weighing fifty pounds."—Tomo x, p. 29.

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The very first question addressed by Columbus to the people of the New World he discovered was concerning the whereabouts of gold. We read in the Journal of Columbus, as transcribed by Las Casas:

"I examined these savages carefully, and wanted to know if they possessed any gold. I saw that some had a little piece of it run through a hole made in the nose; and I succeeded, by signs, in learning that going around their island, and sailing to the south, I should find a country where the King had many golden vessels, and a great quantity of the metal. I immediately tried to induce them to guide me to that country, but quickly understood their refusal; so I resolved to wait till the midday, and start, after dinner, in a southwest direction, where, according to the indications many of them gave me, there is land both to the south and to the northwest, and the inhabitants of the country situated in the latter direction often came to attack them, and they also go to the southwest in search of gold and precious stones."

The territory of the Great Khan of Tartary must lie to the northwest, while to the southwest would be Cipango, rich in gold, as related by Marco Polo, and now confirmed by the natives of the very first land he had reached.

The aboriginal people of the Bahamas,³ the Lucayans, discovered by Columbus, were a tall, graceful, dark-skinned race of barbarians. They were gentle and loving, quite unlike their cousins on the mainland, or their fierce neighbors to the south, the Caribs, who dwelt in the Lesser Antilles. They possessed pottery and stone implements, like celts, arrow-heads, mortars and pestles, and were expert in the use of their *canoas* (canoes). Columbus well describes them: "All of them go as naked as they came into the world; their forms are graceful; their features good; their hair, as coarse as a horse's tail, cut short in front and worn long upon their shoulders. They are dark of complexion, like the Canary Islanders, and paint themselves in various colors. They do not carry arms, and have no knowledge of them, for when I showed them our swords

³ The Bahama Islands, or Lucayos, lie northeast of Cuba, from which they are separated by the old Bahama Channel, and extend from off the coast of Florida 700 miles in a southeasterly direction to near the shores of Haiti and San Domingo. The group is situated between 21° and 27° north latitude, and consists of 26 islands, 647 keys, and 2387 reefs and cliffs, mostly flat and narrow. The Bahamas came into possession of Great Britain in 1629, and 25 of the islands are now inhabited, mainly by negroes. The capital of the group, and the seat of the English Governor, is the pretty little city of Nassau, on New Providence, best known as a winter resort.

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they took them by the edges, and through their ignorance cut themselves. Neither have they any iron, their spears consisting of staffs tipped with stone and dog-fish teeth. * * * I swear to your Majesties, there are no better people on earth; they are gentle, without knowing what evil is; neither killing nor stealing."

Such were the timid, innocent aborigines of the Bahamas, living in Eden-like simplicity and happiness in their island homes. Twenty years later, when the Spaniards had exterminated nearly all the natives of Hispaniola, they stole away the Lucayans, to the number of 40,000, to slave in the mines and on the plantations of Hispaniola; and in about fifty years these people became extinct.

On account of their extinction, and also owing to the fact that the Spaniards made no settlements in the Bahamas, the identification of the island which Columbus named San Salvador still remains in doubt. Eleuthera, Cat, Watling, Exuma, Long, Crooked, Samana, Acklin, Caicos, Turk, and other islands have claimed to be Guanahani, the first landfall of Columbus. When Washington Irving issued his famous "Life and Voyages of Columbus," in 1827, he gave Cat Island, on the authority of a naval officer, as the original San Salvador. Captain G. V. Fox, United States Navy, favored Samana; while Captain A. B. Becher, Royal Navy, settled on Watling's Island, and most modern authorities have arrived at the same conclusion.⁴

⁴ Watling Island, one of the Bahama group, lies on the intersection of the 74th meridian and the 24th parallel of north latitude, and is 998 miles from New York, and 972 miles from Colon. The island is pear-shaped, with its smaller extremity pointing south, and is twelve miles long, and six miles wide, containing an area of about sixty square miles. It is flat and fringed with reefs. The coral formation of Watling, like that of the other islands of this group, is covered with a sparse soil, which supports only a scrubby vegetation. Though the climate is subtropical, the tall, stately trees and rank vegetation described by Columbus (and repeated by some recent writers) are absent. There are salt-water lagoons in the interior of the island.

According to tradition, Watling Island is named after Captain George Watling, an old buccaneer commander. The population comprises about 600 negroes and mixed breeds, and one white Collector. The main settlement is Cockburn Town, on the roadstead of Riding Rocks, making into the west coast, where Columbus first landed, some say. The people maintain an Episcopal and a Baptist church. Watling Island belongs to Great Britain, which supports a lighthouse on Dixon Hill, the highest elevation, in the northeast part of the island. The lighthouse is half a mile from the beach, and is in latitude 24° 06' north, and longitude 74° 26' west. Steamers between New York and Panama, as well as most vessels plying between North and South America, pick up

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Columbus described Guanahani as large and very level, without any mountain, but with a large lagoon in the middle, all covered with forest trees and verdure most pleasing to the eye, and surrounded by a dangerous reef of rocks with a very narrow entrance. This applies, more or less, to a number of the islands. Like all islands of coral formation, the Bahamas are flat, with barrier-reefs. The stately trees and rich vegetation are now found on none of the group. Watling's and Crooked have salt-water lagoons, but Cat Island has none. It is conceivable that the natural forces, like hurricanes, tidal waves, or subsidence of the group, which destroyed the tall timber and swept from the islands the rich soil described by Columbus, could very readily fill up a shallow lagoon, or even make one on an island where none previously existed. In imagination one can even picture Guanahani as hiding beneath the waters of the ocean, in company with the lost Atlantis, and adding another puzzle to perplex the inquiring mind of man.

The squadron of Columbus departed from Guanahani on the afternoon of Sunday, October 14th, probably sailed around the northern end of the island, and then down its west coast. Seven natives were taken along as guides, without doubt against their wills, as one jumped overboard the first night, and another escaped when near the next landing-place.

The Admiral saw an island about six leagues away, which he reached at noon of the 15th, and named Santa Maria de la Concepcion. Authorities claim that this was Rum Cay, twenty miles south of Watling's Island. From here he sailed to another island visible to the westward, and on the way picked up a lonely Indian in a canoe, who, no doubt, was a messenger sent out from San Salvador, as shown by some glass beads and two *blancas*, or small Spanish coins, in his possession. Columbus served him with "bread, honey, and drink," and when near the next island the Indian was given his canoe and permitted to go ashore. His good report of the strangers brought the natives off in great numbers, who bartered their ornaments with the Spaniards, and helped to fill the pipes with fresh water. It was here that the Europeans first observed the suspended sleeping net, which the Indians called *hamaca*, origin of our English word hammock.

Watling light. If Watling Island is Guanahani, preponderance of evidence indicates that Columbus made his first landing in Green's Harbor, not far from the lighthouse; where Walter Wellman, in 1891, acting for the Chicago *Herald*, erected a monument to commemorate the notable event.

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These natives seem more modest and intelligent, and, what is more important, have a greater number of golden ornaments than the Indians on San Salvador and Santa Maria. Columbus calls this island Fernandina, in honor of the King, and it has been identified as the present Long Island.

On the morning of the 19th, the Admiral sailed to the south-east, and at midday reached the northern extremity of an island called Saomote, in the native tongue, but which he renamed Isabella, after the Queen. The three vessels anchored near an islet, in all probability the little island now known as Bird Rock, close by the northwest extremity of Crooked Island. Bird Rock light is eighty miles south of Watling, and eighteen miles north of Fortune Island, by steamer route.

Adjoining Crooked Island, on the south, is Fortune Island; but Columbus does not note the separation, and writes of the whole as Isabella. He is charmed with the beauty of the place. The air is filled with sweet and delightful odors from trees and flowers, and the exquisite melody of numerous birds. Flocks of parrots obscured the heavens, and the verdure was as green as in April in Andalusia. Citing again from the "Journal": "Groves of lofty and flourishing trees are abundant, as also large lakes, surrounded and overhung by the foliage in a most enchanting manner. * * * The land is higher than the other islands, and exhibits an eminence which, though it cannot be called a mountain, yet adds beauty to its appearance, and gives an indication of streams of water in the interior. * * * My eyes are never tired with viewing such delightful verdure and of a species so new and dissimilar to that of our country, and I have no doubt there are trees and herbs here which would be of great value in Spain, as dyeing materials, medicines, spices, etc., but I am mortified that I have no acquaintance with them."

A cape near which the Admiral anchors, supposed to be the north point of Crooked Island, he names Cabo Hermoso—Cape Beautiful—"because it is so." The Spaniards land and fill their water-casks, perhaps at what is known as "Frenchman's Wells," in Fortune Island. They also kill an "ugly serpent," later known as the *iguana*, which the Indians much relished as food.

Columbus plans to sail around Isabella till he shall find the King, "in order to see if I can acquire any of the gold which I hear he possesses," but changes his mind when the natives, by signs, indicate a much larger island to the southwest, called Cuba, where dwells a great ruler in much majesty. In the dis-

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eased imagination of Columbus this could be none other than Cipango, and so he wrote in his Journal:

"I weighed anchor at midnight from the Island of Isabella and the cape of the Rocky Islet, in order to go to the island of Cuba, which these people tell me is very large, with much trade, and yielding gold and spices; and by their signs I understand it to be the island of Cipango, of which marvelous things are related, and which, on the globes and maps I have seen, is in this region; and they told me I should sail to reach it west-southwest, as now I am sailing."

Reluctantly the Spaniards take leave of this enchanted isle, and on the 24th Columbus again follows the lure of gold to the southwest. The clear, shallow waters of the Bahama Banks teem with fishes, rivaling in colors the plumage of the birds; the air is filled with aromatic fragrance, so that Columbus believes he is among the Spice Islands of the East, and deplors his inability to express the sweet impressions awakened in his mind.

He passed southeast of a string of islets which he names *Islas de Arena*, now called Ragged Islands; and on the 28th of October arrived in sight of *Cuba*, which from its magnitude and the height of its mountains reminded him of Sicily. Most likely it was at Jibara, and not farther westward at Nuevitas, as stated by Irving, that Columbus first landed in Cuba and took possession of the country, calling it *Juana*, in honor of the Royal Prince. Fortunately, Cuba is one of the few places which have retained their primitive appellations.

"When I arrived at *Juana* I followed the coast to the westward, and found it so extensive that I considered it must be a continent and a province of Cathay. After having continued many leagues, without finding signs of towns or cities, and seeing that the coast took me northward, where I did not wish to go, as winter was already set in, I considered it best to follow it to the south, and therefore returned to a certain port, from whence I sent two messengers into the country, to ascertain whether there was any King there or any large city."

The port to which Columbus returned he called *Puerto Santo*. The clear river emptying into the harbor, its banks lined with palm trees, he named the River of Palms. The Admiral mentions the perpendicular, flat-topped mountain, rising to a height of 1800 feet back of the port. It is known from its peculiar shape as the *Yunque* (Anvil).

The port is now *Baracoa*, one of the most beautiful harbors in the world. The clearness of the water and the rich plumage of the birds, the great forest trees and many graceful palms

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clothing hill and savannah, as they slope up to the mountains, stir the poetic soul of the Great Discoverer, and he writes that these things "render this country of such marvelous beauty that it surpasses all others in charms and graces, as the day doth the night in lustre."

It was up this same River of Palms that the Spaniards found a great canoe, made from the trunk of a single tree, probably the *ceiba*, capable of holding fifty people. Either from Jibara or Baracoa, Columbus sent forth his famous embassy to a place in the interior which the Indians called *Cuba-nacán*. The disordered brain of the Admiral thought they meant Kublai Khan, the great Tartar sovereign; and even Martin Alonzo Pinzon favored this belief.

Rodrigo de Jerez and Luis de Torres, the latter a converted Jew speaking Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic, set out for the court of the great Khan, said to be four days' journey inland. They carry that ridiculous letter of introduction, heretofore mentioned, and are guided by two Indians, one from San Salvador and the other a Cuban.

While awaiting the return of his envoys, the Admiral careened, cleaned, and caulked his ships, one at a time, in the harbor at the mouth of the Rio de los Mares.

Mariners have always wondered why Columbus, on his first voyage, encountered none of the hurricanes so common in and about the West Indies during the latter months of the year. Had he been caught in the open sea by one of these fierce storms, it is probable that all three frail vessels would have been wrecked on the islands or keys. The caulkers gather wood to heat their tar, and Columbus notes the odor of mastic in the smoke, the precious gum then obtained only from the Grecian Archipelago.

In the meantime, the two ambassadors, after traveling some twelve leagues inland, arrive at the court of the chief ruler. Instead of an Oriental potentate in a city roofed with gold, they find an Indian *cacique* living in a village of about fifty palm-thatched shacks; in place of bowing before the great Khan, they themselves were worshiped as celestial beings. When shown gold, pearls, and spices, these Indians also pointed to the southwest.

It was among the Cuban Indians that the Spaniards first observed *maize* (corn), and a sort of potato or yam. Here, also, the natives were first seen rolling the dry leaves, before noticed, into a cylindrical form, lighting one end with a fire-brand, and drawing the smoke through the other end, which was held in the mouth. The Indians called these rolled leaves

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tobaccos, and to this day in Cuba cigars are called *tobaccos* as frequently as they are *cigarros*. The Cubans likewise cultivated the *yuca* (or manioc), whose starchy roots furnished the cassava bread, sweet peppers, and a kind of bean. Numerous strange fruits abound.

Two peculiar small quadrupeds were found in Cuba, the *hutia*, a kind of coney, now seldom seen, and a strange mute dog, which has become extinct. "Ye Dumme Dogge," as the old historians quaintly called the latter, was used in hunting the *hutia*, and also as an article of flesh food, together with the *iguana*.

Cotton yarn was made from the wild plants, and woven into nets and *hamacas*. The natives possessed the primitive art of fire-making by the friction of two sticks of wood.

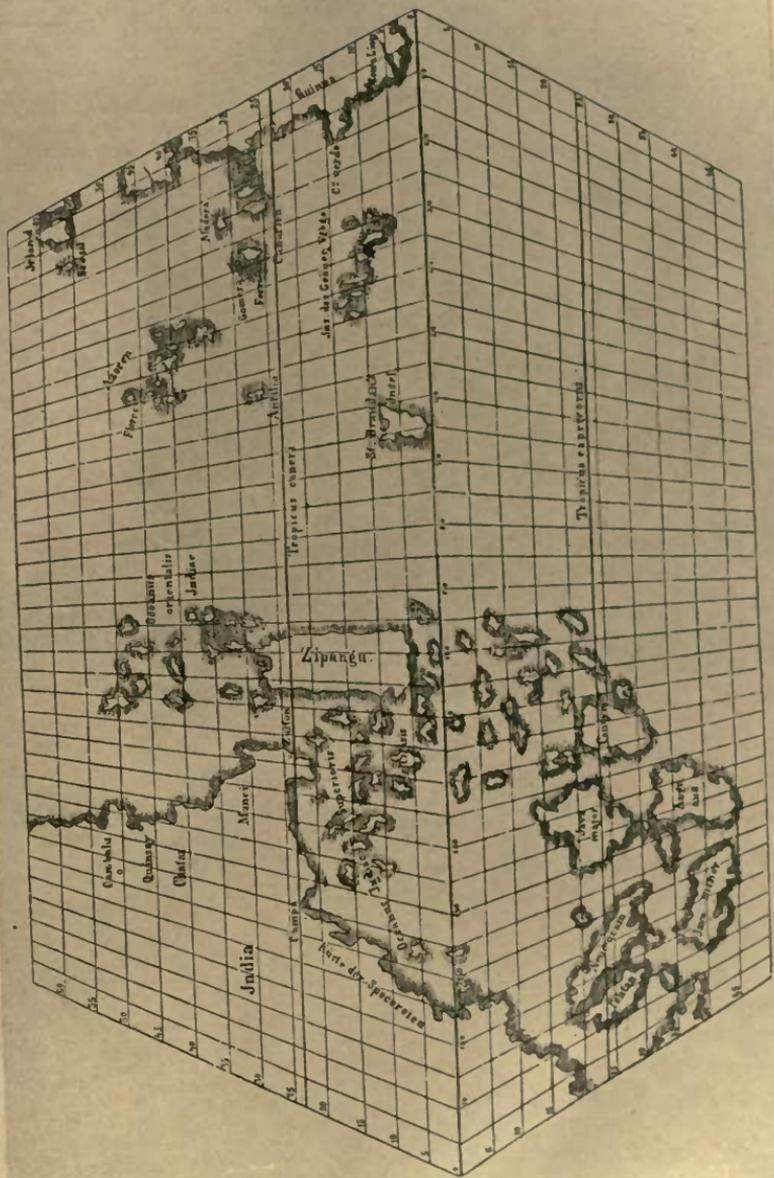
With all its natural beauty and bountiful vegetation, Cuba lacked the one essential charm—*Columbus found no gold in Cuba!*

The Admiral forbade his men to traffic with the natives except for the precious metal; but all he could see was one small ring in the nose of an Indian, and that resembled silver more than gold. When questioned concerning gold, the Cubans either pointed to the southwest, or mentioned "Babeque" or "Bohio;" so Columbus sets sail to the southeast, along the north coast of Cuba, in the direction of Bohio. Had he sailed westward, Columbus would have found Cuba to be an island, and have discovered the coast of Florida. Cuba was not circumnavigated till in 1508, two years after the death of the Admiral; and in all his subsequent experience in the Caribbean Sea and about the West Indian islands, Columbus never viewed the mainland of the New World he discovered north of Central America.

Columbus takes along some of the Cuban Indians, including several women, which Las Casas, in his "Historia de las Indias," calls a detestable act.

While sailing eastward, the fleet passes a collection of little islands, which Columbus calls "El Jardin del Rey"—the King's Garden. On November 25th, while trying to round the easternmost point of Cuba, called *Maisi*, the Admiral encounters strong head-winds, and signals the two caravels to put back to the shelter of the Cuban coast. The fast sailer *Pinta*, being in advance, kept on her course; for Captain Martin Alonzo Pinzon, the financial backer of Columbus, had decided to hasten on, at all hazards, to the golden island of Babeque, or Bohio. He might soon be repaid a hundred fold for all the expense and danger he had incurred.

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From *Das Ausland*, 1 Januar, 1867.

RESTORED TOSCANELLI CHART OF 1474.

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The *Santa Maria* and *Niña* seek a harbor in a small river east of Baracoa, from which they make another start on the 4th of December. Columbus arrived at Cuba believing it to be the island of Cipango (Zipangu), 500 leagues off the coast of China; when he departed he entertained the belief that it was a portion of Mangi, on the mainland. So the next day when he doubles Cape Maisi, he names it Cape Alpha and Omega, thinking it the extreme eastern projection of the Asian continent. Instead of turning to the southwest, Columbus followed the advice of his Indians and sailed to the southeast, the direction in which the *Pinta* had disappeared.

The lighthouse on Cape Maisi is 239 miles south of Watling's Island. The passage east of Cuba is called the Windward Channel, and is the route followed by vessels from New York and other northern ports to South America, the Isthmus of Panama, and points in the Caribbean-Sea.

Fifty miles southeast of Cape Maisi, across the Windward Channel, is Cape San Nicolas, the extreme northwestern extremity of the large island of Haiti. Columbus was but a few hours sail from Cuba when his Indians exclaimed "Bohio!" and pointed to towering mountains straight ahead. As he approached the land in the evening the Admiral noticed fires on shore as far as the eye could see.

On December 6th, with the little *Niña* in advance taking soundings, the *Santa Maria* follows into a spacious bay, which Columbus names San Nicolas, in honor of Saint Nicholas, whose fête day it was. On account of a natural quay, it is more commonly known as Mole San Nicolas.

Columbus then sails eastward along the northern shore of Haiti. Meeting rough weather, the vessels take shelter under the lee of a small island, a few miles off the coast, which Columbus calls Tortuga, because of its resemblance to a sea-turtle. This little island becomes famous, in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, as the headquarters of that brotherhood of seamen generally referred to as the buccaneers.

Opposite Tortuga, on the main island, Columbus finds a beautiful valley, with a river running through it, which is so enchanting that he names it Val de Paraiso (Vale of Paradise). On the 12th day of December, in a port which he called Concepcion, Columbus takes possession of Haiti, with the usual ceremonies, and erects a cross on an eminence. The aboriginal name, *Haiti*, meant high land, or Island of Mountains, a very appropriate appellation. Columbus, however, renamed it Hispaniola, or Española, because, as he said, it reminded him of the south of Spain. The western end of the island was called

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by the natives Bohio, and the eastern section Babeque, the region of gold. This corresponds, roughly, with the modern division of the island into the black Republic of Haiti, and the Republic of Santo Domingo.

When the Spaniards landed, all the Indians fled, except a young woman, who, like Lot's wife, stopped to look back, and was caught, perhaps not unwillingly, by three of the seamen. Her dark skin and total nudity gave no promise of Oriental civilization; but, then, *she had a golden ring in her nose*. Columbus clothes the naked beauty in a shirt, puts a string of beads about her neck, and treats her so well that the coy maiden is reluctant to return to her people. Her good report of the white strangers induces the rest to come forth, bringing cassava bread, fish, and fruits, which they offer to the Spaniards. The Admiral continues eastward, either entering or noting each harbor and river. The farther he goes the more gold is seen among the natives, and as they crowd about the two ships in their canoes to barter, very few escape without parting with nose-ring or plate of gold for some European bauble or bit of broken dish. The Indians are particularly delighted with the little bells, or chug-chugs, as they call them. On December 18th, there being no wind, the Spaniards decked out their vessels and fired a salute in memory of the annunciation of the Blessed Virgin.

While in a beautiful harbor, probably the Bay of Acul, Columbus receives a young chieftain, who was carried on the shoulders of his subjects, bearing a present from the head Cacique of that region, named *Guacanagari*, and an invitation to visit him. The present comprised a cotton girdle, to which was attached a mask, with eyes, nose, tongue, and ears of gold. It was here that the Admiral first heard of the Cibao, a mountain region in the interior, from whence came the gold. Columbus was continually identifying American with East Asian names; so he immediately declares Ci-ba-o to be the Ci-pan-go of Marco Polo.

Monday morning, December 24th, the Admiral again sails to the east, intending to visit Guacanagari in his village of Guarico. Columbus usually kept the deck himself, but this night the sea is "calm as water in a dish," to use his own words, so the Admiral takes some much-needed repose. The watch went to sleep, and the helmsman gave the tiller to a boy and followed his example. This is the only boy mentioned in the first voyage of Columbus, and no blame attaches to him for what followed.

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Very early on Christmas morning, 1492, Columbus' flagship, the *Santa Maria*, was carried by a treacherous current hard upon a reef, which, according to Ober, is located in front of Cape Haitien. Fortunately, Guarico, now the fishing hamlet of Petit Anse, was but a few miles away; so Columbus sent messengers to Guacanagari imploring assistance. The Admiral ordered his captain to carry an anchor astern, and make an effort to warp the *Santa Maria* off the reef; instead of which he rows off to the *Niña*, less than two miles to windward. Vicente Yañez Pinzon—those Pinzons were all brave sailormen—reproves the captain, and hastens to the relief of the *Santa Maria*. The masts are cut away and some of the cargo thrown overboard to lighten her, but the old boat remains fast, and is rapidly going to pieces in the breakers. The Admiral and his crew go aboard the *Niña*, and Guacanagari hastens to the wreck with a fleet of canoes, and carries all the stores in safety to his village, where they are guarded with savage fidelity. "The wreckers' trade might flourish in Cornwall, but, like other crimes of civilization, it was unknown in St. Domingo."—(HELPS.)

Columbus is much cast down by his misfortune, and the Cacique gives a great feast to honor and divert this white god who has come to visit him. Guacanagari exhibits so much natural dignity and gentle courtesy that he completely wins the heart of the Admiral. After the sumptuous meal, a thousand naked Indians engage in their primitive dances, to the sound of tom-toms, to entertain the Spaniards.

Wishing to impress the natives with his power, Columbus ordered a famous Moorish bowman in his company to exhibit his skill with the cross-bow. He then fired off an arquebus; and when he discharged one of his small cannon, which splintered the shrubbery in its path, the Indians fell on the ground in alarm. Guacanagari takes the golden crown from his own head and places it on the head of Columbus. The subchiefs likewise give up their coronets to the Admiral. Columbus presents Guacanagari with a pair of red shoes, a large silver ring (highly valued because there was no silver in Haiti), and a bead collar; and then, in an exuberance of affection and generosity, throws his fine scarlet robe over the shoulders of the chief. During the feast an Indian arrives and tells of seeing another vessel, the *Pinta*, of course, two days previous.

All this time the Spaniards are exchanging their trinkets and pieces of iron and leather for gold-dust, nuggets, and ornaments. The Indians have a fashion of smelling the European articles, and calling them *turey*; that is, from heaven.

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These Indians were so friendly, and possessed so much gold, which came from the Cibao not very far away, that Columbus decided to leave here a portion of his command, which could gather in the precious metal, while he himself hurried back to Spain to bring out more men and supplies. This was agreeable to Guacanagari, who thought how advantageous it would be to have the powerful aid of these supernatural beings⁸ to repel the dreaded *Caribs*, those fierce cannibals who roasted his men and stole his women.

On a small hill, near the Indian village of Guarico, Christopher Columbus constructed from the timbers of his flagship, the wrecked *Santa Maria*, a wooden tower, or fort, mounted with lombards, and surrounded by a ditch. He named the fort Navidad (the Nativity), in memory of their escape from the wreck on Christmas Day. Barring the discovery of America and attempt at settlement made by the Norsemen in the tenth century, this was the very first structure erected and the very first colony planted by Europeans in the New World.

So willing were the Indians to assist in the work that the fort was finished by New Year's Day, 1493. In it were placed arms and ammunition, provisions sufficient to supply the garrison for one year, articles for traffic, and seeds for planting. So attractive was life in these islands that most of the Spaniards volunteered to remain; and of these the Admiral selected forty men to garrison La Navidad. One of these was Diego de Arana, a cousin of Beatriz Enriquez. He was a notary and *alguacil*, and to him was given the command.

Before leaving, the Admiral gives a return banquet, after which the Spaniards, in sword and buckler, exhibit a sham-battle to impress the Indians. Guacanagari is so grieved at the departure of his new friend and ally that he orders a statue of Columbus to be made of gold, "as large as life."

Columbus counseled those staying on Haiti to stick together and obey their officers, to be just to the Indians, and, above all, to be chaste in their conduct with the native women. January 4, 1493, Columbus and the other Spaniards set sail for Spain on the little *Niña*, which saluted the fort as she left the harbor. The salutation was returned; and this was the last they ever saw of Navidad and their countrymen.

Nevertheless, here was the beginning of the Spaniards' curse, which depopulated the inhabitants of Haiti in so brief a time as to have no parallel in history. When White Man met Red

⁸ "The Indians soon understood that instead of being children of God, they were a new plague that Heaven had sent to their injury."—*Quintana*.

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Man the inevitable conflict of races ensued, and, as always happens, the weaker perished.

The coast line still extended toward the east in the direction of Spain, so the Admiral continued to sail along the shores of Haiti. On the 6th, while beating up against a stiff breeze, the *Pinta* was seen approaching under full sail before the wind. Columbus put about to find a harbor, signalling to the *Pinta* to follow, and they both came to anchor near a promontory, which he called Monte-Cristi. Captain Pinzon explained his disappearance on November 20th as due to stress of weather. As a matter of fact, under the guidance of an Indian aboard, he had intentionally run away from the Admiral, in order to be the first to reach Babeque, the Land of Gold. Pinzon was the first to reach the district of Haiti called Babeque, but whether the first to arrive at the island is doubtful, as he encountered numerous other islands before reaching Haiti.

He had obtained a large amount of gold, half of which he kept, dividing the other half among his crew. Columbus smothered his wrath, because he was, literally, in the hands of the Pinzons. He did, however, insist on Martin Alonzo releasing four men and two girls he had seized on Haiti.

About a league from Monte Cristi is a river called then, as now, the Yaqui. Here the vessels took in fresh water; and on account of particles of gold adhering to the hoops of the casks, Columbus named it *Rio del Oro*, or Golden River. The Yaqui has its origin in the Cibao, or "Goldstone" country, and is in the region that was called Babeque. It was here that Martin Alonzo Pinzon obtained most of his gold. The Admiral notes the presence of many large turtles; and sees the faces of three mermaids rise from the water, like he had seen on the Guinea coast; and adds that they were "not so handsome" as generally represented. Undoubtedly, these were manatis, or sea-cows (*Manatus americanus*).

On January 9th, the reunited vessels sail to the eastward, and the next day pass a cloud-capped mountain, which Columbus calls Monte de Plata, or Mountain of Silver. This has given name to the present town and port of Puerto Plata, on the north coast of Santo Domingo. Continuing along the coast, they pass Cape Cabron, and a few leagues farther on round Balandra Head into the magnificent Bay of Samaná, on the northeast corner of Haiti.

Here Columbus meets a tribe of Indians quite different from those previously seen. A party of Spaniards seeking water is suddenly attacked by about fifty painted natives, armed with war-clubs, javelins, and bows as long as those used by English

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archers. The Spaniards wound several, when the rest take to flight, leaving so many arrows on the field that the Admiral names the bay *Golfo de las Flechas*, or Gulf of Arrows.

This was the first native blood shed by the Spaniards in the Western Hemisphere. These Indians, the Ciguayans, closely resembled their fierce neighbors, the Caribs; and were under the dominion of Cacique *Mayonabex*. Columbus was much concerned as to the effect of this bloodshed upon the attitude of the Indians; but the latter seemed to look upon the fight simply as a pleasant introduction. The next morning a great number of warriors came down to the beach and bartered with the Spaniards in great amity, the chief himself being entertained by the Admiral, to whom he presented his golden coronet.

Four of the Indians told of an island to the northeast inhabited solely by women, and volunteered to serve as guides. As the coast now turned to the south, and this was in the direction of Spain, Columbus gladly accepted their offer, and took the four young men aboard. To the Admiral this island of women, called Madinino, was simply another confirmation of Marco Polo, who wrote of an island of Amazons.

January 16, 1493, Columbus, with the *Niña* and the *Pinta*, took final departure from Haiti, or Hispaniola, as he now called the island, and headed northeastward for Spain. When once at sea the Ciguayans became confused about the direction of Madinino, or the Island of Amazons, so the Admiral carried them on to Spain, where they, with the other Indians, formed the principal feature of his triumphal journey across Spain to appear before Ferdinand and Isabella at Barcelona. These Indians were baptised in Barcelona, where one of them soon died, the first native of the New World, according to Herrera, to enter the Kingdom of Heaven.

As we do not pretend to give a full account of the life and voyages of Columbus, but only those facts and events leading up to the discovery and settlement of the Isthmus of Panama and Castilla del Oro, we will pass over the incidents attending his perilous return voyage, and the brief period when Court and courtiers did him honor, during which Columbus drained the cup of joy to the dregs.

In the midst of a great storm,* the *Pinta*, about February 13th, became separated from the *Niña*, and the latter, with great difficulty, reaches St. Mary, one of the Azores. After some difficulty with the Portuguese Governor, Castañeda, the Admiral departs from St. Mary's on the 24th. A few days later, when nearing the coast of Spain, the *Niña* runs into another gale, which almost swamps the caravel. While driven

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under bare poles, Columbus sights the rock of Cintra, at the mouth of the Tagus, and on March 4th manages to work into the river, which is the port of Lisbon. When invited to the Court by King John, no doubt Columbus enjoyed describing the richness of the lands which Portugal had declined to seek. In the midst of their chagrin some of the courtiers even propose to kill Columbus, and seize this new territory for Portugal.

On the 13th, the Admiral takes leave of this dangerous hospitality, and on March 15, 1493, he arrives back at Palos, after an absence of a little less than seven and a half months. The same day, while the peals of triumph are still ringing for Columbus, the *Pinta* also reaches Palos, from the Bay of Biscay, where she was driven by the storms, and Martin Alonzo Pinzon quietly proceeds to his home, where he dies shortly afterwards.

In the evening, in fulfillment of vows made during the tempest, the Admiral and his crew marched in procession through the tearful populace to the convent Church of Santa Clara, at Moguer, where they offered up thanks for their safe return from the voyage into the unknown seas.

Names of the Europeans left at Navidad in 1493:

"Lista de las personas que Colon dejó en la Isla Española y halló muertas por los Indios cuando volvió á poblarla en 1493.—(R. Arch. de Indias en Sevilla, Papeles de Contratacion, y en la Colec. de Muñoz.)

Alonso Velez de Mendoza: de Sevilla.

Alvar Perez Osorio: de Castrojeriz.

Antonio de Jaen: de Jaen.

El Bachiller Bernardino de Tapia: natural de Ledesma.

Cristóbal del Alamo: natural del Condado (de Niebla).

Castillo, platero: natural de Sevilla.

Diego Garcia: de Jerez.

Diego de Tordoya: de Cabeza de Vaca.

Diego de Capilla: del Almaden.

Diego de Torpa.

Diego de Mambles: natural de Mambles.

* Fearing his ship might founder during the tempest of February 14, and news of his discovery be lost, the Admiral wrote on parchment to his sovereigns that he had found the Indies. Sealing the announcement in waxed cloth, he placed it in a cask, and committed the message to the mercy of the angry waves. Don Fernando tells us that his father wrote a second notice, which he attached to a log on deck, so that it would float away should the vessel sink. The next day, February 15, 1493, Columbus wrote a letter to Luis de Santangel, Escribano de Racion; and on February 18 he wrote another letter relating his discovery to Gabriel (Raphael) Sanchez, controller of finances; both of which have been preserved. These letters were put in print the same year, and constitute the first documents narrating the discovery of America.

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Diego de Mendoza: de Guadalajara.
Diego de Montalban: de Jaen.
Domingo de Bermeo.
Francisco Fernandez.
Francisco de Godoy: natural de Sevilla.
Francisco de Vergara: natural de Sevilla.
Francisco de Aranda: de Aranda.
Francisco de Henao: de Avila.
Francisco de Jiménez: de Sevilla.
Gabriel Baraona: de Belmonte.
Gonzalo Fernandez de Segovia: de Leon.
Gonzalo Fernandez: de Segovia.
Guillermo Ires: natural de Galney, en Irlanda.
Hornando de Porcuna.
Jorge Gonzalez: natural de Trigueros.
Juan de Urniga.
Juan Morcillo: de Villanueva de la Serena.
Juan de Cueva: de Castuera.
Juan Patiño: de la Serena.
Juan del Barco: del Barco de Avila.
Juan de Villar: del Villar.
Juan de Mendoza.
Martin de Lograsan: cerca de Guadalupe.
Pedro Corbacho: de Cáceres.
Pedro de Talavera.
Pedro de Foronda.
Sebastian de Mayorga: natural de Mayorga.
Tallarte de Lajes: ingles.
Tristan de San Jorge.”

—(NAVARRETE, *tomo II*, pag. 19.)

Navarrete notes that Muñoz, at different places, gives the number of men as being 37, 38, and 39. The above list includes 40 persons; to which must be added the names of the Governor, Diego de Arana, and his two lieutenants, Pedro Gutierrez and Rodrigo de Escobedo; making 43 in all.

It will be observed that one of these, Guillermo Ires, was an Irishman, probably William Harris, of Galway; and that the name written Tallarte de Lajes belonged to an Englishman, perhaps Arthur Laws or Larkins. This list gives Francisco de Vergara, not given by Captain Duro, who includes Maestre Juan, surgeon, in his enumeration; so that both registers contain 43 names.

CHAPTER IV
SECOND VOYAGE
OF
COLUMBUS TO AMERICA

1493

Discovery of the Lesser Antilles, Porto Rico, and Jamaica

"In placid indolence supinely blest,
A feeble race these beauteous isles possess'd;
Untamed, untaught, in arts and arms unskill'd,
Their patrimonial soil they rudely till'd,
Chased the free rovers of the savage wood,
Ensnared the wild-bird, swept the scaly flood;
Shelter'd in lowly huts their fragile forms
From burning suns and desolating storms;
Or when the halcyon sported on the breeze,
In light canoes they skimmed the rippling seas;
Their lives in dreams of soothing langour flew,
No parted joys, no future pain they knew,
The passing moment all their bliss or care;
Such as their sires had been the children were,
From age to age, as waves upon the tide
Of stormless time, they calmly lived and died."

James Montgomery.



IN the same letter in which the Sovereigns welcome Columbus back to Spain they bid him hasten preparations for another voyage to the new lands he had discovered. The astute and wily Ferdinand shared with Columbus the belief that these islands were on the borders of India and Cathay, and he was fully alive to the possibilities for glory and profit to be derived from them. To shut out any claims to these lands which Portugal might make under the Papal edict of 1471, granting her exclusive right to navigate to the eastward, Spain applied to Pope Alexander VI, as representative of the Creator, to confirm her title of discovery; and the Pope, on May 3d and 4th, 1493, issued his famous Bulls dividing the unknown world between Spain and Portugal by a "line of demarcation" passing 100 leagues west of the Azores and Cape de Verde islands, and extending from Pole to Pole (*vide* Appendix).

A royal decree was issued forbidding anyone making a voyage to the Indies, except with the permission of their

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Majesties; and all barter and traffic with the Indians was declared a monopoly of the Crown. Columbus received a coat-of-arms; and the pledges made him in the capitulation of April 30, 1492, were confirmed, on the 28th of May, in a formidable document beginning: "In the name of the Holy Trinity and Eternal Unity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; and of the Blessed Virgin, the Glorious St. Mary, Our Lady; and of the Blessed Apostle St. James, Light and Mirror of All Spain, Patron and Guide of the Sovereigns of Castile and Leon; and of all the other Saints, Male and Female, in the Courts of Heaven."

In spite of the multitude of heavenly witnesses, the unscrupulous Ferdinand had no difficulty in breaking this obligation when it suited his purpose so to do.

No sooner was it known that the Admiral was returning to the islands of gold and spices than all the adventurers and soldiers of fortune turned loose by the cessation of the Moorish wars clamored for office in the expedition, or at least a passage to the new islands. Though the ships carried cattle, seeds, and tools to form a colony, but few went out with any intention of remaining in Hispaniola; and all expected to reap a golden harvest from the simple and timid natives.

For once in his life Ferdinand became enthusiastic, and counted not the cost in furnishing a large fleet, believing that in a few months Antonio de Torres, the second in command, would come sailing back to Spain with his ships full of the costly drugs and spices of the East; and the ton of gold which Columbus reckoned the garrison of Navidad could accumulate during his absence. With great difficulty, and even by extortion, and sequestering the property of the banished Jews, funds were raised to obtain and equip vessels at Seville, Cadiz, and other places and ports in Andalusia.

Although Columbus was such a devout churchman, many of his troubles were brought upon him by prelates of his own faith. He came near being consigned to the Inquisition by the Junta before the first voyage; and now the management of the outfitting of his second expedition is given to Juan Rodrigues de Fonseca, Archdeacon of Seville, later made Bishop of Burgos. From the very start, Fonseca was unfriendly to Columbus, and continued his enmity until even after the death of the Admiral. Columbus was a foreigner, and seems to have been thoroughly disliked by most of the Spaniards, both high and low, with whom he came in contact. He made his great discovery with neither relative nor fast friend, but at the head

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of a mutinous crew; and his success served to excite the jealousy and resentment of many grandees and clerics about the Court.

The ships are ordered to rendezvous at Cadiz, and sail on the 15th of July; but week after week slips by and the preparations are still incomplete. Juonato Beradi, an Italian merchant in Seville, had a contract for furnishing many of the supplies, and employed as manager one Amerigo Vespucci. Amerigo did not accompany Columbus on this voyage, but was destined later to have his name affixed to the New World discovered by Don Christopher.

In the midst of the hurry and confusion, much fraud was perpetrated; and the vessels sailed not only overloaded with an ill-assorted assemblage of persons, but fitted out with defective stores and provisions. The good meat and biscuit were exchanged for bad; men sold their armor and accoutrements; and even the twenty-five steeds for the men-at-arms of the Holy Brotherhood were replaced by twenty sorry hacks; notwithstanding the presence of scores of clerks, inspectors, and notaries, who made lists of every article taken aboard, and required affidavits from every individual.

Finally, on September 25, 1493, a fleet of seventeen sail, consisting of three stately vessels (ships of from two to three hundred tons), and fourteen caravels, set sail from the harbor of Cadiz. One of the carracks, the Admiral's flagship, is the *Maria Galante*; another is called the *Gallega*. Among the caravels is the brave little *Niña*, already a veteran in transatlantic passage. Instead of carrying one thousand persons, as planned, fifteen hundred crowded and stowed themselves away on the ships. "Men were ready to leap into the sea to swim, if it had been possible, into those new-found parts," so wild were they to get to the Land of Gold.

Among the notables on the fleet, or those destined to win renown in the *West Indies*, as the new region was now called, were Juan Ponce de Leon, who conquered Puerto Rico, discovered Florida, and vainly sought the Fountain of Eternal Youth; Alonso de Ojeda, protégé of the Duke of Medina-Celi, a dashing young soldier from the Moorish wars, who would perform still greater deeds in the islands, and found the first settlement on the Gulf of Darien; Juan de la Cosa, the ablest pilot of his time, who made the first map of the western world; Diego Colon, the youngest brother of Columbus, who should have been a monk instead of trying to manage an unruly colony; Diego de Alvarado, who sailed from Guatemala to dispute the

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possession of Peru with Pizarro; Francisco de Garay, who opposed Cortez; Pedro de las Casas, father of the justly famous Fray Bartolomé; Doctor Chanca, the Queen's own physician, and medical director of the fleet, who wrote a chronicle of the voyage and the first scientific sketch of America to the Chapter of Seville. Last, but not least, was Fray Bernardo Boil, a Benedictine monk, the apostolic delegate, and head of a dozen priests, "one of those subtle politicians of the cloister, who in those days glided into all temporal concerns."—(IRVING.) According to Bancroft, there were aboard "also bloodhounds to aid in Christianizing and civilizing the natives."

Columbus kept a sharp lookout for any Portuguese fleet that might try to intercept him, and on the 2d of October arrived safely at the Gran Canaria without a conflict. On the 5th he anchored at Gomera, another island of the group, where he took on not merely fresh water and wood, but seeds and cuttings of the sugar-cane, oranges, lemons, vegetables, and melons; and increased their stock of domestic animals. Among the latter were eight swine, costing seventy-five cents each, from which, so says Las Casas, sprung the infinite number of hogs subsequently found in the Spanish settlements. The sugar-cane, melons, citrous fruits, and swine brought to America from the Canaries have been of more benefit to mankind and productive of more wealth than all the billions of gold carried from the New World by the Spaniards.

On the 13th the fleet passed Ferro, the most western of the islands; and on the twentieth day thereafter, November 3, 1493, sighted the first land, which turned out to be a lofty island. Crews and passengers chant the "Salve Regina" and other services of the church. It being Sunday morning, Columbus gave it the name of *Dominica*, which it still retains. It was off this little island, in 1782, that Rodney won the mastery of the Caribbean for the British from the Frenchman De Grasse, flushed with his victory at Yorktown in the preceding year.

Thirty miles to the southward could be seen the peaks of another Carib island, afterwards called Martinique, which became the residence of Madame de Maintenon and the birth-place of the Empress Josephine, two women destined to change the history of France.

Columbus had intentionally taken a more southerly course than on his first voyage, in order to encounter, if fortunate, certain islands described by the Indians of Haiti as lying to the east and south of them; particularly the Island of Amazons,

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and the Island of Cannibals. By this southern route he avoided the Sargasso Sea, and experienced no greater danger than a thunderstorm, when good St. Elmo, with lighted tapers, appeared on the mastheads and conducted them safely out of the tempest.

Finding no anchorage, the Admiral detached a caravel to explore Dominica, and proceeded to a smaller island to the northward, which he named *Marigalante*, after his ship. A large party was landed, and with much ceremony Columbus took possession not only of that island and others in sight, but all unseen lands and the sea which embraced them; all "in the manner provided by law," as Doctor Chanca wrote. No habitations are found here, but the caravel from Dominica reports seeing houses and people on that island.

The next day Columbus sailed to an island about twenty miles north, which presented a great mountain peak, with a shining cataract on its side, which "appeared to fall from the skies." He calls the island *Guadalupe*, in fulfillment of a promise made to the monks of Estramadura. In the shacks were found many human bones and heads hanging from the rafters. A number of women fled to the Spaniards, and stated that they were captives from Buriquen, a large island in the north. The present island was called Turuqueira, and was inhabited by Caribs, who made raids on the northern islands, carrying off the men for food and the women for other purposes. Columbus rightly believed these to be the "cannibals" so much dreaded by the Lucayans and Haitians, but erred again when he sought confirmation in Marco Polo's book and identified them with the Anthropophagi of Asia.

On Guadalupe the Spaniards find the sternpost of a European ship, and what looks like an iron dish. Diego Marquez, the royal inspector, and captain of one of the caravels, with two pilots and eight men, go ashore without the Admiral's permission, and lose themselves so completely in the tropical forest that Ojeda, with forty picked men, is unable to find them. Very fortunately, nearly all the male population is away on a foray, in ten war-canoes, and the half-starved wanderers return in safety to the ships, having delayed the expedition about a week.

Sunday, November 10th, the fleet weighed anchor and stood to the north in the direction of Hispaniola, Columbus giving names to the numerous islands of the Lesser Antilles which lay in their course. The next day he passes by a ragged island, which he calls *Monserate*, after a mountain and monastery in Spain. A few miles away is a lovely rounded rock rising

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several hundred feet above the sea, which is named *Santa Maria la Redonda*; and the next morning a low-lying island to the northeast receives the appellation *Santa Maria la Antigua*. A small island presenting a volcanic cone, reminds the Admiral of a snow-clad peak near Barcelona, and he calls it *Nieves*, or *Snows*; later known as *Nevis*.

Across a narrow channel is another island, with a towering central peak, which Columbus calls *St. Christopher*, after his patron saint. It was here that the English got their first footing in the West Indies, in 1625; and the name was abbreviated to *St. Kitt's*. Farther on, the Admiral names *St. Eustacio*, *St. Martin*, and the rock-bound *Saba*. In affectionate remembrance of his brother, he calls a small island *St. Bartolomé*.

On the 14th the fleet came to an island called *Ayay* by the Caribs, who, as usual, fled on the approach of the ships, leaving their captives to escape to the white men. While here, the Spaniards have their first fight with the Caribs. A canoe-load of Indians suddenly appears around a point and drop their paddles in amazement at the array of great winged vessels. A boat cuts off their retreat and overturns the canoe, but the Caribs continue shooting their arrows while in the water, and one of these arrows, which may have been poisoned, fired by a Carib woman, wounds a Basque so severely that he dies a few days later. Columbus calls this island *Santa Cruz*, and to the north names *St. Thomas* and *St. John*.

Coming to a group of numerous islets, the Admiral calls the largest *St. Ursula*, and the fifty or more others the *Eleven Thousand Virgins*. Columbus noted that these islands, unlike the others, were destitute of trees.

Sailing westward, the fleet arrived at the southeastern coast of the large island which was called *Buriquen*, or *Borinquen*, by the Indians. Columbus coasts along the southern shores of this island for a distance of about one hundred miles, and on the 19th enters a port on the west coast, now known as *Agua-dilla*, not far from *Mayaguez*. The Spaniards watered their ships at a spring, and are much impressed with the regular arrangement and neat appearance of the native village, all the people of which have fled. Columbus names the island *San Juan Bautista*, or *Saint John the Baptist*, soon changed to *Puerto Rico*.

Early Thursday morning, November 21, 1493, the ships steer due west, and before night come in sight of a range of high mountains, which the Indians say is *Haiti*. Columbus had not previously visited the eastern coast of the island, so the next morning he sent ashore the remaining Indian, the other

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three having died, of those he had carried away from Samaná, in order to ascertain the direction of the settlement at Navidad. This Indian had been baptized and received into the church, and was finely dressed and ornamented, so that he was expected to become a very useful intermediary for the Spaniards. The young warrior was only too glad to tread his native soil again, and the Admiral waited in vain for his return.

Columbus then turned towards the northern coast, and soon came to the large bay which he had named the Gulf of Arrows, and later known as the Bay of Samaná. The fleet anchored at Cape Angel for the night, and engaged in friendly and profitable barter with the natives. The next day the Admiral hastened westward, passing familiar landmarks he himself had named: Lover's Cape, Cape of Good Weather, Puerto de Plata, and Golden River, where he saw the mermaids, which had its origin in the golden Cibao, the Cipango of Marco Polo, the mountains of which were plainly visible.

On the 25th the fleet anchored at Monte Cristi, only eight leagues from Navidad, expecting to obtain some tidings about the colony. In this they were not disappointed. The landing party found two decomposed corpses bound upon two rude crosses, the one being a youth and the other an old man. The next day two more bodies are found on the bank of the river, one of which bore a beard, which showed that they were not Indians. Filled with forebodings of disaster to his men, the Admiral hastened on to Navidad, and anchored off the reefs on the night of November 27th. Two cannon are fired, but all is dark and still on shore. Finally, about midnight, some Indians come off in a canoe, crying "Almirante!" The Admiral receives them, and recognizes one as the nephew of Guacanagari. They offer Columbus two golden masks, and tell him that some of his men had died from disease; others had quarreled and gone off into the interior with a train of females, while the rest had been killed in battle with Caonabo, the fierce mountain cacique, aided by Mayrionex, and the fortress of Navidad reduced to ashes. Guacanagari tried to aid his white friends, and suffered the loss of his village, and was himself wounded. Many of the Spaniards did not believe this account, and, with Father Boil, were for putting the chieftain to death; but subsequent investigation tended to show that the garrison left at Navidad had brought their destruction upon themselves by insubordination to their officers, and cruel and outrageous treatment of the Indians.

It being necessary to disembark his motley horde of adventurers and establish another settlement, Columbus determined

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to seek a better location, such as he had seen at Puerto de Plata. Sailing now to the eastward, on December 7th, the fleet, with difficulty, rounded Monte Cristi and reached the River of Thanks; when, the wind remaining contrary, the Admiral put about to a port three leagues back; where he unloaded his ships and laid out a town, which he called Isabella, in honor of the Queen. The place was abandoned a few years later, but its site has been located at the mouth of the Bajo-Bonico, about sixty miles west of Puerto Plata, where the outlines of the Admiral's house, the church, and storehouse are yet discernible.

The neighboring swamps bred fever, from which many of the Spaniards died. Neither hidalgo nor nameless adventurer cared to work or tried to adapt themselves to the new environment. Rations ran low, and there were not enough golden ornaments to suddenly enrich everyone. These settlers, like so many other gold-seekers, came to realize that the precious metal does not grow on trees, but is laboriously dug out of the earth or gathered from the sands of the rivers. Disappointment and despondency gave rise to dissension and sedition, headed by Bernal Diaz, the royal comptroller; Firmin Cedo, the assayer; and Father Boil, the papal legate.

Columbus, of course, was blamed for the misfortunes of the colony, and hoping to better their condition, he sent out two parties, commanded by Ojeda and Garbolan, respectively, to make a reconnoissance in the interior of the island. These young officers penetrated into the Cibao and Niti, where they found abundance of gold in every stream, Ojeda himself picking up a nugget weighing nine ounces.

On Sunday, February 2, 1494, Antonio de Torres is started back to Spain with twelve of the ships, taking with him about five hundred of the invalids and malcontents, a number of Indian men, women, boys, and girls, whom the Admiral designated "Cannibals," and the gold accumulated since their arrival, including the gold masks and Ojeda's nugget.

Leaving his weak brother Diego in command at Isabella, Columbus, on March 12th, set out for the golden Cibao at the head of four hundred men, bravely attired in armor and trappings, with standards and trumpets, and all the horses they could muster. The trail leading through the first range of mountains to the beautiful interior plain, afterwards named the *Vega Real*, was so narrow that the cavaliers, with their own hands, enlarged it for the passage of the horses. Columbus called it "*El Puerto de los Caballeros*," and as "Gentlemen's Pass" it is known today. On the border of the Cibao, by the

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Rio Yanique, a fort was constructed and named *Santo Tomás de Yanico*, the location of which is still pointed out. St. Thomas was garrisoned with fifty-two men, under command of Pedro Margarite, which, as usual with the Admiral's appointments, was an unfortunate selection.

March 29th, Columbus returned to Isabella, and on the 24th of April he set sail, in the three caravels he had retained, for the south coast of Cuba; to determine whether it was a great island, as many Indians affirmed, or an eastern projection of the continent of Asia, as he himself believed. After sailing westward from Cape Maisi about three hundred leagues, according to his computations, Columbus had his notary draw up an *Acta*, in which every man and boy aboard the three ships declared under oath, and before witnesses, that Cuba was indeed a part of the continent of Asia. This curious document has been preserved, and begins as follows:

"On board the caravel '*Niña*,' which is also called the '*Santa Clara*,' Thursday, the 12th of June, in the year of Our Lord's Birth 1494, the most noble Señor Don Christopher Columbus, High Admiral of the Ocean Sea, Viceroy and Perpetual Governor of the Island of San Salvador and of all the other islands and mainland of the Indies, discovered or to be discovered, etc., etc., demanded of me, Fernando Perez de Luna, one of the notaries public of the city of Isabella, on behalf of their Majesties," etc.

In July, 1898, a Spanish cruiser named Cristobal Colon fled westward along this same coast, pursued by the warships of a power destined to drive Spain from this island, her last foothold in the New World.

The Admiral even thought of continuing his course to the west and circumnavigating the globe by doubling the Golden Chersonesus, crossing the Gulf of Ganges, and by a new route, either around Africa or going up the Red Sea and so overland to Joppa and Jerusalem, reach Spain.

On this voyage Columbus discovered Jamaica, which he named *Santiago*; and returned to Isabella by the south coast of Haiti. At every port he entered the natives told of a much grander land to the south and west, abounding in gold and pearls.

Intending to complete his investigation of the Caribbee Islands, Columbus left Cape Engano, the east point of Haiti, and steered to the southeast. After touching at the island of Mona, the Admiral suddenly fell into a deep coma, with loss of all his senses and faculties, resembling death itself. The masters and pilots, much alarmed, turned their vessels about

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and hurried to Isabella, which place they reached on the 29th of September.

Columbus remains in a stupor for several days, and when he regains consciousness it is to gaze upon the face of his beloved brother Bartholomew, who had recently come to Hispaniola in charge of three caravels. During the absence of the Viceroy, Margarite and Fray Boil had fomented trouble and rebellion under the weak administration of Don Diego, which ended by them and the malcontents seizing two of the vessels brought out by Don Bartolomé, and sailing away to Spain to lay their complaints before their Majesties.

Torres, who had just brought out four ship-loads of supplies, returns to Spain; and Diego Colon is sent along to help settle the division of the world between Spain and Portugal. There being so little gold to satisfy the greed of the home government, the Admiral fills the ships with what he knows will be equally acceptable, viz., five hundred captive Indians consigned to the Bishop, Juan de Fonseca, to be sold as slaves in the markets of Cadiz and Seville. Many writers hold up their hands in holy horror at this procedure of Columbus; but his action was commonplace and in accord with the Christian as well as pagan customs of the day. From time immemorial it has been the practice of man to torture and kill his captive, to hold him for ransom, to keep him in bondage, or to eat him. Two hundred and fifty years later, in the New World, the White Man, in the name of Christ and Justice, burnt his own people accused of being infidels or witches; and three hundred and fifty years later, human beings were still being held in slavery all over the Americas.

Isabella's character is one of the few bright spots in the dark picture of Spanish discovery and conquest; but the fine phrases of indignation, credited to her by partial and sentimental historians, come with ill grace from a Queen who permitted her subjects to deal in Guinea negroes and Canary Islanders, who had driven the Jewish people from their homes in Spain, and who, at that time, held and sold as slaves thousands of Moorish men, women, and children. As for the unctuous and grasping Ferdinand, no one would ever accuse him of allowing feeling or sentiment to stand between him and the prospect of turning an honest penny by traffic in human souls.

Columbus made Bartholomew *Adelantado*, or lieutenant-governor, and his good sense and force of character greatly assisted his brother in controlling the unruly subjects in the colony.

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The Indians had been so badly treated and outraged by roaming bands of soldiers, that the warlike Caonabo collected his people and openly attacked St. Thomas. Had it not been for the treachery or loyalty (as you choose to view it) of Guacanagari, who refused to league with the other *caciques*, it is probable that the Spaniards would have been exterminated. This effeminate chieftain warned Columbus of the uprising, and hastened the inevitable doom of his race. Ojeda, with but nine horsemen, puts a pair of shining handcuffs on Caonabo and carries that gallant *cacique* off behind him on the back of his horse to Isabella; and Columbus invades the Vega Real with two hundred foot, twenty horse, and twenty bloodhounds, and puts to flight an army of Indians estimated by some of the Spaniards to be more than one hundred thousand.

As an evidence of their subjection, and to raise a revenue for the colony, Columbus imposed a head tax upon the natives. Every Indian, male and female, between the ages of fourteen and forty years, was tagged with a metal check, and required to furnish their masters, every three months, with a Flemish hawk's-bell full of gold, or an *arroba* (twenty-five pounds) of cotton.

At this time, Juan Aguado is sent out to partly supersede the Viceroy; and soon after, both men sail to Spain to settle their differences at Court. The Admiral, on the *Niña*, reached Cadiz on the 11th of June, 1496, after a tedious and perilous voyage, during which that stout-hearted savage, Caonabo, had died.

From here, Columbus sent dispatches by Pedro Alonso Nino, who was just starting out for Hispaniola, to his brother Bartholomew, directing him to begin a settlement on the south coast of the island, near some mines on the river Hayna, disclosed by a *caciquess* to her lover, Miguel Diaz.

Previous to this, on April 10, 1495, a royal proclamation had been issued, in violation of the rights of Columbus, giving Spaniards permission to settle in Hispaniola, and permitting private voyages of discovery. On the remonstrance of the Admiral, this was rescinded in so far as it was prejudicial to him; and, in addition, all his former titles and grants were confirmed. Before again sailing for the Indies, the Admiral made a deed of entail and will, in which he indicated the line of succession in his family; and directed the distribution of the vast revenues he expected his grants to produce.

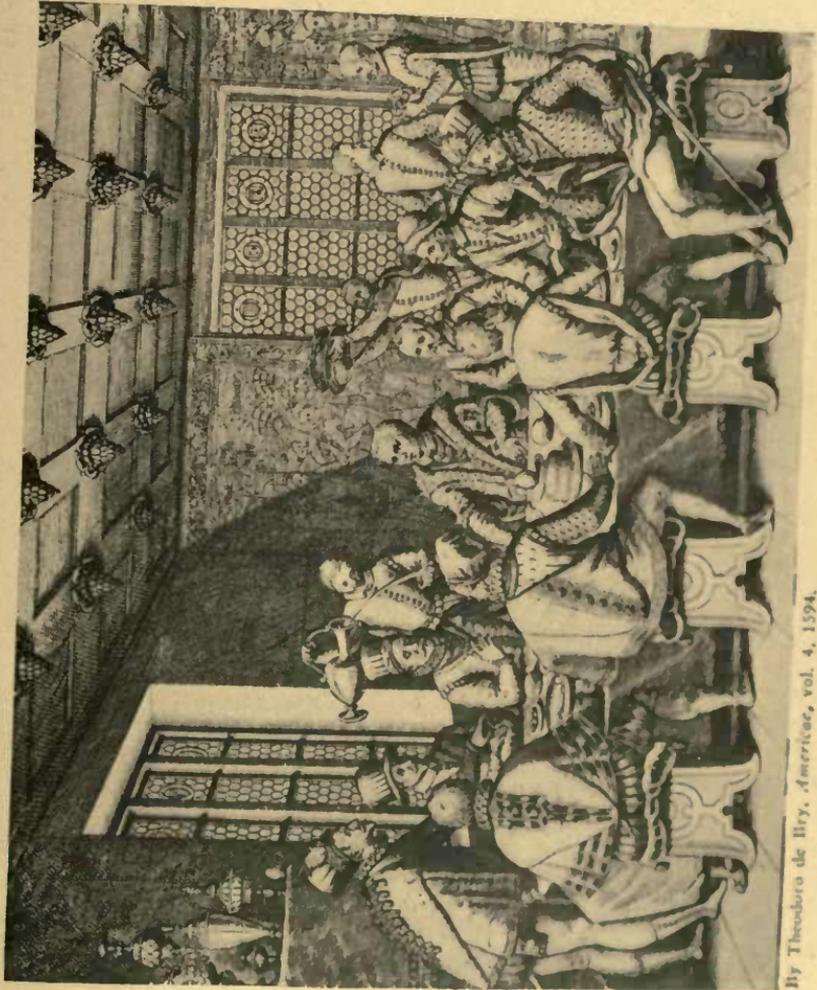
During the next year, Ferdinand and Isabella were busily engaged in the business and functions attending the marriage of Prince Juan and Princess Juana with scions of the house

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of Austria; and shortly afterwards the Crown Prince, the only son, died; so it was not until the year 1498 that ships, men, and supplies could be furnished their Admiral of the Ocean Sea for another voyage to the Indies.

“It will not be out of place to relate what I heard happened in Spain to Columbus, after he had discovered the Indies; although it had been done in ancient times in other ways, but was new then. Columbus being at a party with many noble Spaniards, where, as was customary, the subject of conversation was the Indies, one of them undertook to say: ‘Mr. Christopher, even if you had not found the Indies, we should not have been devoid of a man who would have attempted the same that you did, here in our own country of Spain, as it is full of great men clever in cosmography and literature.’ Columbus said nothing in answer to these words, but having desired an egg to be brought to him, he placed it on the table, saying: ‘Gentlemen, I will lay a wager with any of you, that you will not make this egg stand up as I will, naked and without anything at all.’ They all tried, and no one succeeded in making it stand up. When the egg came round to the hands of Columbus, by beating it down on the table he fixed it, having thus crushed a little of one end; wherefore all remained confused, understanding what he would have said: that after the deed is done, everybody knows how to do it; that they ought first to have sought for the Indies, and not laugh at him who had sought for it first, while they for some time had been laughing, and wondered at it as an impossibility.”—*La Historia del Mondo Nuovo*—1565.



By Theobald de Illy, *Americae*, vol. 4, 1594.

COLUMBUS MAKES THE EGG STAND ON END.

CHAPTER V
THIRD VOYAGE
OF
COLUMBUS TO AMERICA

1498

Discovery of the Mainland

"Chains for the Admiral of the Ocean! Chains
For him who gave a new heaven, a new earth,
As holy John had prophesied of me,
Gave glory and more empire to the Kings
Of Spain than all their battles! Chains for him
Who push'd his prow into the setting sun,
And made West East, and sail'd the Dragon's Mouth,
And came upon the Mountains of the World,
And saw the rivers roll from Paradise!"

Alfred Tennyson.



ON Wednesday, the 30th of May, 1498, Columbus sailed from the port of San Lúcar de Barra-meda, near Cadiz, on his third venture into the western ocean. He landed at Porto Santo, the Madeira, and at Gomera, in the Canaries. Columbus left here on the 21st of June, and when off Ferro, he divided his fleet, sending three vessels, under Carvajal, Araña, and Colombo, with supplies for the new town which the Adelantado had started on the southern shore of Hispaniola. The Admiral himself, with the three smaller craft, turned the southward, and arrived at the Cape Verde Islands on the 27th, where he supplied himself with fresh water and goat's meat. He left here on the 4th of July, and steered to the southwest. It was the Admiral's plan on this voyage to take a more southerly course than formerly, and seek the equatorial regions to the south of Hispaniola and Cuba, where he expected to find the islands or land which the Indians told him lay in that direction. Moreover, he believed, with Jayme Ferrer, the learned jeweler, that the nearer one approached the equator the blacker became the people, and the more abundant the gold, pearls, precious stones, drugs, and spices.

On July 12th the squadron was in latitude 5° north, when the wind ceased and the heat became intolerable. The seams of the ships opened and tar dripped from the rigging. The meat and

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wheat, in the hold, spoilt; and the water-butts and wine-casks burst their hoops. The sailors lost strength and spirits, and their commander suffered from fever and his old malady, the gout. The horrors formerly suffered by sailing vessels when caught in the "doldrums," the region of calms near the Equator, are now nearly eliminated by the general use of steamers.

On the 20th a breeze springs up; and on the 22d birds are seen flying towards the northwest. It was the custom of Columbus, when engaging in an undertaking, to invoke the aid of the Holy Trinity; and when starting out on this voyage he vowed to name the first land discovered after the sacred Triad. On the 31st of July, 1498, as if in response to this vow, the triple peaks of a mountain are seen in the west, by Alonzo Perez, who happens to climb up into the crow's-nest. "It has pleased Our Lord," writes Columbus, "for His divine glory, that the first sight was three *mogotes*, all united; I should say three mountains, all at one time and in one view." The Admiral calls the distant land *Trinidad*; and all join in chanting the "Salve Regina" and other pious couplets.

The ships approached Trinidad at its southeastern corner, now called Point Galeota; after doubling which, they sailed westward along the south coast. The next day, August 1, 1498, Columbus saw land to the south, his first sight of the continent of America, and, believing it an island, he names it *La Isla Santa* (Sancta), or Holy Island. The Admiral passed around the projecting tongue of land on the southwest point of Trinidad by a turbulent channel, between it and Isla Santa, which he called *Boca del Serpiente* (the Serpent's Mouth). While anchored here at night his vessels are nearly swamped by a giant wave, or bore, the dreaded *pororoca* of the Orinoco river. Once inside Point Icacos, Columbus found himself in an immense body of water, as quiet as a pond, and sweet to the taste.

To the north of the lowlands of Isla Santa (really the delta of the Orinoco) was a range of mountains, seemingly on a third island, to which the Admiral gave the name *Isla de Gracia* (Island of Grace, or Mercy). The Indians on the latter were taller, fairer, and more intelligent than any yet encountered in the Indies. They called their land Paria, a name yet preserved in designating the cape and gulf on the northeast corner of Venezuela, opposite the island of Trinidad. Columbus, however, called the gulf *Golfo de las Perlas*, on account of the many pearls collected from the Indians; and confirmed the statement by Pliny, that oysters generate pearls from dewdrops,

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when he beheld, at low tide, oysters clinging to the mangrove bushes, with their mouths open to receive the falling dew. The good Bishop Las Casas, who came here later, is more accurate in his observation, for he notes that these oysters living in shallow waters do not produce pearls, but that the pearl oysters, "by a natural instinct, as if conscious of their precious charge, hide themselves in the deepest waters."

The Admiral spent two pleasant weeks about the gulf in friendly intercourse with the natives of Trinidad and Paria. Besides pearls, they wore ornaments of *guanin*, an alloy of gold, silver, and copper. Columbus found deer and numerous monkeys, the first seen in the New World; and is surprised to find the temperature much lower than in the same latitude on the coast of Africa. Vainly seeking an exit on the western side of the gulf, he is met everywhere by rivers of fresh water and shallow soundings, and is compelled to turn back and risk passage to the north through the rushing currents of the *Boca del Drago*, or Dragon's Mouth. The attempt is made, by moonlight, on the night of August 13th, and is successful, though the Admiral commits one of his rare errors of seamanship when he lets go his anchors on encountering a great wave, similar to the one met in the Serpent's Mouth.

Safely in the Caribbean Sea, Columbus descries two islands faintly perceptible in the northeast, probably *Tobaga* and *Granada*, but is satisfied to name them Asuncion and Concepcion, and steers west along the north coast of Paria for about one hundred and fifty miles, when he became convinced from its extent and particularly from the mighty volumes of fresh water flowing into the Gulf of Paria that it was not an island, but "Terra Firma, of vast extent, of which until this day nothing has been known."

Near the shore are a number of islands, at the largest of which he collects three pounds of pearls from the Indians, and calls it *Margarita*—the Pearl. Near by are *Cubagua* and *Coche*, and to seaward of Margarita are *La Blanquilla* and *Los Testigos*. The Admiral called this region *Costa de las Perlas*, and the islands soon became famous as the Pearl Islands. Ojeda, who robbed the natives later, started a settlement on Cubagua,, which he named New Cadiz, but it was afterwards abandoned.

For some time Columbus had been suffering with fever and inflammation of the eyes, and gave his orders from a couch on deck. While ruminating over the strange phenomena he had observed, of which Marco Polo said nothing, and which neither the Ancient Philosophers nor the Holy Fathers could explain,

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his disordered and fevered fifteenth-century brain conceived that he now was near the apex of the earth, upon which was situated the Earthly Paradise, which none could enter except by Divine permission; that in this Eden was the Tree of Life, and from it issued the rivers of fresh water, which we now know as the mouths of the Orinoco. He was willing to concede that the Eastern hemisphere was perfectly round, as Ptolemy and others proved by the eclipses of the moon, "but this western half of the world, I maintain, is like the half of a very round pear, having a raised projection for the stalk, as I have already described, or like a woman's nipple on a very round ball."

On the morning of the 16th of August, the Admiral sailed out of the bay of *Cumana*, opposite the island of Margarita, and steered northwest for Santo Domingo (then called *Nueva Isabella*), the new town established by Don Bartolomé in 1496, on the south coast of Hispaniola, at the mouth of the Ozama river. Columbus had noted, on leaving the Dragon's Mouth, that a current set strongly to the west, but on turning from the coast he failed to allow for this drift, and found himself, on the evening of the 19th, off the island of Beata, fifty leagues west of the new capital of the Indies. Here he was joined by his brother Bartholomew, and together they arrived at Santo Domingo, August 30, 1498.

During the two years absence of the Viceroy, the thriftless and vicious Spaniards, who constituted a majority of the colonists, tired of robbing and maltreating the Indians, and rebelled against the rule of Columbus and his brothers. They were headed by Francisco Roldan, the *alcalde mayor*, or chief judge of the island, who, like the other Spaniards, did not relish the honors and authority conferred upon these foreigners. At the same time the enemies of Columbus in Spain—and they appear to have been numerous—aided and encouraged by Bishop Fonseca, who was in charge of all business relating to the Indies—besieged the Court with slanders and charges against him; and the King and Queen decided to send out Francisco de Bobadilla, commander of the military and religious order of Calatrava, to inquire into affairs on Hispaniola; and, if necessary, relieve Columbus of command.

After weary months of humiliating negotiations with Roldan, and the hanging of Moxica and several other renegades, the Viceroy succeeds in suppressing the revolt; but no sooner are things again peaceful and promising than Bobadilla arrives, and with as little sense as decency, places Columbus and his brothers in irons. Las Casas tells us that the shackles were put on the

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Admiral by one of his own servants, "a graceless and shameless cook. I knew the fellow, and I think his name was Espinosa." The first, and perhaps the greatest, Admiral of the Ocean Sea, the man who widened the intellectual as well as the physical world for mankind, and who had given an empire to the little kingdoms of Castile and Leon, was carried to Spain in chains.

During the voyage, or directly upon reaching Spain, Columbus wrote a beautiful letter to Doña Juana de la Torres, who had been *aya* or governess to the Infante, Prince Juan, and who was on intimate terms with Queen Isabella, giving a simple narrative of events on Hispaniola, and the wrongs he had suffered. It is one of the sanest documents he ever penned—nothing about Marco Polo, the Cham of Tartary, or a terrestrial Eden; and no golden promises impossible to fulfill. The Admiral arrived at Cadiz November 25, 1500, and this letter, probably with the connivance of Vallejo, was forwarded to Doña Juana, then with the Court at Granada, before the dispatches of Bobadilla; and in a short time Columbus and his brothers were released from arrest.

Ferdinand and Isabella were sorry for the way in which Columbus had been treated by Bobadilla, and renewed the assurance of their high appreciation and regard—but were careful not to restore him to his viceroyalty, or to revoke the general license, of 1495, permitting other navigators to explore and barter in the West Indies. Under this license, during 1499 and 1500, Alonso de Ojeda, with Amerigo Vespucci and Juan de la Cosa; Pedro Alonso Niño, with Cristoval Guerra; Vicente Yañez Pinzon, and Diego de Lepe, had followed the course laid down by the Admiral to Paria, and had discovered the coasts of Brazil, and Venezuela, westward of the island of Margarita; all returning to Spain with pearls or slaves. In October, 1500, just preceding the return of Columbus, Rodrigo de Bastidas had set sail for the Pearl Coast, with Juan de la Cosa as pilot, and having on board a bright young man by the name of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa.

Nor was Spain the only nation engaged in making voyages into unknown seas. The English Court, which had favored the initial voyage of Columbus, and pronounced his Discovery more divine than human, sent out John Cabot and his son Sebastian, in 1497, who returned in three months and reported finding land in the west; which probably was Labrador. In 1498, Sebastian Cabot again sailed to the west for Henry VII, and followed the shores of a continent south to near the latitude of Cuba.

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But most important of all was the voyage of Vasco da Gama, who sailed from Portugal in 1497, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and reached Calicut on the Malabar coast of Hindustan. By sailing to the east, around Africa, Gama had found the Spice Islands and people so long sought by Columbus in the west. King Emanuel of Portugal sent Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, in 1500, with a fleet, to follow up the work of Gama and start a Portuguese colony in India. Cabral had just sent back the intelligence, by one of his ships, that he had found land southwest of Cape de Verd Islands, lying east of the Pope's Line. This land was Brazil, which had been discovered two months before, January 20, 1500, by Pinzon; but the Pope's ruling, and a subsequent treaty between Spain and Portugal, gave the region to the latter.

These expeditions, particularly the return of Gama, in 1499, with the rich spoils of the East, tended to dim the fame of Columbus, and rob Spain of the wealth of India and Cathay. Accordingly, about the middle of 1501, the Admiral proposed another voyage to the King and Queen; and they were only too ready to enter into any scheme that might thwart the encroachments of their rival, Portugal.

In the meantime, Don Nicolas de Ovando, a militant priest of the Order of Alcántara, is made Governor and Judge of Hispaniola; and sails in great state, February 13, 1502, with thirty ships and twenty-five hundred people, to relieve the blundering Bobadilla, and establish the sovereignty of Spain more firmly in the West Indies.

While awaiting the preparation of his own modest squadron, the unstable mind of Columbus wanders off into mystic meditations, and he writes a treatise on the fulfillment of prophecies. The manuscript of *Los Libros de las Profecias*, though edited and commended by Fray Gaspar Gorrico, and dedicated to their Most Catholic Majesties, Ferdinand and Isabella, still awaits a publisher.

Copy of letter written to Nicoló Oderigo, at Genoa, by Christopher Columbus, concerning the bequests the latter had made to the Bank of St. George, in trust, to reduce the tax on corn, wine, and other provisions in his native city:

"Virtuous Sir:

"When I departed for the voyage from which I now come, I talked with you at length. I believe that you well remember all that was said then. I believed that on arriving I would find letters from you and a person with a message. Also at that time I left with Francisco de Ribarol a book of copies of letters and another book of my *Privileges* in a case of red Cordovan leather with a silver lock; and I left two letters for the Bank of St. George, to which I assigned the tenth of

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my revenue, for the reduction of taxes on wheat and other provisions. To nothing of this have I had any reply. Mr. Francisco says that everything reached there in safety. If there is discourtesy in the matter it was on the part of the gentlemen of St. George in not having replied, and their fortune is not increased thereby. And this is the reason for its being said that whoever serves all serves no one. Another book of my *Privileges* like the aforesaid I left in Cadiz with Franco Catonio, the bearer of this letter, that he might send it to you. Both were to be placed in safe-keeping wherever you might consider it best. I received a letter from the King and Queen my Lords, at the time of my departure. It is written there. Look at it and you will find it very good. Nevertheless Don Diego was not placed in possession according to the promise.

"During the time I was in the Indies I wrote to their Highnesses about my voyage, by three or four different ways. One letter was returned to me, and sealed as it was I send it to you with this. In another letter I send you the supplement to the description of the voyage, for you to give it to Mr. Juan Luis, together with the other letter of information, and I have written him that you will be the reader and interpreter of the letters. I would like to receive letters from you and desire that they speak cautiously of the purpose to which we have agreed.

"I arrived here very sick. At this time occurred the death of the Queen, my Lady, whom God has, without my seeing her. Up to the present I cannot tell you what will be the result of my achievements. I believe that her Highness will have provided well for me in her will and the King, my Lord, answers very well.

"Franco Catonio will tell you the rest at length. May our Lord have you in His keeping.

"From Seville, December 27, 1504.

"The High Admiral of the Ocean Sea, Viceory and Governor-General of the Indies, etc.

.S.
.S. A. S.
X M Y
Xp̄o Ferens'

[Showing the *rubrica* or peculiar signature of Columbus.]

CHAPTER VI
FOURTH VOYAGE
OF
COLUMBUS TO AMERICA
1502

Discovery of Central America and the Isthmus of Panama

"Push off, and sitting well in order, smite
The sounding furrows; for my purpose holds
To sail beyond the sunset, and the baths
Of all the Western stars, until I die."

Alfred Tennyson.



THE previous voyages of Columbus westward towards Asia were in search of land; his fourth and last voyage was undertaken to find a water passage, or strait, leading to the region of Cathay visited by Marco Polo; or which would pass south of Asia into the Indian Ocean.

The Admiral had found two mainlands, as he thought. To the north was Cuba, which he believed to be a part of Mangi (Cochin China); in the south was Paria, with the Garden of Eden somewhere on its more elevated parts. Between these two *Terrae Firmae* was an unexplored region in which the two mainlands either joined, forming one immense continent; or, what was more probable, they were separated by a body of water. When Columbus left the south coast of Cuba, in 1494, at a point three hundred and thirty-five leagues west of Cape Maisi, the coast to the westward turned to the south. The shores of Paria and his *Eden Terra Firma* (South America), extended indefinitely towards the west. Along this coast was a strong current setting to the west, and the same drift was observed as far north as *Hispaniola*. Besides, the lay of the islands was east and west, and the prevailing winds blew also in that direction. All these natural phenomena proved to the Admiral that the waters of the Western or Atlantic Ocean flowed through a strait between his two mainlands.

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This seems to be a point against the alleged voyage of Pinzon, Vespucci, Solis, and Ledesma, through the Yucatan Channel into the Gulf of Mexico and around Cuba, in 1497-8, which would have given Amerigo Vespucci a sight of the continent of America a year ahead of Columbus. If this voyage really occurred, and it was known that the westward-flowing currents of the Caribbean Sea found an outlet through the passage west of Cuba, a hundred miles in width, why did the Admiral dream of a strait to the southwest of Hispaniola, where the two continents would tend to approach each other? Columbus located this strait at about the Isthmus of Panama, where it was found, later, that the waters of the western and eastern oceans almost mingled. His unbridled imagination again held sway, and he planned to sail around the Golden Chersonese (Malacca) to the Spice Islands and the mouth of the Ganges, cross the Indian Ocean, double the Cape of Good Hope, and so back to Spain. The conception and planning of a circumnavigating voyage in 1494, and again at this time, are sufficient in themselves to mark Columbus as a man of exceptional talent.

With this end in view, he supplied himself with credentials to the Asiatic rulers, and the Portuguese officials he might encounter; and carried interpreters familiar with Arabic. As a result of this voyage, the Admiral expected increased riches for himself and family, and renewed his promise to their Majesties and Pope Alexander VI to equip a force and restore the Holy Sepulchre to the Christians.

Ferdinand and Isabella renewed their pledges to keep their contracts with Columbus, and the latter, before sailing, sent attested duplicates of all his grants and agreements to the Signory of his native city, Genoa, where they are still preserved.

For this, the last venture of Columbus, four vessels were chartered, named the *Capitana*, *Santiago de Palos*, *Gallego*, and *Vizcaina*, the largest of seventy tons, and the smallest of fifty tons burden. With these small vessels, more or less dilapidated, the Admiral proposed to sail around the world; but, as we shall see later, within a little more than a year the worm-eaten hulks of his entire fleet were strewn about the shores of the Carib Sea. The crews, men and boys, numbered one hundred and forty-one; and the Admiral's staff raised the complement to about one hundred and fifty souls. They were provisioned for two years, and carried goods for barter with the Indians. It was fortunate that Columbus was able to induce his brother Bartholomew, somewhat against his will, to go along as captain of one of the caravels.

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The Admiral asked and received permission to take with him his second son, Fernando, then scarcely fourteen years of age. Fernando Colon was of a literary turn of mind, and in after years wrote the biography of his father, to which we are indebted for the best account of the last voyage of Columbus.

The fleet sailed from Cadiz on the 9th of May, 1502; and on the 11th parted from St. Catherine and went to Arcila, a town on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, held by the Portuguese, and lately besieged by the Moors. The Admiral exchanged civilities with the wounded Governor, and was visited by some kinsmen of his dead wife, Doña Felipa. The same day he left for the Canary Islands, which he reached on the 20th, where the ships were supplied with wood and water. The night of May 25, 1502, the fleet set out for the Indies; on the 26th passed Ferro, and, "without handling the sails," was borne speedily by the trade-winds to the Caribbee Islands, arriving at Martinino on Wednesday, the 15th of June. Martinino was the "Island of Amazons," and is generally believed to be Martinique, the birth-place of the Empress Josephine, and the site of the volcanic eruption which destroyed St. Pierre. Here Columbus secured fresh water and wood, and made the men wash their clothes. On Saturday he resumed the voyage, passing Dominica, Santa Cruz, and the other islands; till, on the 24th, the fleet was sailing along the south side of *San Juan de Puerto Rico*.

"Thence we took the way for San Domingo, the Admiral having a mind to exchange one of his ships for another, because it was a bad sailer, and, besides, could carry no sail, but the side would lie almost under water, which was a hindrance to his voyage, because his design was to have gone directly upon the coast of Paria and keep along that shore till he came upon the strait, which he certainly concluded was about Veragua and Nombre de Dios. But, seeing the fault of the ship, he was forced to repair to San Domingo to change it for a better."

Columbus arrived off the mouth of the Ozama on the 29th of June, but did not enter the harbor, as he had been forbidden by the King to stop there; but from a little bay farther west he sent Pedro de Terreros, captain of the *Gallego*, to Governor Ovando to seek an exchange for his unseaworthy craft, or to purchase a new one. Ovando declined to aid Columbus, and likewise refused his request to shelter his caravels in the river from an impending storm. The large fleet brought out by the new Governor was just about to set sail for Spain, and the Admiral sent a second message to Ovando entreating him not to permit the fleet to leave the harbor under eight days. The

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warnings of the old Admiral were received with derision by the Governor and his pilots, and the big fleet stood bravely out to sea on its homeward journey. When barely clear of the island it was overtaken by a typical West Indian hurricane, and more than twenty of the ships foundered off the southeast end of Hispaniola, near the islet of Saona. Among those who perished were Bobadilla, Roldan, and other enemies of Columbus; Guarionex, cacique of the Vega Real; and many prisoners, both Indian and Spanish; besides 200,000 *castellanos* in gold, including the largest nugget ever found on Hispaniola. A few vessels¹ managed to get back to Santo Domingo, and only one, *La Aguja*, proceeded on to Spain. This was the worst ship in the fleet, and on it were four thousand *pesos* in gold and other goods belonging to the Admiral, collected by his agent, Carvajal.

Fernando Colon says that his father was much vexed "to behold the baseness and ingratitude used towards him in that country he had given to the honor and benefit of Spain, being refused to shelter his life in it." Three of the Admiral's vessels were driven from the shelter he had sought, and each thought the others lost; but all came together again at Azua, about sixty miles west of Santo Domingo, on the Sunday following. Each gave an account of his misfortunes, when it appeared that Bartolomé Colon, on the *Bermuda*,² "had weathered so great a storm by flying from land like an able sailor, and that the Admiral was out of danger by lying close to the shore, like a cunning astrologer, who knew whence the danger must come." The common Spaniards held that Columbus had used "art magic" to overthrow his enemies; Las Casas considered the tempest a Divine judgment; and Columbus believed that he had been preserved by the Lord for still other accomplishments.

The Admiral remained in Azua, or Puerto Hermoso, long enough for his men to rest and repair damages to the caravels.

¹ On one of the vessels escaping the storm was Rodrigo de Bastidas, arrested by Bobadilla, and being carried to Spain for trial.

² The name "*Bermuda*," as one of the ships, is used only by Fernando Colon, and does not appear in the official list given at the end of this chapter. Several conjectures are allowable: In spite of the opposition of Ovando, Columbus may have succeeded in exchanging for another vessel at Santo Domingo; or, the "*Santiago*" may have been so-called after the master, Francisco Bermudez; or, Bermuda may have been the name of the *Capitana*, which means simply the flagship. The Admiral was getting old, and in bad health, and may have changed his flag from a rough sailer to a smoother ship; assigning his skillful brother to command the poor sailer.

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When at leisure they went fishing, and one day caught a manatee, or sea-calf. Columbus then went to sea again, and laid his course for Jamaica; but ran into another storm, and put into the port of Brazil, now Jacmel, Haiti. On the 14th of July he made another start, and two days later arrived at the Pozas or Morant keys, off the Jamaican coast, where he collected water from puddles (*pozas*) made in the sand.

The Admiral then steered west-southwest in the direction of the supposed strait, but the wind was so light and the currents so strong that, on the 24th, he found himself again among the Queen's Gardens, along the southern shore of Cuba. Believing, as he did, that the south coast of Cuba continued in a southerly direction, Columbus now headed south-southwest; and, on July 30, 1502, reached an inhabited island called *Guanaja*. This is now known as Bonacao, or Bonacca, one of the bay islands lying north of Truxillo, Honduras.

Don Bartolomé landed on Guanaja, and interviewed the Indians, whose chief was named Imibe. They had very low foreheads, but differed but little from the other natives already encountered.

On the way back to the ships, two canoes are seen coming along the island from the west, which are captured without resistance and brought to the flagship. One canoe is eight feet wide, and as long as a galley. It was propelled by a score of paddlers, and in the stern, beneath a neatly thatched canopy, sat the *cacique*, surrounded by his females and children. He seemed to be on a trading voyage, for the canoe was loaded with many articles, all strange to the Spaniards. There were cotton cloaks and tunics finely worked and dyed; hatchets, cups, and bells made of copper; crucibles for melting metals; knives chipped from obsidian; wooden swords, edged with sharp flints; and vessels of stone, clay, and wood. They carried bread made from roots and maize, and a beer concocted from the latter; also a store of *cacao* (chocolate) beans, for food and money, which the Spaniards thought were a new variety of almond.

It was obvious at a glance that here was a superior race, much in advance of the Indians of Cuba, Hispaniola, and Paria. Both men and women wore clothes, and were modest in demeanor. Fernando Colon says that the females covered their bodies and faces as completely as the Moorish women of Granada. Columbus thought that at last he was nearing the precincts of the Grand Khan.

By the use of signs and the Haitian dialect, the Spaniards

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understood that these people came from a country nine days' journey to the west, called Ciguaré, where gold, coral, pearls, and spices abounded. The King possessed ships, cannon, and animals, which were believed to be horses. Ciguaré was on another ocean, and ten days beyond was a river called the Ganges—so it was understood.

“This moved the Admiral to use them well, to restore their canoe, and give them some things in exchange for those that had been taken from them. Nor did he keep any one of them, but an old man, whose name was Giumba, who seemed to be the wisest and chief of them, to learn something of him concerning the country, and that he might draw others to converse with the Christians, which he did very readily and faithfully all the while we sailed where his language was understood. Therefore, as a reward for his services, when we came where he was not understood, the Admiral gave him some things, and sent him home very well pleased.”

From Guanaja, Columbus sailed toward land faintly visible in the south, about forty miles away, and found a cape, which he christened Caxinas. This is now known as Cape Honduras, and was a turning point not only in the voyage, but also in the destiny of Columbus. From here the land extended east and west, and when the old Indian was asked where the gold came from, he pointed to the east, and thereby saved his country, Yucatan, from the Spaniards until 1517, when it was discovered by Francisco Hernandez de Cordova, under the pilotage of Antonio de Alaminos, who was with Columbus on this voyage. Cordova was followed the next year by Grijalva, who went to Tabasco and San Juan de Ulloa (Vera Cruz); and, in 1519, Hernando Cortes landed at the latter place and began the conquest of Mexico. The nearest Columbus came to a culture-stage approximating that of the Grand Khan was his sight of the canoe-load of Mayan products at Guanaja.

As another reason for turning eastward, advocates of the alleged Pinzon-Vespucci-Solis-Ledesma voyage of 1497 claim that the Admiral knew, at this time, that Cuba was an island; and that Ledesma, who was now with Columbus, assured him there was no strait to the west. Inasmuch as both Pinzon and Ledesma testified, in 1513, in the lawsuit of Diego Colon against the Crown, that they entered the Gulf of Mexico after the Admiral's search for a strait, I shall continue to think that Columbus believed Point Caxinas to be continuous on the west with the south coast of Cuba, and that only to the eastward could a passage exist.

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Anyhow, Columbus followed the coast to the east, which seemed like turning back to the Caribbee Islands, on the route to Spain. He met a storm, and sheltered his ships for a few days behind Point Caxinas. The natives were friendly, and on Sunday, the 14th of August, the *padre* and crews held mass on shore. The Indians called their country *Maia*, and on the 17th the Adelantado took possession for Spain, at a stream which he called the River of Possession, now known as Black river. Some of the natives wore cotton jackets and head-dress, and painted their bodies with the figures of animals in red or black. In this same region were Indians who made such large holes in the lobes of their ears that Columbus called that part *La Costa de la Oreja* (The Coast of the Ear).

For seventy days the little fleet fought against head winds and contrary currents, and made only sixty leagues. During this time there was one continuation of rain, thunder, and lightning, and neither sun nor stars were seen. The vessels opened their seams, the sails were in rags, and anchors, rigging, boats, and provisions were lost. The Admiral fell ill, and the sailors meek and humble in spirit, so that they confessed their sins one to another.

"Other tempests there have been, but none which lasted so long or caused such fear."

On the 14th of September the ships rounded a narrow point, from which the land turned due south. This brought the wind on the quarter, and the weather improved; in gratitude of which, Columbus named the cape *Gracias á Dios* (Thanks to God). By the 16th they had sailed sixty-two leagues in this direction; when, being in need of wood and water, the boats were sent up a deep river in search of them. On coming back, one of the boats was overturned while crossing the bar and the crew lost. This disaster led the Admiral to call the river *El Rio del Desastre*.

Columbus continued to sail southward along the Mosquito coast of Nicaragua. On Sunday, the 25th of September, the fleet anchored by a little island near the mainland, opposite the mouth of a river, where was situated an Indian village called Cariari. The name of the island was Quiriviri; but, from the abundance of its fruits, the Admiral called it *La Huerta*, or the Orchard. Besides bananas and cocoanuts, there was a fragrant and luscious fruit which he mistook for the mirabolane of the East Indies. The main shore was covered with beautiful forests extending back to cloud-capped mountains.

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The Indians gathered under arms, and made hostile demonstrations against the Spaniards; but, soon seeing no harm was intended, they swam out to the ships and offered to barter cotton gowns and ornaments of *guanin*, or pale gold. Columbus gave them presents, but would not trade, hoping they would produce more valuable possessions.

When the Spaniards made a landing, on the following Wednesday, they found all their gifts neatly tied up and lying on the beach. This was an intimation that they would receive nothing except in what they considered fair trade, and was an unusual exhibition of independence by such primitive people. To further propitiate the strangers, they sent two girls, of not too modest demeanor, to Columbus, who promptly clothed them in Castilian garments, and returned them to the shore. This won the confidence of the Indians, so that when the Adelantado went ashore the next day, two of their principal men waded out to his boat and carried him to land. When he questioned them, the notary, Diego de Porras, began to take notes, which so alarmed the Indians that they fled in terror, and only returned after burning a sweet-smelling powder and blowing the fumes over the white men, as if to nullify some evil spirit.

These Indians were more advanced than those of Haiti and the other islands. Their houses were better constructed, and in some were seen the mummified corpses of chiefs and relatives. The women wore their hair short, but the men had long braids wound about the head. Both sexes wore some clothing, and ornaments of *guanin*, from mines in the interior. They stated that more gold was found in the country of Carabarú (or Caravaró), adjoining them on the south. Columbus seized two men for guides, which the Indians vainly tried to redeem with two peccaries; and, on October 5th, he left Cariari and sailed south-east along what is now called Costa Rica. The "crocodiles," monkeys, and shrubbery remind Columbus of descriptions of the East Indies by Pliny and Marco Polo, and he thinks he is approaching the Ganges.

There is considerable similarity about scenes in the tropics, and at many ports in the Caribbean we find the mouth of a river, a small island near the shore, and the same green vegetation the whole year round. Hence, it is not always easy to identify the places visited by Columbus and the early explorers. Most writers state that Bluefields, Nicaragua, corresponds to the *Cariari* of Columbus; while others say it was Greytown (*San Juan del Norte*). The Admiral and Fernando write that in one day's sail, of some twenty-two leagues, they arrived at

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the bay of *Carambaru*, easily identified as Almirante Bay, Panama. Now, Bluefields is almost three degrees, and Greytown nearly two degrees of latitude from Almirante Bay; and the difference in longitude from both places is one degree and a half. In order to examine the coast, Columbus sailed only by day; and if we consider the short Spanish league, the miserable condition of the caravels, and the constant complaints of head winds and currents, we are forced to locate Cariari much nearer to Almirante Bay than either Bluefields or Greytown. Reckoning the twenty-two leagues as about fifty-five miles, and remembering that the vessels were poor sailers against wind and tide, and that so good a seaman as was Columbus would sail cautiously through the islands about Almirante Bay and the Chiriqui Lagoon, the distance traveled by daylight would not be over sixty miles. This would place Cariari at *Puerto Limon*, Costa Rica, where are found a small island near the shore, a river, and mountains in the background.

Columbus anchored in the bay still known by his rank of Admiral, and sent boats to the islands, where they obtained some ornaments, and heard of a much better place to trade, a few miles farther on. The same day the ships got under way and passed through a narrow channel to a larger bay to the south and east, which the Indians called *Aburena*, now known as the *Laguna de Chiriqui*. Here the Spaniards found a profusion of golden ornaments in the shape of eagles, frogs, tigers, and other animals, and also worn as coronets, armlets, and plates hung about the neck. These last Columbus calls *espejos de oro*, or golden mirrors, and were, no doubt, used as such. Many of these images have been recovered from the *guacas*, or old graves, and can be seen in our principal museums, together with stone implements and the beautiful pottery obtained from the same sources. The writer has several of these golden figures, which he secured when in this region. Pedro de Ledesma, a pilot with Columbus, states that eighty canoes gathered about the ships at one place, the occupants eager to exchange their gold for hawk-bells and needles.

Most of this time the Admiral suffered from what has been called the gout, and directed his fleet from his couch. His brother Bartholomew, the Adelantado, and the captains visited the islands and the main shore, bartering with the natives. Repairs were made, and on one of the islands, yet known as Careening Cay, the ships were careened and cleaned. Columbus inquired about his strait, and the natives told of another sea on the south, and a "narrow place" leading to it. The

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Indians were perfectly honest, and meant to indicate that another great water (the Pacific Ocean) existed beyond a narrow strip of land (the Isthmus of Panama). The mind of the Admiral is fixed on a strait, and he interprets the "narrow place" as water and not land; the Strait of Malacca, which will carry him into the Indian Ocean. He understood that the strait was a little farther on, in the direction of regions called *Veragua*, and *Cobija* (*Cubigá*), where gold was even more plentiful than where they then were.

On October 17, Columbus departed from Aburena (Chiriquí Lagoon), taking with him two of the natives as additional guides. He followed the coast toward *Veragua*, and found it turning now to the east. After sailing about twelve leagues, the fleet came to a river called *Guaiga*, where "the Admiral commanded the boats to go ashore, which as they were doing, they saw above a hundred Indians on the strand, who assaulted them furiously, running up to the middle into the water, brandishing their spears, blowing horns, and beating a drum in warlike manner, to defend their country, throwing the salt water towards the Christians, chewing herbs and spurning it towards them." Through the interpreters the Spaniards appeased the natives, and relieved them of sixteen gold plates they had about their necks, worth a hundred and fifty ducats. The next day, being Friday, the 19th of October, the boats went to land again to barter, and were received in the same hostile manner; when, not wishing to be despised by the Indians, the Christians wounded one in the arm with an arrow, and fired a cannon, which so frightened them that they parted with three more golden plates.

The Admiral was content to get samples of what these parts afforded, and proceeded on his quest of a pass. His next stop was in the mouth of a great river, called *Catiba*, where the warriors assembled at the sound of conchs and tom-toms to repel the white men. Diplomacy again prevailed, and the Spaniards landed and found the King, "who differed in nothing from the rest but that he was covered with one leaf of a tree, because at that time it rained hard." Here they secured nineteen plates of pure gold. Fernando Colon further says: "This was the first place in the Indies where they saw any sign of a structure [masonry], which was a great mass of wall, or imagery, that to them seemed to be of lime and stone: the Admiral ordered a piece of it to be brought away as a memorial of that antiquity."

The fleet continued eastward and came to *Cobrava*, and the

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wind being fresh, Columbus held on his course, "and went on to five towns of great trade, among which was *Veragua*, where the Indians said the gold was gathered, and the plates made."

"The next day he came to a town, called Cubiga [or Cobija], where the Indians of Cariari said the trading country ended, which began at Carabora [Caravaró, or Almirante Bay], and ran as far as Cubiga, for fifty leagues along the coast."

"The Admiral, without making any stay, went on till he put into *Puerto Bello*, giving it that name because it is large, beautiful, well peopled, and encompassed by a well-cultivated country. He entered this place on the 2d of November [1502], passing between two small islands, within which the ships may lie close to the shore, and turn it out if they have occasion. The country about that harbor, higher up, is not very rough, but tilled and full of houses, a stone's throw or a bow shot one from the other; and it looks like the finest landscape a man can imagine. During seven days we continued there, on account of the rain and ill weather, there came continually canoes from all the country about to trade for provisions and bottoms of fine spun cotton, which they gave for some trifles, such as points and pins."

"On Wednesday, the 9th of November, we sailed out of Porto Bello, eight leagues to the eastward; but the next day were forced back four leagues by stress of weather, and put in among the islands near the continent, where is now the town of Nombre de Dios; and because all those small islands were full of grain, he called it Puerto de Bastimentos; that is, the Port of Provisions."

At this place a boat pursued a canoe full of Indians and failed to catch even one of them after they took to the water; "or if it did happen to overtake one, he would dive like a duck, and come up again a bow shot or two from the place."

Columbus remained at Bastimentos, mending his ships, until the 23d, when he sailed east to a place called Guaiga, "there being another of the same name between *Veragua* and *Cerago*." [Caravaró, or Almirante Bay]. Here were found three hundred Indians on the beach, "ready to trade for such provisions as they have, and some small things of gold they wore hanging at their ears and noses." The Admiral made no stay here, and Saturday, the 24th of November, on account of rough weather, put into a little cove, which he named *Retrete*, "that is, Retired Place, because it could not contain above five or six ships together, and the mouth of it was not above fifteen or twenty paces over, and on both sides of it rocks appearing

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above the water as sharp as diamonds, and the channel between them was so deep that they found no bottom." The fleet continued here during nine days of bad weather. The Indians were friendly, but the Christians stole away from the ships, and, "like covetous, dissolute men, committed a thousand insolences," which brought on some skirmishes between them. The vessels were so near the shore, and the natives so threatening, that Columbus ordered some cannon fired to terrify them; but they had become skeptical of the heavenly origin of the white men, and answered with shouts and defiant gestures. "Therefore, to abate their pride, and make them not contemn the Christians, the Admiral caused a shot to be made at a company of them that was got together upon a hillock, and the ball falling in the midst of them, made them sensible there was a thunder-bolt, as well as thunder; so that for the future they durst not appear even behind the mountains."

Perceiving he could make no progress against the violent east and northeast winds, the Admiral determined to run back to Veragua and investigate for himself the richness of the mines. On Monday, the 5th of December, he left *El Retrete*,³ and that night was back again at *Puerto Bello*, ten leagues to the west. The next day he continued his course; but, instead of being hurried along by the strong east winds which he had combatted for the last three months, he now faced gales from the west, which led Columbus to call this the Coast of Changing Winds—*Costa de Contrastes*. The Admiral, in his letter to the King and Queen, says:

"For nine days I wandered as one lost, without hope of salvation. Never have eyes seen the sea so high and ugly, or so much foam. The wind was not available for making headway, and did not permit us to run for any shelter. There I was, held in that sea turned into blood and seething like a cauldron upon a huge fire. So awesome a sky was never seen; for a day and a night it blazed like a furnace, vomiting forth sheets and bolts of lightning, until, after each one, I looked to see whether it had not carried away my masts and sails. With such frightful fury they fell upon us that we all believed the ships would founder. During the whole time the water never ceased falling from the skies; not in what would be called rain, but rather as though another Deluge were upon us. My people were already so

³ Puerto del Retrete, afterwards called Escribanos, was the Port Scrivan of English writers of buccaneer history. This description by Fernando Colon tallies with that by Lionel Wafer, surgeon of the Buccaneers.



From Herrera, *Historia General*, dec. 1.

COLUMBUS ENCOUNTERS GREAT STORMS OFF VERAGUA. HIS BROTHER, DON BARTOLOMÉ COLON, FIRST ADELANTADO OF THE INDIES.

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worn out that they courted death, to be free from such continued martyrdom. The ships, for the second time, lost boats, anchors, cables, and sails, and were leaking. When it was our Lord's pleasure, I sought Puerto Gordo, and there repaired as well as I could."

His son Fernando, who was with him, graphically describes the dangers of the sea when he writes: "For in such dreadful storms, they dread the fire in flashes of lightning, the air for its fury, the water for the terrible waves, and the earth for the hidden rocks and sands which sometimes a man meets with near the port where he hoped for safety, and not knowing them, chooses rather to contend with the other elements in whom he has less share."

Don Fernando further relates that on Tuesday, the 13th of December, they were in danger of a water-spout, but dissolved it by saying the Gospel of St. John. That same night they lost sight of the *Biscaina*, and did not see her again for three dreadful days. A day's calm gave the men a little rest, but brought multitudes of sharks, dreadful to behold, especially for the superstitious. Nevertheless, they catch some, and are glad to eat the meat, instead of the mouldy biscuits infested with maggots. Many of the seamen waited till night to eat their pottage that they might not see the maggots; "and others were so used to eat them that they did not mind to throw them away when they saw them, because they might lose their supper if they were so very curious."

Father and son call the same place by different names. The Admiral generally uses the name he gave the port, and Fernando cites the Indian designation, which, with erroneous dates, cause some confusion between the two accounts. The *Puerto Gordo* of Columbus is usually stated to be Puerto Bello; but I figure it to be our Limon (Colon) Bay, three leagues east of *Pennon*, which I identify with the mouth of the Chagres river.

Fernando Colon calls Puerto Gordo, *Huiva*, and this is what he says about it: "Upon Saturday, the 17th, the Admiral put into a port three leagues east of *Pennon*, which the Indians called *Huiva*. It was like a great bay, where we rested three days, and going ashore, saw the inhabitants dwell upon the tops of trees, like birds, laying sticks across from bough to bough, and building huts upon them rather than houses. Though we knew not the reason of this strange custom, yet we guessed it was done for fear of the griffins there are in that country, or of enemies; for all along that coast the people at every league distance are great enemies to one another."

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The fleet sailed from Huiva on the 20th, and immediately encountered another tempest, which drove them into "another port," whence they departed again the third day. Contrary winds again drove them back and forth between Pennon and Veragua, and "not daring to encounter the opposition of Saturn," as indicated by the almanac, the Admiral put into "that port where we had been before on Thursday, the 12th of the same month." Columbus writes: "This was on Christmas day, about the hour of mass."

Writers commonly say that the Admiral again sought shelter in Puerto Bello, but I believe this port was the Pennon of Don Fernando, which I reckon to be the mouth of the Chagres. Here the Spaniards spent the last of the old and the first of the new year. They repaired the ship called *Gallega*, and took aboard abundance of Indian wheat (maize), water and wood. On the 3d of January, 1503, they made another start for Veragua.

"Upon Thursday, being the Feast of the Epiphany,⁴ we cast anchor near a river which the Indians call *Yebra* [also written *Hiebra*], and the Admiral named *Belem*, or *Bethlem*, because we came to that place upon the feast of the three Kings. He caused the mouth of that river, and of another westward, to be sounded; the latter the Indians call Veragua, where he found but shoal water, and in that of Belem four fathom at high water." On the bar of the Rio Belen, however, there were but ten palms (eighty-inches) of water; but the two smaller caravels, the flagship, and the *Biscaina*, manage to cross it, and enter the river on January 9th; followed the next day, at high tide, by the other two vessels. This was fortunate, as it again turned stormy; which would have prevented crossing the bar.

A short distance within the river was a village, the Indians of which assembled to hinder the landing of the Christians; but they were soon pacified, and bartered fish and gold for pins and the little bells they loved so much. The third day after reaching Belen the Admiral sent his brother, the Adelantado, around by sea in boats to the Veragua river, one league to the west, where dwelt the *Quibian* (called *Quibio* by Don Fernando), or head chief of the Indians of this region. The chieftain and his warriors come down the river in canoes to meet the strangers, and fight if necessary, but the Indian guides from up the coast tell him about the Spaniards, and he receives

⁴ January 6th, 1503. The Admiral called the port Belen, "because the day on which the Wise Men found shelter in that Holy Place."

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Don Bartolomé in a dignified and friendly manner.⁵ Gifts are exchanged, and the Quibian and his people parted with twenty golden plates, or mirrors, some tubes of gold, and nuggets of native gold, which they said were collected upon remote and rough mountains, "and that when they gathered it they did not eat, nor carry women along with them, which same thing the people of Hispaniola said when it was first discovered." Next day the Quibian returned the visit, and discoursed about an hour with the Admiral, aboard his ship.

Columbus relates that it rained continuously until February 14th; but on Wednesday, the 24th of January, the Belen river rose so suddenly that the Spaniards believed some great shower had fallen on the mountains of Veragua, "which the Admiral called St. Christopher's, because the highest of them was above the region of the air where meteors are bred; for no cloud was ever seen above, but all below it." This flood drove the *Capitana* foul of the *Gallega*, lying astern, bringing the foremast by the board, and nearly wrecking both ships. It also partly filled up the channel with sand and silt, so that the vessels could not now leave the river if they wished to do so. The bad weather continued for some time, during which they caulked and repaired the ships.

When it turned calmer, on Monday, the 6th of February, Don Bartolomé, with sixty-eight men, started out in the rain, and rowed by sea to the Veragua river. A league and a half up this stream he arrived at the village of the Quibian, who received the Adelantado hospitably, and entertained him the next day with accounts of the mines. "On Wednesday they

⁵ Of the Quibian, Bancroft writes as follows: "He is tall, well-modelled, and compactly built, with restless searching eyes, but otherwise expressionless features, taciturn and dignified, and, for a savage, of exceptionally bland demeanor. We shall find him as politic as he is powerful; and as for his wealth, unfortunately for him, his domain includes the richest gold mines of that rich coast. On the whole, the Quibian is as fine a specimen of his race as the adelantado is of his. And thus they are fairly met, the men of Europe and the men of North America; and as in the gladiatorial combat, which opens with a smiling salutation, this four-century life-struggle begins with friendly greetings. Pity it is, they are outwardly not more evenly matched; pity it is, that the European with his civilization, saltpetre, Christianity and bloodhounds, his steel weapons, and strange diseases, should be allowed to do his robbery so easily! But ravenous beasts and bloody bipeds are so made that they do not hesitate to take advantage of the helpless; it is only civilized man, however, that calls his butcherings by pleasant names, such as progress, piety, and makes his religion and his law conform to his heart's unjust desires."

History of Cent. Amer., Vol. 1., p. 219.

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traveled four leagues and a half, and came to lie near a river, which they passed forty-four times, and the next day advanced a league and a half towards the mines shewed them by Indians sent by Quibio to guide them. In two hours time after they came thither every man gathered some gold about the roots of the trees which were there very thick and of a prodigious height. This sample was much valued, because none of those that went had any tools to dig, or had ever gathered any. Therefore, the design of their journey being only to get information of the mines, they returned very well pleased that same day to Veragua, and the next to the ships."

Only those of my readers who have hiked and scrambled through the jungles of the Isthmus can picture these poor, tired white men, many no doubt in cuirass and helmet, carrying sword, buckler, arquebus, and cross-bow, toiling and sweating after their fleet-footed guides. It is probable that the Quibian had heard of the doings of the Spaniards in Haiti, and he was wise enough to conduct them out of his own domain, and show the mines belonging to his enemy, the chief of *Urirá* (*Hurirá*). From an elevation the guides pointed out the mineral lands of the other chieftains, and proclaimed that at the end of twenty days' journey to the westward one would still be among them.

The report of his brother was so confirmatory of the wealth of this region that Columbus determined to leave a garrison to hold the country; while he went back to Spain for reinforcements. He believed that the gold of Veragua would fully atone with Ferdinand for his failure to find a strait leading to India. In his letters to the King and Queen, from aboard his water-logged wrecks on the shores of Jamaica, in the following July, the Admiral writes:

"One thing I can venture upon stating, because there are so many witnesses of it, viz: that in this land of Veragua I saw more signs of gold in the two first days than I saw in Española during four years, and that there is not a more fertile or better cultivated country in all the world, nor one whose inhabitants are more timid; added to which there is a good harbor, a beautiful river, and the whole place is capable of being easily put in a state of defense."

In that same letter he contended that the mines of Aurea were identical with those of Veragua, from which, according to Josephus, came the gold left by David to Solomon wherewith to build the Temple. Columbus further adds: "They say that when one of the lords of the country of Veragua dies, they bury all the gold he possessed with his body."

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On Thursday, the 14th of February, Don Bartolomé, with forty men on shore and fourteen more in a boat, made a reconnoissance along the coast to the west, to see if he could find a better site than the Belen river for a settlement. The next day the party reached the river of *Urirá*, seven leagues from Belen; and the cacique of that territory came a league from his town to meet the white men, and offer them provisions and golden plates. "Whilst they were here the cacique and chief men never ceased putting a dry herb into their mouths and chewing it, and sometimes they took a sort of powder they carried with that herb, which looks very odd." Christians and Indians went together to the village of the latter, where the Spaniards were given abundance of food and a great house to lie in.

While at *Urirá* the chief of the neighboring town of *Dururi* called upon the Adelantado, and his people "trucked" some gold plates for European trifles. These Indians said that further on were caciques who had plenty of gold and abundance of men armed like the Spaniards. The following day Don Bartolomé ordered a part of his men to return by land to the ships, and he, with thirty he kept with him, journeyed to *Zobrabá* (*Cobrava*), "where the fields for about six leagues were all full of maize." Thence he went to *Catebá* (*Cotiba*), another town, where he was well entertained, and exchanged trinkets for the golden plates they wore hanging from a string about the neck.

Finding no port, nor any river bigger than the Belen, the Adelantado returned on the 24th, and so reported to the Admiral. Accordingly, Columbus gave orders to establish his colony on the River Belen, "about a cannon shot from the mouth of it, within a trench that lies on the right hand, coming up the river, at a mouth of which there is a little hill."

A large storehouse was constructed, in which were placed provisions, goods for barter with the Indians, and several pieces of cannon and ammunition. About this building eight or ten huts were erected, made of timber and covered with palm leaves. Columbus gave the command of the settlement to his brother, Don Bartolomé, and eighty men, more than half the number on the ships, were assigned to remain as a garrison. The ship *Gallega* was left for the use of the Adelantado, with a lot of fishing tackle on her, besides the stores of wine, biscuit, oil, vinegar, cheese, and much grain.

All things were now settled for the Christian colony, but the mouth of the river remained so choked up with sand that the Admiral could not depart with his ships. The natives, of course, noted the actions of the Spaniards, and understood their

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intention to stay in their country. Gifts were liberally distributed to the Quibian and his people, and, apparently, all was peaceful.

Columbus was a poor judge of human nature, and was never alert to evil designs of either white men or red men; but not so Diego Mendez, the notary of the fleet. In the latter's will, made in Valladolid in June, 1536, he tells how he observed a number of canoes passing the mouth of the Belen, going always in the direction of Veragua; which suspicious incident he reported to the Admiral. He then led a boat-load of armed men after the canoes, and came upon a thousand dusky warriors on the seashore between the two rivers. The Indians explained their gathering by saying they were about to attack the people of Cobrara Aurira (Cobravá); but when Mendez offered to join them they declined so promptly that he was convinced the real point of attack was the new settlement on the Belen.

Next day, with only Rodrigo de Escobar to accompany him, Mendez made a scout on foot. At the mouth of the Veragua he met two canoes filled with strange Indians, who warned him that in two days the Veraguans intended to attack the white men and burn their houses. Nothing daunted, the notary bribed these Indians to paddle him up the river to the royal house of the Quibian, which he found on a hilltop, occupying the side of a plaza surrounded by the heads of three hundred of his enemies. The King claimed to be suffering from an arrow wound in the leg, and Mendez pretended to be a surgeon come to heal him. Exhibiting a box of ointment, and boldly approaching the entrance of the royal household, he was met by the Quibian's son, who angrily pushed him away. Mendez then calmly took a seat, brought forth comb, scissors, and mirror, and directed Escobar to trim his hair. This performance first astonishes, then charms the surrounding natives. The young chieftain begs to have his hair cut likewise, and when presented with the cunning instruments he and Mendez part in seeming friendship.

Don Fernando does not mention this ridiculous and foolhardy adventure; but, even if true, I fail to see what benefit resulted from it.

It being evident that the Quibian intended to attack the Spaniards, it was thought fit to seize him and his principal men and send them to Spain. On March 30th the Adelantado, with seventy-six men, went to the village of Veragua. The Quibian sent him word not to come up to his house; but Don Bartolomé,

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with only five men, kept on to the entrance thereof, where another messenger bid him not to enter; that the Quibian, though wounded, would make his appearance.

"Accordingly he came and sat at the door, bidding only the lieutenant come near him, who did so, ordering the rest to fall on as soon as he laid hold of his arm." Through an Indian he had taken along, the Adelantado questioned the chieftain concerning his indisposition, and, pretending to look at the wound, grasped him securely. His companions hurried to the assistance of Don Bartolomé, and Mendez fired his musket, which scared the Indians, and called up the main body of the Spaniards.

Besides the Quibian, a number of his captains, wives, and children were captured, "and never a one wounded, for they, seeing their King taken, would make no resistance." The natives, amid great lamentation, offer a great treasure to be set free; but the Adelantado hurried his prisoners to the boats to be carried back to the ships. The captives were placed in charge of Juan Sanchez de Cadiz, a pilot of good reputation, who volunteered for the honor. Sanchez was cautioned not to allow the cacique to escape, and he boastingly answered "he would give them leave to pull off his beard if he got from him. So he took him into his custody, and went down the river of Veragua. Being come within half a league of the mouth of it, and Quibio complaining that his hands were too hard bound, Juan Sanchez, out of compassion, loosed him from the seat of the boat to which he was tied, and held the rope in his hand. A little after, Quibio observing he did not mind him, threw himself into the water; and Juan Sanchez, not being able to hold fast the rope, let go that he might not draw him after into the water. Night coming on, and those in the boat being all in a confusion, they could not see or hear where he got ashore, so that they heard no more of him than if a stone had fallen into the water. That the like might not happen with the rest of the prisoners, they held on their way to the ships with much shame for their carelessness and oversight."

The Adelantado, with the greater part of his men, remained at Veragua to pursue the Indians; but finding their houses far apart, and the country woody and mountainous, he returned to Belen on the following day. The gold plates, coronets, eagles, and little quills plundered from the Quibian's house, amounting to three hundred ducats, were presented to the Admiral, who, after deducting the royal fifth, divided the remainder among the members of that expedition, the Adelantado, in token of victory, receiving one of the golden twists, or

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coronets. This was an exhibition of generosity so rare as to be almost unique. Indeed, the illiberality of the Admiral—conscientiousness you may choose to call it—was one of the reasons for his unpopularity with his men.

Neither Columbus nor his brother anticipated trouble from the escape of the Quibian, and the colony being provided for, the Admiral resolved to depart for Hispaniola, from whence to send supplies to Belen. With the advent of the rainy season, early in April, the river cut a channel through the bar, and the Admiral took advantage of a calm day to lighten his three ships and tow them out of the river, each keel scraping the loose sands as it went out. The unladed goods were then brought off in the boats, and the ships anchored a league from the mouth of the Belen, awaiting a fair wind.

While most of the garrison were at work with the vessels, and bidding their comrades good-bye, the Adelantado was left at Belen with only about twenty men. Their experience with the timid Haitians caused the Spaniards to underestimate the valor of the Veraguans, and no one was on guard to sound warning of danger. This gave the Quibian, who had not drowned, as many supposed, a fine opportunity to attack the reduced garrison and destroy the settlement. The dense jungle had not been cut away around the huts, and concealed the Indians until they were directly upon the Spaniards, and had fired a volley of arrows. Four or five of the little band were wounded at the start, but the Adelantado, being a man of great resolution, seized a spear and led his men against the enemy, forcing them to the woods. The Indians fought with large wooden swords (*macanas*), and cast their javelins like in the Spanish sport called *Juego de Cañas*, but fled from the Christians after feeling the edge of their swords, and the teeth of a dog which furiously assailed them.

Don Fernando tells us one Spaniard was killed and seven wounded, including his uncle, the Adelantado, who was hurt in the breast by a javelin. During the fighting Diego Tristan, captain of the flagship, came in the river, with a dozen men, in two boats, to get a supply of fresh water. When called by his countrymen, he refused to help them, and would not even go near the shore for fear, as he said, they would rush on the boats and swamp them, and all perish, besides leaving the Admiral without any boats. In spite of his refusal to aid them, those on shore warned him not to go up the river; that the woods were full of Indians; but Tristan said his orders were to get water, and up the river he would go. That was

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the last seen of the selfish and stubborn, but brave, captain. Shortly after, pieces of the boats came floating down the river, together with the corpses of some of his men, each attended by a lot of vultures.

The next day Juan de Noya, of Seville, one of the pilots of the *Viscaino*, badly wounded, came crawling into the settlement, the sole survivor of the unfortunate party. He told how they had been attacked, about a league above the colony, by a multitude of Indians in canoes, who cast their javelins from all sides and made a most hideous noise with their horns. Captain Tristan fought bravely, being wounded in many places, till at last a spear pierced his eye, and he fell dead. In the height of the fray Juan tumbled out of his boat and swam under water to the shore, without being observed by the Indians, and so saved his life.

The situation of the small party at Belen was now extremely critical, and they would have left the river on the *Gallego* had not the heavy surf again filled the channel with sand. Neither they nor the Admiral had a boat capable of crossing the bar, and the two parties were miles apart and invisible to each other.

Flushed with victory, the Quibian again turned his attention to Belen. The jungle resounded to the noise of war-drums and conchs, and for several days he besieged the handful of white men. When almost exhausted, the latter abandoned their buildings and moved to an open beach to the eastward, close by the caravel, where a breastwork was made with the casks and stores, and the cannon planted at convenient places for defense. They were now out of range of the arrows unless the Indians exposed themselves by coming out of the woods.

In the meantime, Columbus, racked with pains and filled with anxiety, waited for the return of Tristan, or some message from his brother. His ships were eaten up by the teredo, and at any time a storm might drive them upon the lee shore. To add to his troubles, the Indian prisoners, kept in the hold of the *Bermuda*, piled up the stones used for ballast, one night, upon which they mounted and threw off the hatch, and with it their guards, sleeping thereon. Many got out and sprang overboard, no doubt reaching the land in safety. Those not able to escape, preferring death to captivity, hung themselves from the deck-beams, which, being low, the poor Indians had to draw up their legs in order to stretch their miserable necks. Others there were who simply attached the end of the noose to their foot and slowly strangled themselves to death.

The escape of the family and friends of the Quibian

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removed any hold the Admiral might have upon the chieftain of Veragua, but it likewise solved the problem of how to communicate with the shore. Some of the sailors affirmed that if the Indians could swim a league to land to obtain liberty, they could risk going through the surf to save themselves and comrades. Pedro de Ledesma, a pilot of Seville, was the one to make the attempt. In the only remaining boat, that of the *Bermuda*, he was rowed up to within a musket-shot of land, when he threw himself into the water, "and with a good heart got ashore." After some time he came back through the breakers to the waiting boat, and reported to the Admiral the disaster to Tristan and the serious plight of the colony.

Nearly the entire voyage Columbus was so invalidated that he seldom went ashore; but delegated his authority to his brother, Don Bartolomé. While lying off the Belen, worried about the fate of his men and the safety of his ships, Columbus, tired out and sick in both body and mind, fell into a sleep, as he calls it, and experienced what historians have called his "vision." It was a dreamland hallucination of hearing and not of sight, as the word vision would indicate. Considerable incredulity has been expressed as to the genuineness of this so-called "vision," but I believe it to have been a very natural result of his poor physical and abnormal mental conditions.

The Admiral, in his report of this voyage, states that he had a strong fever, and that his wound—probably a reminder of his pirate days—reopened. He felt that all was lost. "I toiled up to the highest part of the ship, and with a quivering voice and fast-falling tears, I called upon your Highness' war-captains from each point of the compass to come to my succor, but there was no reply." He then fell asleep, during which a compassionate voice likened him to Moses, David, and Abraham, and concluded by saying: "Fear not, trust; all these tribulations are recorded on marble, and not without cause." Don Fernando makes no mention of this incident, or of anything unusual happening to his father at this time.

Understanding the situation of those ashore, and the danger of leaving his colony as planned, Columbus gave orders to bring off his men and supplies. Diego Mendez, who was with the Adelantado, was put in charge of the work. It being impossible to get the *Gallega* out of the river, the ship was dismantled, and her spars lashed across some canoes, forming a sort of catamaran. Out of her sails Mendez made sacks for carrying the biscuit and other stores. In eight days the weather mended so much that they could pass out with the improvised trans-

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port, towing the oil, wine, and vinegar casks with ropes. All used such diligence that in two days nothing was left behind but the worm-eaten hulk of the *Gallega*. Seven trips were required to transfer the goods, Diego Mendez, with five men, being the last to leave. He affirmed that the Admiral was so pleased with his labors that he kissed and embraced him, and gave him the vacant captaincy of the flagship.

The settlement of Bethlehem (Nuestra Señora de Belen), on the Bethlehem river (Santa Maria de Belen), perhaps the first attempt of the Spaniards to obtain a footing on the continent of the New World, was even more short-lived than Navidad, their first settlement on Haiti. Columbus writes: "I departed, in the name of the Holy Trinity, on Easter night, with the ships rotten, wornout, and eaten in holes."

From my study of the subject, as shown in a later chapter, I give the credit for the first attempt at settlement to Ojeda, for his effort at Bahia Honda, near the Gulf of Venezuela. "There is glory enough for all."

Again, taking up the narrative of Don Fernando, who says: "Thus rejoicing we were all together again, we sailed up that coast eastward; for though all the pilots were of opinion that we might return to St. Domingo, standing away to the north, yet only the Admiral and his brother knew it was requisite to run a considerable way up that coast before they struck across that gulf that is between the continent and Hispaniola, which our men were much displeased at, thinking the Admiral designed directly for Spain; whereas, he neither had provisions, nor were his ships fit for that voyage." For the third time Columbus passed the Chagres river and Limon Bay, and entered Puerto Bello. The ship *Biscaina* was leaking so badly that she was abandoned here, where her anchor was found a few years later by Diego de Nicuesa, who likewise met disaster on this coast. From Puerto Bello the Admiral continued to the east, passing Bastimentos, El Retrete, and Punta San Blas. Beyond this point was the country of the cacique Pocorosa, and opposite the main was a string of islets, which Columbus named *Las Barbas* (now known as *Las Mulatas*), where he spent a night at anchor. The Admiral kept on along the Isthmus for ten leagues farther, and at the region which

*"Y este fué el primer pueblo que se hizo españoles en tierra firme puesto que luego desde a poco vino en nada." Comment of Las Casas on his transcription of the Journal of Columbus.

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Fernando Colon calls *Marmora* turned northward for Hispaniola, on the 1st day of May, 1503.¹

Writers commonly state that Columbus sailed as far east as Cabo Tiburon, and that he saw the Gulf of Darien (Urabá); but I doubt if he went east of Punta Mosquito. He still believed that a strait existed somewhere in this region, and it is hardly probable that he would have failed to investigate, or at least to mention seeing, this body of water, which extends into the land towards the south, and looks so much as if it ought to be a strait.

Columbus tells us that he did not wish his pilots to know the location of Veragua, and to accomplish this, according to Porras, he took from them the charts.

Still another reason for sailing so far to the east was to overlap the western limits of the voyage of Rodrigo de Bastidas, who sailed along the eastern half of the Isthmus, in 1501. When stopping at Santo Domingo, on the outward voyage, the Admiral or his captains heard something of the route followed by Bastidas; and from Porto Bello eastward he found evidences of a former visit by white men.

When Columbus departed from the Isthmus, in the region of Punta Mosquito, all hands were working with pumps and kettles to keep the two ships from being swamped by the water which was coming in through the holes made by the worms. On Wednesday, the 10th of May, they passed two low, small islands, full of turtles, for which reason the Admiral named them *Tortugas*, probably the Little Caymans of modern maps. Though all the pilots said the course would carry them east of the Caribbee Islands, yet the Admiral feared, on account of the westerly winds and currents, that he would not be able to make Hispaniola, which proved to be the case, for he was now not only west of Hispaniola, but also west of Jamaica; and

¹ Columbus, in his letter from Jamaica, 7th of July, 1503, gives a different name and date. "On the 13th of May I arrived at the province of Mago, which borders upon that of Catayo, and from there I departed for Española." Obviously, Mago and Catayo stand for Mangi and Cathay, and were not names of regions along the Isthmus of Panama. The Admiral may have really believed that he had arrived at these Asiatic provinces; but more likely he was deceiving the authorities at home as to the location of Veragua and neighboring regions. In fact, in this same incoherent letter, Columbus defies his pilots to say "where is the situation of Veragua." In addition to gathering up all the charts in the fleet, the Admiral took a book describing the places visited, from Pedro Mateos, a sailor on the Gallego, who testified to the fact in Court in after years. A few years later, Diego de Nicuesa did find it difficult to locate Veragua.

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on the evening of the following Friday, Columbus found himself among the familiar islets of the Queen's Gardens, still known as the *Jardines*, off the south coast of Cuba, near the Isle of Pines. While at anchor, ten leagues from the main, a great storm arose in the night and drove the *Bermuda* into the stern of the *Capitana*, to the injury of both.

From here, the Admiral sailed eastward for Hispaniola, along the shore of Cuba, and came to an Indian town, called Mataia, where he obtained some much-needed provisions. The winds and currents still setting to the west, and the water in the ships being almost up to the deck, Columbus gave up hope of reaching Hispaniola and headed for Jamaica. On the 24th of June he put into Puerto Bueno, in the northwest corner of Jamaica, which was a good harbor, but had no fresh water nor any Indian village near it at which to get food. "On the day after the Feast of St. John," the Admiral managed to get his ships into another harbor, a few miles farther east, which he had visited in 1494, and named *Santa Gloria*. Here, on the 25th day of June, 1503, the two foundering caravels, the *Capitana* and the *Bermuda* (Santiago), were run aground about a bow-shot from land, and the active life of Don Christopher Columbus, High Admiral of the Ocean Sea, came to an end. *Santa Gloria* is now called St. Ann's Bay, and the sandy shore on which he beached his vessels is yet known as Don Christopher's Cove.

The ships lay board to board, and were shored up so that they could not budge. Sheds were built on deck, poop, and forecastle for the protection of the men, and Columbus spent a weary year waiting for succor from Santo Domingo.*

In July, Diego Mendez and Bartholomew Fiesco, a Genoese gentleman who had been captain of the forsaken *Biscaina*, made the perilous trip to Haiti in two canoes, each manned by six sailors and ten Indians. The second night from Jamaica, when nearly exhausted, the rising moon disclosed "a small island called *Nabazza*" (now Navassa), where they landed the next morning and secured rain-water from holes in the rocks, the thirsty Indians drinking so much of it that some of them

* There was no white settlement, as yet, on Jamaica, as Juan de Esquivel, by order of Admiral Diego Colon, did not make an entry into this island until November, 1509. Columbus and his party certainly acted very foolishly at this time,—the Admiral in stubbornly trying to hold together his party on the stranded hulks; the mutineers in attacking Columbus when it was evident there was nothing to gain.

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died on the spot. Mendez' struck a fire and cooked some shellfish, which they found along the shore. Having rested and refreshed themselves, they set out again about sun-setting, in the cool of the evening, and the next morning arrived at Cape St. Michael, the nearest land of Haiti.

"Notwithstanding he suffered under a quartan ague," Mendez traveled across the mountains of Xaragua until he found Ovando, butchering the subjects of the queenly *Anacaona*, whom he hanged shortly afterwards. The Governor had neither the desire nor time to devote to the relief of the old Admiral, and proceeded with his killing. The faithful Mendez then went to the town of Santo Domingo, and with Diego de Salcedo, the agent of Columbus, succeeded, after nearly a year, in purchasing with the Admiral's money a vessel with which to go to his relief.

Meanwhile, the Admiral found great difficulty in getting the natives to furnish supplies for his men, and at one time utilized his knowledge of astronomy to foretell an eclipse of the moon to the caciques, in order to extract greater quantities from them.

One day, in March, a caravel came to Santa Gloria, bringing a messenger, or spy, from Ovando, one Diego de Escobar, whom Columbus had previously condemned to death for the part he took in the Roldan rebellion. He gave the Admiral a letter from Ovando, with "a cask of wine and two fitches of bacon," and mysteriously hurried away.

On the 2d of January, 1504, the two brothers, Francisco and Diego de Porras, headed a mutiny and deserted the Admiral, followed by forty-eight of his men. They made a futile attempt to reach Hispaniola, and then roamed over Jamaica, robbing and insulting the natives. Tiring of this, the mutineers decided to attack the ships and make prisoners of Columbus and his brother. About a mile from the two stranded vessels, near the Indian village of Maima,⁹ on the 19th of May, the rebels

⁹ The Admiral appreciated the great services of Diego Mendez, and granted his request to be appointed to the office of Alguacilazgo Mayor of the island of Española for life. Soon after this, Columbus died, and Diego Colon paid scant heed to the wishes of his father. Oviedo relates that the Catholic King gave Mendez for arms a lonely canoe upon the sea.

¹⁰ "Where afterwards the Christians built the town they called Sevilla," writes Don Fernando.

By order of the Admiral Don Diego Colon, Juan de Esquivel, in November, 1509, proceeded to Jamaica, and brought the natives to subjection without the effusion of blood. On the site of the Indian village

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were met and defeated by the Adelantado and fifty loyal adherents. This was the first fight between white men on the island of Jamaica. Francisco de Porras was captured, and among the dead mutineers was Juan Sanchez, who allowed the Quibian to escape at Veragua. The pilot, Pedro de Ledesma, "who went with Vicente Yañez [Pinzon] to Honduras, and swam ashore at Belen," also a rebel, was almost hacked to pieces, but was nursed back to life by barber-surgeon Mark, and lived to be assassinated in Spain. The Adelantado was wounded in the hand by the sword of Francisco de Porras as it pierced his buckler; and Pedro de Terreros, the loyal captain of the *Gallega*, was killed.

A few weeks later, the ship purchased by Mendez, and another sent by Ovando in response to public opinion, arrived at Santa Gloria. June 28, 1504, Columbus and his crews departed for St. Domingo, but encountered westerly winds and currents, as usual, and it was not until the 13th of August that they reached their destination. The people welcomed the Admiral with distinction, and he was lodged in the Governor's house. On the 12th of September he sailed for Spain, and after a tempestuous voyage anchored in the harbor of San Lucar, on the 7th of November. That same month his friend, Queen Isabella, died, and Columbus received but scant consideration from the wily Ferdinand.

The Admiral urged his claims against the Crown, but was never restored to his vicerealty; nor did he receive the share of the profits from the Indies granted him under the royal seal. "It was believed," observes Las Casas, "that if the King could have done so with a safe conscience, and without detriment to his fame, he would have respected few or none of the privileges which he and the Queen had conceded to the Admiral, and which had been so justly merited."

Worn out with disease and disappointment, he made a codicil to his will, bequeathing all his titles and privileges to his son Diego, and prepared for death. After receiving the sacrament, he said, "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum." Columbus "gave up his soul to God on Ascension Day, being the 20th of May, 1506." He died in Valladolid, in an inn, the room of which is still pointed out. Above his death-bed hung

of Maima, Esquivel founded the pueblo of *Nueva Sevilla*, where a few years later he died and was buried. In more recent times the town had disappeared, the location being occupied by the Seville sugar plantation.

FOURTH VOYAGE OF

the chains in which he had returned to Spain, in 1500, and which, in conformity to his wishes, were buried with him.

The remains of Columbus have experienced the same vicissitudes of fortune that followed the Admiral in life. At first his body was interred in the Convent of St. Francisco, in Valladolid, and a few years later was moved to the Carthusian Monastery of Las Cuevas, in Seville. Here also, in 1526, was deposited the body of his son, Don Diego Colon. On the petition of Doña Maria de Toledo, widow of Don Diego, about 1540, the remains of both Admiral and son were transported to Santo Domingo, Hispaniola. It is probable that Don Bartolomé, and the two sons of Don Diego, Luis and Cristobal, likewise found sepulchre in Santo Domingo.

By the treaty of Basle, in 1795, Spain ceded to France all her title to Hispaniola, "the cradle of her greatness in the New World"; so the Duke of Veragua, lineal descendant of Columbus, and the Spanish authorities, decided to again remove the ashes of the Admiral, and bear them to Cuba, in order to preserve the sacred relics under the Spanish flag. A small vault on the right, or Gospel, side of the high altar of the cathedral was opened, wherein were found some dust and fragments of bones, supposed to be the remains of Columbus. The crumbling bones were carried on the warship *San Lorenzo* to Havana; and in January, 1796, reinterred, with pomp and ceremony, in the wall of the presbytery of the cathedral in that city.

However, in the year 1877, a tomb was uncovered in the Cathedral at Santo Domingo, which contained a leaden box, holding human vestiges, and also a bullet. From the inscriptions on the casket, as well as from its location, these were judged to be the true relics of Christopher Columbus; and the ashes taken to Cuba, in 1795, to have been those of his son, Don Diego Colon.

At present both Santo Domingo and Havana claim to possess the *restos*, or remains of Columbus.

Furthermore, it is affirmed that the Havana ashes, whosoever they be, were carried to Spain, in 1898, before the occupation of the city by United States troops.

Relacion de la gente é navios que llevó á descubrir el Almirante Don Cristobal Colon.

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CARABELA CAPITANA.

Diego Tristan, capitan: falleció jueves seis de Abril de 1502 [3].
Ambrosio Sanchez, maestro.
Juan Sanchez, piloto mayor de la armada: falleció á 17 de Mayo de 1504.
Anton Donato, contra maestre.

MARINEROS.

Martin Dati.
Bartolomé Garcia: falleció domingo 28 de Mayo de 503 años.
Pero Rodriguez: falleció jueves 6 de Abril de 503 años.
Juan Rodriguez.
Alonso de Almagro.
Pedro de Toledo.
Pedro de Maya: falleció jueves 6 de Abril de 503 años.
Juan Gomez.
Diego Roldan.
Juan Gallego.
Juan de Valencia: falleció sábado 13 de Enero de 504.
Gonzalo Rodriguez: falleció martes 4 de Abril de 503.
Tristan Perez Chinchorrero.
Rodrigo Vergayo.

ESCUDEROS.

Pedro Fernandez Coronel.
Francisco Ruiz.
Alonso de Zamora.
Guillermo Ginovés.
Masetre Bernal, Fisico.

GRUMETES.

Diego Portogalete: falleció miércoles á 4 de Enero de 503.
Martin Juan.
Donis de Galve.
Juan de Zumados.
Francisco de Estrada.
Anton Chavarin.
Alonso, Criado de Mateo Sanchez: falleció jueves 6 de Abril de 503.
Grigorio Sollo: falleció miércoles 27 de Junio de 504.
Diego el Negro.
Pero Sanchez.
Francisco Sanchez.
Francisco de Moron.
Juan de Murcia.
Grigorio Ginovés.
Ferrando Dávila.
Alonso de Leon.
Juan de Miranda: falleció martes 11 de Abril de 503.
Garcia de Morales: quedó por doliénte en Cádiz; era criado del Almirante.
Juan Garrido: falleció á 27 de Febrero de 504.
Baltasar Daragon.

one hundred thirteen

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OFICIALES DE NAO.

Martin de Arriera, tonelero.
Domingo Viscaino, calafate: falleció jueves 6 de Abril de 503.
Diego Francés, carpintero.
Juan Barba, lombardero: falleció á 20 de Mayo de 504.
Mateo Bombardero: falleció jueves 6 de Abril de 503.
Juan de Cuellar, trompeta.
Gonzalo de Salazar, trompeta.

CARABELA SANTIAGO DE PALOS.

Francisco de Porras, capitan.
Diego de Porras, escribano é oficial de la armada.
Francisco Bermudez, maestro.
Pero Gomez, contraestre.

MARINEROS.

Rodrigo Ximon.
Francisco Domingo: falleció sábado 4 de Febrero de 503.
Juan de Quijo.
Juan Rodriguez: falleció á 6 de Abril de 503.
Juan de la Feria.
Juan Camacho.
Juan Grand.
Juan Reynaltes: falleció jueves 6 de Abril de 503.
Diego Gomez.
Alonzo Martin.

ESCUDEROS.

Francisco de Farias.
Diego Mendez.
Pedro Gentil.
Andrea Ginovés.
Juan Jácome.
Batista Ginovés.

GRUMETES.

Gonzalo Ramirez.
Juan Bandrojin: falleció á 23 de Octubre de 503.
Diego Ximon.
Aparicio Donis: falleció jueves 1º de Junio de 503.
Alonzo Escarraman, Francisco Marquez y Juan de Mogues llevan sueldo de dos grumetes: el Alonzo falleció martes 23 de Enero de 504.
Alonso de Cea.
Pedro de Villatoro.
Ramiro Ramirez.
Francisco Dávila.
Diego de Mendoza.
Diego Cataño.

OFICIALES DE NAO.

Bartolomé de Milan, lombardero.
Juan de Noya, tonelero.
Domingo Darana, calafate: falleció jueves 6 de Abril de 503.
Machin, carpintero.

one hundred fourteen

COLUMBUS TO AMERICA

NAVIO GALLEGO.

Pedro de Terreros, capitan: falleció miércoles 29 de Mayo de 504.
Juan Quintero, maestre.

Alonso Ramon, contra maestre: falleció jueves á 6 de Abril de 503.

MARINEROS.

Rui Ferrandes.
Luis Ferrandes.
Gonzalo Garcia.
Pedro Mateos.
Julian Martin: falleció jueves 6 de Abril de 503.
Diego Cabezudo.
Diego Delgado.
Rodrigalvares.

ESCUDEROS.

Gonzalo Camacho.

GRUMETES.

Pedro de Flandes.
Bartolomé Ramisez: falleció jueves 6 de Abril de 503.
Anton Quintero.
Bartolomé Dalza.
Gonzalo Flamenco.
Pedro Barranco.
Juan Galdi: falleció 9 de Setiembre de 504.
Alonso Peñac.
Esteban Mateos, page.
Diego de Satander.
García Polanco.
Juan Garcia.
Francisco de Medina, huyó en la Española, no se supo mas de él.
Juan de San Martin.

NAVIO VIZCAINO.

Bartolomé de Fresco, Ginovés, capitan.
Juan Perez, maestre: falleció sábado 7 de Octubre de 503.
Martin de Fuenterabia, contra maestre: falleció á 17 de Setiembre de
502 [3].

MARINEROS.

Pedro de Ledesma.
Juan Ferro.
Juan Moreno.
San Juan.
Gonzalo Diaz.
Gonzalo Gallego, huyó en la Isla Española y dijeron que habia fallecido.
Alonso de la Calle: falleció martes 23 de Mayo de 503.
Lope de Pego.

ESCUDEROS.

Fray Alejandro, en lugar de Escudero.
Juan Pasau, Ginovés.

one hundred fifteen

FOURTH VOYAGE

GRUMETES.

- Miguel de Lariaga: falleció sábado 17 de Setiembre de 502 [3].
Andrés de Sevilla.
Luis de Vargas.
Batista Ginovés.
Francisco de Levante.
Francisco de Córdoba, entró en lugar de un escudero, criado del Almirante, que se quedó en Sevilla. Se huyó en la Española á la ida, y está allá.
Pedro de Montesel.
Rodrigo de Escobar.
Domingo de Barbasta ó Narbasta: falleció martes 26 de Marzo de 504.
Pascual de Ausurraga.
Cheneco ó Cheulco, page.
Marco Surjano: falleció miércoles 11 de Setiembre de 504 años.
(*Navarrete—tomo 1, pags. 437-43.*)

CHAPTER VII

DON RODRIGO DE BASTIDAS

Discoverer of the Isthmus of Darien

"Conquistador y Pacyficador de Sancta Marta"

"Spain's Best and Noblest Conquistador"

"Aqui hace su manida
Don Rodrigo de Bastidas,
Que con crüeles heridas
Acabó la dulce vida.

"Tuvo pujanza y valor,
De riquezas copia harta,
Y así fué gobernador
Primero de Santa Marta."

Juan de Castellanos.



THE first European to reach the Isthmus of Panama was Rodrigo de Bastidas, who, in 1501, a year before the visit of Columbus, discovered the eastern half of the Isthmus, from the Gulf of Darien as far west as Bastimentos and Punta Manzanilla.

When the letters of Columbus reached Spain, containing an account of his third voyage, of 1498, with specimens of gold and drugs from Paria, and numerous samples of pearls from what he called the Pearl Coast, navigators and adventurers were excited to renewed interest in the lands of the Western ocean. It was believed that, at last, Columbus had arrived at the borderland of the rich East, if not close to the terrestrial paradise, as he himself thought. The first to follow the Admiral to Paria was Alonso de Ojeda, the hot-headed soldier of fortune who had made the dashing capture of Cacique Caonabó. Ojeda had returned from Hispaniola to Spain, and was loitering about the Court when the glowing reports of Columbus arrived. Bishop Fonseca showed

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the letters and charts of the Admiral to Ojeda, and the latter, with his knowledge of the Indies, immediately perceived that here was an opportunity not only to achieve greater distinction, but also to garner the first fruits of this new discovery.

Under the royal license of April 10, 1495, issued when Columbus was in great disfavor, any subject of Spain might make a voyage on his own account; provided he carried inspectors appointed by the Crown, which should receive a share of the profits. He was forbidden to touch at any land belonging to Portugal, nor lands discovered by Columbus prior to 1495. The share of the Crown varied from a tenth to one-third. The ships usually carried a treasurer and a notary. Later sovereigns modified this license so as to regulate discovery, trade, and settlement in Spanish territory. At least two ships should undertake the voyage; they should carry two pilots, and two priests; and the articles allowed for trading were specified. Under date of September 3rd, 1501, *Los Reyes*, as the King and Queen were designated in documents, decreed that anyone sailing without the royal license should suffer a forfeiture of ship and goods.

Always venomous towards the Admiral, Fonseca was only too glad to further the scheme of his favorite, and with his own name signed the license permitting Ojeda to follow Columbus to Paria and the Coast of Pearls. With the aid of wealthy speculators, Ojeda fitted out four ships, and sailed from Port St. Mary, opposite Seville, on the 20th of May, 1499. Twenty-four days after leaving the Canaries he reached the shore of South America, about two hundred leagues east and south of the mouth of the Orinoco, probably the coast of Surinam. Ojeda then followed the land to the northwest, sailing through the Gulf of Paria in the wake of Columbus. He continued westward until beyond the Gulf of Maracaibo, and at Cabo de la Vela (Cape Vela) turned away from the mainland and put in at Hispaniola. It is sometimes stated that Ojeda, on this voyage, sailed along the shores of Venezuela and Colombia as far west as Cabo Tiburon, in Darien, the western limit of the Gulf of Urabá. Under this surmise, Ojeda is given credit for being the first to view the Isthmus, in 1499; but the claim is not well founded, and the honor should be accorded to Bastidas.

The example of Ojeda roused the emulation of others, and Pedro Alonso Niño, a pilot of Moguer who had sailed with Columbus, obtained a similar commission from Fonseca. Taking with him Cristoval Guerra, whose brother furnished the

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DE BASTIDAS

money, they departed from Spain about the first of June, 1499, but a few days later than Ojeda. "They sailed from the little port of Palos," says Irving, "the original cradle of American discovery, whose brave and skillful mariners long continued foremost in all enterprises to the New World." Their little caravel of fifty tons reached Paria soon after the arrival of Ojeda, and likewise sailed westward, trading for pearls and *guanin* at Margarita, Cumaná, and Cauchieto. Niño returned safely to Spain in April, 1500, nearly two months ahead of Ojeda, "so laden with pearls that they were in maner with every mariner as common as chaffe." For being successful, after risking life and fortune, Niño was accused of not accounting for all his treasure, and thrown into prison, but freed later.

In June, Ojeda came sailing into Cadiz, his ships crowded with Indian slaves; but when the expenses of his large outfit were paid, but five hundred ducats remained to be divided between fifty-five adventurers.

In that same year of 1499, a second expedition started from Palos (the third to follow Columbus to South America), under command of Vicente Yañez Pinzon. In December, 1499, Pinzon departed from Palos with four caravels; and on the 20th of January, 1500, made the coast of Brazil at a point now called Cape St. Augustine. He landed and took possession for Castile with the usual formalities.

Pinzon sailed to the north, and found himself in fresh water, with which he replenished his casks. Standing in to the land, he came to a number of verdant islands, peopled by friendly Indians, who fearlessly came off to the ships. These islands were situated in the mouth of the great river of Marañon, later called the Orellana, and now the Amazon. Pinzon was also the first to cross the Equator on the American side of the Atlantic Ocean.

Having regained sight of the pole star, he continued his course to the northwest, passing the mouths of the Orinoco, and entered the Gulf of Paria, where he landed and cut Brazil-wood. The fleet left the Gulf by the Boca del Drago, and headed for Hispaniola, where they arrived about the 23d of June. Later, while among the Bahamas, Pinzon lost two of his vessels and many of his men; and when he got back to Palos it was to face weeping widows and angry creditors.

Closely following Pinzon was his fellow-townsmen, Diego de Lepe, who, early in 1500, sailed from Palos in two vessels for the new Terra Firma to the southwest. He passed Cape St. Augustine, the limit of Pinzon's voyage, and proceeded on

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down the shores of South America, going farther south than any other mariner reached for upwards of ten years afterwards.

The next voyager, in chronological order, to sail from Spain for the West Indies was Rodrigo de Bastidas (or Bastides), a wealthy notary of Triana, the maritime suburb of Seville. But too little is known of this man who has won the almost unique distinction of acting like a human being in his dealings with the natives of America, and exhibiting some of the tenets of that religion under whose banner the White Man conquered the Red Man. Bastidas was a gentleman, and a man of learning and honesty; an entirely different type from the impecunious courtier, the swashbuckler, and the adventurer. He was a man of standing in his community, and his character was superior to the weaknesses of common men, who found in the New World such free vent for their evil inclinations.

Bastidas encountered no difficulty in obtaining a royal license, in which he agreed to pay to the Crown a fourth of the profits of his voyage. A copy of this license is still in existence among the Archives of the Indies. He fitted out two vessels, and took with him that able pilot, Juan de la Cosa, who had sailed with Columbus, and had just returned from his voyage with Ojeda to Paria and the Pearl Coast. The expedition set out from Cadiz in October, 1500, and took on wood, water, fresh meat, and cheese at Gomera. They reached the coast of what is now Venezuela, and steered west in the route taken by Ojeda and Cosa in 1499. From Cabo de la Vela, the farthestmost point reached by Ojeda, Bastidas continued on to the west, trading with the Indians for pearls and gold. He entered and named many of the ports. West of Cape Vela he came to Rio Hacha, Santa Marta, and the Rio Grande de Magdalena, which he discovered in March, on the day of the woman's conversion. Narrowly escaping shipwreck, he continued westward. At one place the Indians wore crowns, so Bastidas named the port Coronados. He sailed past the harbor of Cartagena and came to the river of Cenú.

Rounding Punta Caribana, the ships turned to the south in the Gulf of Darien; and we can imagine Cosa thinking that here was the strait leading to the Indian Ocean. He explored the gulf, and found the southern end to receive the fresh water of the Atrato river, so great in volume that, when the tide was low, the water in the gulf was sweet; so he called it Golfo Dulce. He also noted the *farallones*, or rocky islets near the Darien shore.

Sailing out of the gulf, Bastidas rounded Cabo Tiburon, and,

one hundred twenty

DE BASTIDAS

in 1501, explored the north coast of the Isthmus as far west as Bastimentos and Punta Manzanillo. West of Cape Tiburon, he came to Caledonia Bay, Punta Mosquito, the islands of the Mulatas, Point San Blas, Nombre de Dios, and possibly to Puerto Bello. When Columbus reached the latter place, in 1502, he began to hear of the previous visit by white men to the eastward.

Bastidas was having great success collecting pearls and *guanin* and entrapping natives, when he found his vessels leaking so badly from the borings of the *broma*, or teredo, that he was compelled to terminate his traffic and exploration. About the region of Point Manzanillo he turned from the Isthmus and steered for Spain. The next land reached was Jamaica, where the ships were supplied with wood and water. After leaving here, Bastidas found so much water coming in through the worm holes that he stopped at an islet, called *Contramaestre*, one league off Hispaniola, and made repairs. He sailed again, but encountered a gale, and was glad to put back to the little island for shelter. Starting out a second time, the worm-eaten vessels filled so rapidly that *La Cosa* ran into the port of Jaraguá, where the two ships sank.

Most of the poor Indians, who were chained or beneath the deck, were drowned; and the Brazil-wood, and some gold and pearls were also lost, amounting in value to about 5,000,000 maravedis. Bastidas landed the most precious and portable articles of his cargoes; but later destroyed such of his arms and ammunition as he could not carry, lest they should fall into the hands of the natives. Placing what he had saved upon the backs of the surviving slaves, he set out for San Domingo, distant some seventy leagues to the eastward. In order the better to live off the country, Bastidas divided his men into three bands, two of them headed by *La Cosa* and himself, and traveled by separate routes. Each party carried a pack of trinkets, which they traded with the natives for provisions while on the way.

The pig-headed Bobadilla, who had superseded Columbus as Governor of Hispaniola, heard of these parties marching through the country; so when Bastidas arrived at the city of San Domingo he was seized and imprisoned for carrying on illicit trade with the Indians. Bobadilla claimed that the commission given to Bastidas permitted him to trade only in lands discovered by himself; while the notary maintained, very truthfully, that his commerce on Hispaniola consisted simply in paying for guides and supplies.

one hundred twenty-one

DON RODRIGO

As Bobadilla was just about to return to Spain, Bastidas was ordered thither for trial. The ship in which he sailed, in July, 1502, was one of the few which lived through the hurricane predicted by Columbus. Bastidas easily cleared himself before the sovereigns, and, notwithstanding his losses, paid a handsome royalty into the treasury. Three chests full of gold and pearls, which he brought back, were ordered to be displayed in the towns through which he passed, in order that others might be induced to venture in the Indies, gather in the gold, and pay the King his fifth.

Being successful, Rodrigo de Bastidas and Juan de la Cosa were each awarded an annual pension of fifty thousand maravedis; which, like most all the rewards granted by the King, was to come from the future revenues of the new lands they had found. Cosa, in addition, was made *alguacil mayor* of Urabá.

Bastidas was so well pleased with the Indies that he took his wife and children to Santo Domingo, where he became rich in cattle, at one time possessing 8000 head, and that when a cow in Española was worth 50 *pesos de oro*. In 1504, the notary, in two ships, again sailed to Tierra Firme, carrying off six hundred natives from the mainland and from the island of Codego, to be sold as slaves in Española. The Emperor Charles, in 1520, gave Bastidas the pacification of the island of Trinidad, with the title of *Adelantado*. This grant was opposed by Diego Colon, on the ground that Trinidad was discovered by his father, and hence within his jurisdiction. Thereupon Bastidas waived his claim to that island, and the following year, 1521, the King gave him a license to settle and exploit a tract of land extending from Cabo de la Vela westward to the Rio Grande de la Magdalena.

The expedition was delayed, and it was not until 1524, or 1525, that Bastidas sailed from the city of Santo Domingo with four caravels and a ship which he bought of Xeronimo Rodriguez. He carried a great quantity of supplies, including lime and bricks, such as his long experience in the New World indicated to be useful by an infant colony. The force of Bastidas consisted of four hundred and fifty persons, many of them married. The Governor's staff included Pedro de Villafuerte, *Teniente General*; Rodrigo Alvarez Palomino, *Maestre de Campo*; and Juan de Ledesma, as *Contador*. Among the captains were Goncalo de Vides, Antonio Ponce Carrion, Carranca, and Hernan Vaez Portugues.

On the 29th of July, 1524, "*dia de Santa Marta*," Bastidas

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sailed into a port within the limits of his grant. Here he landed ("*saltó en tierra*"), and a few days thereafter started to build a town, which he named Santa Marta. One of the first acts of the Governor was to make peace with the chiefs of the Gayras, Tagangas, and Dorsinos, tribes of Indians surrounding his settlement.

Soon after founding the city, the Governor made a friendly reconnoissance of the adjoining territory, and marched into the interior with peace and good-will towards the natives. Four leagues from Santa Marta a band of Indians, called the Bondas, received the newcomers in a warlike manner, but were soon defeated by the superior arms of the white men, who captured their gold.

Eighteen or twenty leagues inwards, Bastidas came upon a very large Indian town, called Tarbo, the most attractive feature of which was a large *bohio* containing a smelter for gold ("*Casa de fundycion doro*"). The sight of gold always maddened the Spanish adventurers, though at the time they might be actually starving for the want of food. The ruffians became angry that they were not allowed to rob the place, and murmured against their leader, declaring that he cared more for the Indians than he did for them. As it was, Cazique Taybo thought it politic to present Bastidas with 600 pesos worth of gold. Instead of receiving their share of the spoils, his followers learned that the gold collected on this trip would be applied to defraying the expenses of the colonization.

The Governor had honored Pedro de Villafuerte by making him his lieutenant, and intended that he should succeed to the rulership of the colony. Nevertheless, ambition entered into Villafuerte, and he thought that if Bastidas were put out of the way, he would at once become Governor. Three or four days after returning from the rich Indian population to Santa Marta, Villafuerte took advantage of the discontent among the soldiers and plotted a conspiracy against the Governor with Montesinos de Lebrija, Montalvo de Guadalajara, Pedro de Porras, Xoan de Merlo, Samaniego, Serna, Bazantes, and other Spaniards to the number of fifty. Binding themselves by an oath, they bribed the captain of the guard, and two of their number entered the house of the Governor at night and stabbed the sleeping Bastidas five times, leaving him for dead.

As soon as the assassins went out, the Governor called for help, and Palomino hurried to his assistance. The conspirators now returned to finish their bloody work, but the faithful *maestre de campo* defended the door with a broadsword and

one hundred twenty-three

DON RODRIGO

drove them off. Nine of the rebels fled from the town, carrying the gold stolen from Bastidas, and hid themselves in the forests, where the good policy established by their commander protected them from the fury of the Indians. After wandering for days in the jungle, subsisting on roots found in the *labranzas*, Villafuerte and some of his companions returned to Santa Marta, where they were seized by Palomino and sent to Santo Domingo for trial, paying for the crime with their lives. Others of the conspirators had the boldness to pass in a canoe from Santa Marta to Española, and met with a similar fate. Unfortunately, Palomino, soon after this, came to his death by drowning in a river, to the grief of many.

There being no surgeon at Santa Marta, Bastidas decided to hasten to Santo Domingo to be cured of his wounds. The unfortunate Governor, in gratitude to Palomino, gave him his staff of office, and set sail in a ship having Alonso Miguel for pilot. Bastidas became worse during the voyage, and the currents carrying the ship to the west, he put into *Puerto de Sanctiago*, in the island of Fernandina, as Cuba was then called. At Santiago was Gonzalo de Guzman, judge of *residencia* and lieutenant of the Governor. There was some anger between Guzman and Bastidas because the latter had confiscated a ship and stores sent out by Guzman, under Gonzalo de Vides, to traffic and steal gold and slaves along the coast belonging to Bastidas. Nevertheless, Guzman received the wounded Governor in kindness, and when Bastidas died a few days later, gave him honorable sepulture. This was during the year 1526. Bastidas was advanced in years and worn out with his labors and wounds, so when he developed fever ("*unas calenturas*"), he quickly succumbed, having first received the sacrament as a Catholic Christian. They buried him in the great Church, whence afterwards his son, dean at Santo Domingo, and later bishop of Porto Rico, carried his body to Santo Domingo and reinterred it in the sumptuous chapel of the Cathedral in that city.

Early the following year Guzman made an inventory (still in existence) of the effects belonging to Bastidas at the lodging-house kept by Jeronimo de Alanis, notary public, and sent the list to the Royal Audience in the city of Santo Domingo, where the gold was deposited in the chest of the three keys.

In the meantime, the Royal Audience at Santo Domingo had despatched Pedro Vadillo, *licenciado*, to rule Santa Marta, *en interim*. Vadillo took for his lieutenant Don Pedro de Heredia.

In 1528, Charles V. appointed Garcia de Lerma Governor

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DE BASTIDAS

of Santa Marta. Lerma soon died, and the Audiencia at Santo Domingo again filled the office by naming Don Alonso Enriquez de Guzman and the Licentiate Infante.

In 1535, the Emperor made Don Pedro Fernandez de Lugo, Adelantado of the Canaries, Governor of Santa Marta, with succession to his son, Don Alonso Luis de Lugo. With a large armada, including a force of eleven hundred persons, Lugo arrived at Santa Marta and continued the conquest and settlement of that province.

On the 22d of December, 1528, Don Rodrigo de Bastidas, legitimate son of the late Governor of Santa Marta, and dean of the holy church at Santo Domingo, presented a petition to the president and judges of the Audience praying that the services of his father be recognized, and that the estate be settled for the benefit of his widow and sons. Among the many witnesses in this hearing there appeared in January, 1529, Gaspar de Espinosa, who had won renown in Panama and was then residing at Santo Domingo.

This famous *Conquistador*, who discovered so many leagues of American coast, is not even mentioned in the bulky encyclopedias of today. If, in accordance with the custom of his time, Bastidas did enslave the Indians, yet he ever treated them humanely, and gave up his life at last to protect them from outrage. Within the old cathedral in the city of Santo Domingo is a chapel called the *capilla del Adelantado Rodrigo de Bastidas*, wherein are interred, not far from the alleged *restos* of Columbus, the remains of Bastidas and his family. Thus the ashes of the two discoverers of the Isthmus of Panama rest beneath the same roof in the old capital of the Indies.

Of Bastidas, the eloquent *Quintana* has said: "Bastidas no se hizo célebre ni como descubridor ni como conquistador; pero su memoria debe ser grata á todos los amantes de la justicia y de la humanidad, por haber sido uno de los pocos que trataron á los indios con equidad y mansedumbre, considerando aquel pais mas bien como un objeto de especulaciones mercantiles con iguales, que como campo de gloria y de conquistas."

The license granted Bastidas to discover new lands and traffic with the natives, is yet preserved in the *Archivo de Indias*. As showing the character of the document, the following summary is presented.

"El Rey é la Reina, El asiento que se tomó por nuestro mandado con vos Rodrigo de Bastidas, vecino de la ciudad de Sevilla, para ir a descubrir por el mar Océano, con dos navios, es lo siguiente:—it goes on to state, First, that we give license to you, the said Rodrigo de Bastidas, that with two vessels of your own, and at your own cost and risk, you may go by the said Ocean Sea to discover, and you may

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discover islands and firm land; in the parts of the Indies and in any other parts, provided it be not the islands and firm land already discovered by the Admiral Don Cristóbal Colon, our admiral of the Ocean Sea, or by Cristóbal Guerra; nor those which have been or may be discovered by other person or persons by our order and with our license before you; nor the islands and firm land which belong to the most serene prince, the King of Portugal, our very dear and beloved son; for from them nor from any of them you shall not take anything, save only such things as for your maintenance, and for the provision of your ships and crew you may need. Furthermore, that all the gold, and silver, and copper, and lead, and tin, and quicksilver, and any other metal whatever, and *aljófar*, and pearls, and precious stones and jewels, and slaves and negroes, and mixed breeds, which in these our kingdoms may be held and reputed as slaves; and monsters and serpents, and whatever other animals and fishes and birds, and spices and drugs, and every other thing of whatsoever name or quality or value it may be; deducting therefrom the freight expenses, and cost of vessels, which in said voyage and fleet may be made; of the remainder to us will belong the fourth part of the whole, and the other three-fourths may be freely for you, the said Rodrigo de Bastidas, that you may do therewith as you choose and may be pleased to do, as a thing of your own, free and unincumbered. *Item*, that we will place in each one of the said ships one or two persons, who in our name or by our order shall be witnesses to all which may be obtained and trafficked in said vessels of the aforesaid things; and that they may put the same in writing and keep a book and account thereof, so that no fraud or mistake happen.' After stating further under whose direction the ships should be fitted out, and what should be done on the return of the expedition, the document is dated at Seville, June 5, 1500, and the signatures follow: Yo El Rey. Yo La Reina. Por mandado del Rey é de la Reina, Gaspar De Grizio.'. All this under penalty of the forfeiture of the property and life of the captain of the expedition, Rodrigo de Bastidas. *Archivo de Indias*, printed in Pacheco and Cardenas, *Col. Doc.*, ii. 362-6.

CHAPTER VIII

TIERRA FIRME

Comprising Nueva Andalucia and Castilla del Oro.

THE GOVERNORS ALONSO DE OJEDA AND DIEGO DE NICUESA,

Rivals in Fame and Rivals in Misfortune

"Do you know the blue of the Carib Sea,
Far out where there's nothing but sky to bound
The gaze to windward, the glance to lee,—
More deep than the bluest spaces be
Betwixt white clouds in heaven's round?
Have you seen the liquid lazuli spread
From edge to edge, so wondrous blue
That your footfall's trust it might almost woo,
Were it smooth and low for one to tread?
So clear and warm, so bright, so dark,
That he who looks on it can but mark
'Tis a different tide from the far-away
Perpetual waters, old and gray,
And can but wonder if Mother Earth
Has given a younger ocean birth."

Edmund C. Stedman.



IN a general way, the entire coast-line to the south and west of Hispaniola was called Tierra Firme, firm land, or mainland, and believed to be a part of the continent of Asia. No passage through it had been found, but all believed that a strait existed, leading to the ocean south of India. After a few years the term Tierra Firme came to be applied more particularly to the Isthmus and the region east of the Gulf of Urabá (Darien).

When the politic Ferdinand began to realize the magnitude and wealth of the new lands added to Castile, he did not renew the powerful office of Viceroy of the Indies, which might rival and endanger his own authority, and of which he had defrauded Columbus. He now treated the West Indies (which at that time meant also the mainland) as appendages to the Crown, and exploited them as personal possessions of the Sovereign. He gave licenses to trade at certain parts, and commissions to look for new lands; and the older regions were divided into provinces, over which gov-

one hundred twenty-seven

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ernors and other officers were appointed for limited periods. Colonies were planted by private enterprise; and when pensions and rewards were granted the money was to come, as in the case of Bastidas, from the future earnings of the colony.

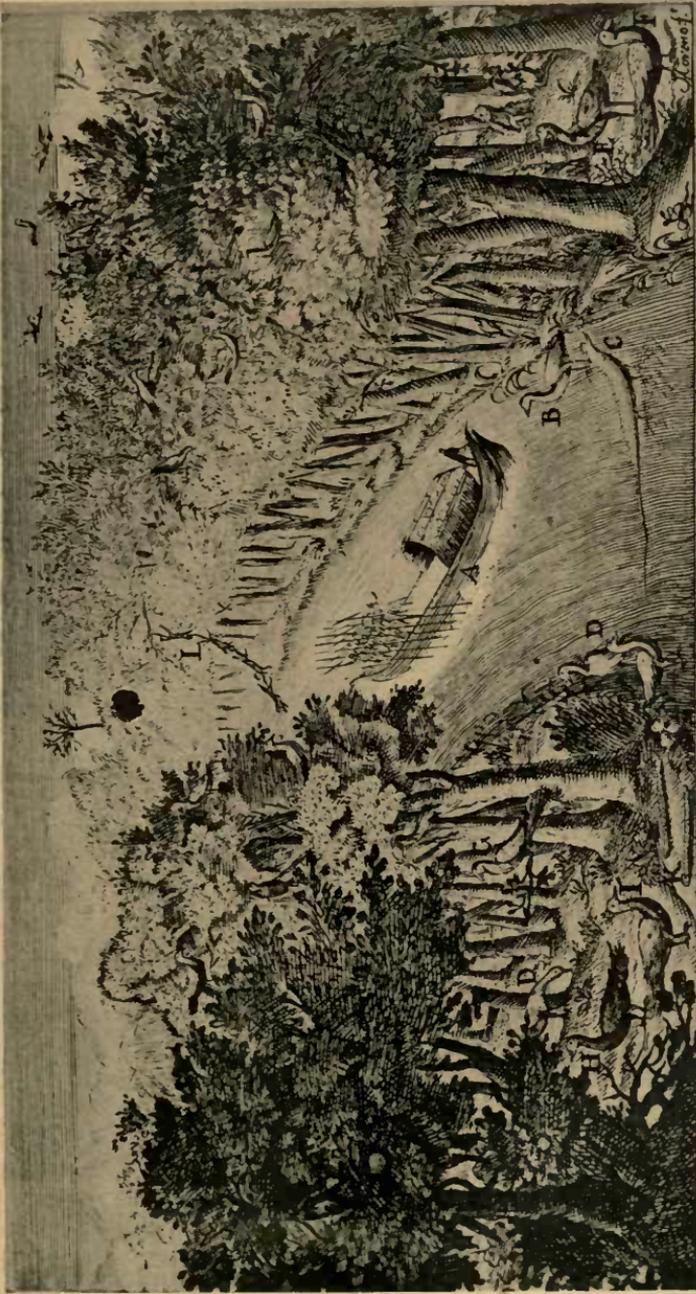
The riches of the Pearl Coast and of Veragua, reported by Columbus, being confirmed by subsequent voyages, Ferdinand resolved to settle and develop Tierra Firme; and looked around for a capable governor. The Admiral having died in 1506, the choice, by right, should have fallen upon his brother Bartolomé—still Adelantado of the Indies—who had proved himself so efficient both as navigator and administrator.

In 1508, Don Diego Colon, eldest son and heir of Columbus, brought suit before the Council of the Indies for restoration of the offices and privileges given in the capitulations between their Highnesses and the Admiral. The case was yet pending, and the wily monarch was loath to grant any more rights to a family that might, in time, become too powerful.

The friends of Alonso de Ojeda urged his appointment to the new governorship. He was without funds, but his friend, the veteran pilot, Juan de la Cosa, offered to fit out the expedition, and even went from Hispaniola to Spain to promote the claim of Ojeda. Alonso de Ojeda, as we have seen, was the first to follow Columbus to South America, in 1499. He took with him Juan de la Cosa, and also Amerigo Vespucci, the Florentine, whose name, by a singular caprice of fortune, has been given to the whole of the New World. The statement that Ojeda was the first to reach the Isthmus of Panama, in 1499, probably arose from the fact that Columbus called Paria and the Pearl Coast, Tierra Firme, and the name extended along the whole northern coast of South America, including the Isthmus, and even up the shores of Central America. There is no reliable evidence that Ojeda's voyage of 1499 extended farther west than Cape Vela.

In January, 1502, Ojeda made a second voyage to Tierra Firme, with authority to colonize Coquibacoa, which he had discovered on his first voyage and named the Gulf of Venezuela (Little Venice), because on its eastern shore was an Indian village, of twenty large bell-shaped houses, built on piles driven into the bottom of the gulf. On his first voyage, Ojeda had met with English adventurers in this region, and King Ferdinand wanted a bold and quarrelsome commander who would hold the country for Spain. Ojeda, with his associates, Juan de Vergara and Garcia de Campos, sailed by Paria and came to Cumaná, where they robbed the natives and carried off such of the women as pleased their fancy. Arriving at the Gulf of

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A. Bonque - B. Cime - C. Youana - D. Garzas - E. Garza Yeal - F. Guacamayo - G. Loxo - H. Pa-
vanontea - I. Pauji - K. Culebras de dos Cabezas - L. Monos como pasan el Rio -

From Ulloa, *Relacion Historica*, tom. 1.

ASCENDING THE CHAGRES RIVER.

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Venezuela, they found the land so sterile that they continued westward to a bay which Ojeda called Santa Cruz, supposed to be the Bahía Honda of today. Here they found a Spaniard who had been left in the province of Citarma by Bastidas, about thirteen months before.

The Indians at Santa Cruz fought the Spaniards, but the latter succeeded in building a fortress from which they made forays into the adjacent territory. Provisions failed, and Ojeda's people became discontented, and insinuated that he had not settled on his own lands, but in the country discovered by Rodrigo de Bastidas. Alonso de Ojeda was not the man to share authority with his partners, so Vergara and Campos (often called Ocampo) placed him in irons, and all hands abandoned Santa Cruz and sailed for St. Domingo. To be accurate, this was the first attempt by the Spaniards to populate the mainland of America, as it preceded, by nearly a year, the effort of Columbus to settle at Belén. Details of the expedition are wanting, but I am inclined to think that Ojeda deserves more credit for this undertaking than is usually accorded him.

Herrera relates an incident which well illustrates the daring and foolhardiness of Ojeda. While at anchor off the western end of Hispaniola, Ojeda, with feet shackled, quietly dropped into the sea and attempted to swim to land. His weighty irons threatened to sink him, so the venturesome Governor cried for help, and was ignominiously dragged aboard. Ojeda was tried before the chief judge at St. Domingo, about the end of September, 1502, found guilty, and despoiled of his property. He appealed to the King, and the following year was honorably acquitted of all the charges; but, as Irving well says, "like too many other litigants, he finally emerged from the labyrinths of the law a triumphant client, but a ruined man."

Despite his loss of property, Ojeda did not lack friends, in 1509, to help him secure the governorship of Tierra Firme. With the powerful influence of Fonseca and the financial backing of La Cosa, no doubt he would have succeeded, had not another worthy candidate appeared. This was Diego de Nicuesa, an accomplished courtier, who had been reared in the household of Don Enrique Enriquez, uncle of the King. He went to Hispaniola in the train of Governor Ovando, acquired wealth, and was now in Spain on a mission concerning the *encomiendas*.

Both Ojeda and his rival, Nicuesa, were small, but very muscular men, full of daring and energy, and in the prime of manhood. Both were skilled in the use of arms and in knightly

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exercises. Las Casas tells of a favorite mare belonging to Nicuesa which he could make prance and caper in unison with the music of a viol. With characteristic kingcraft, Ferdinand decided to appoint both men, and arranged conditions so as to foster jealousy between them instead of helpful coöperation. Tierra Firme was divided into two parts, separated by the Gulf of Urabá (Darien). The region extending eastward to Cabo de la Vela was called *Nueva Andalucia* (New Andalusia), and given to Ojeda. The land west and north of the Gulf of Urabá as far as Cape Gracias á Dios was named by the King *Castilla del Oro* (Golden Castile), and assigned to Nicuesa. The governors were appointed for four years, and their supplies were to be free of duties. Each had the exclusive right to work all mines in his district for ten years, paying an increasing tithe of the profits to the Crown, beginning with one-tenth part the first year. In addition, each Governor was required to erect two fortresses in his district.

Juan de la Cosa was appointed lieutenant to Ojeda, and made Alguacil Mayor of the eastern province. He engaged vessels and supplies in Spain, and sailed to meet his chief in San Domingo.

Nicuesa, being the richer, prepared a larger expedition, and also sailed for Hispaniola. On the way over he stopped at Santa Cruz (one of the Caribbee islands), and stole a hundred so-called cannibals, to be sold as slaves in Hispaniola. Both outfits arrived at the town of St. Domingo about the same time, and the rival governors had many disputes over their adjoining grants, in which the more polished Nicuesa had the advantage of the hot-headed Ojeda. The latter was for settling their differences with the sword, but Juan de la Cosa managed to pacify them. The governors quarreled again over their dividing line, and La Cosa decided it should be the middle of the Gulf of Urabá and the Atrato (Darien) river. Since the death of Columbus, La Cosa was Spain's ablest pilot and cartographer in the Indies, and his decision could not be questioned.

As the result of his lawsuit, and more especially of his marriage to the influential Doña Maria de Toledo, niece of the Duke of Alva, Don Diego Colon was awarded the governorship of Hispaniola; and Ovando was recalled. About the middle of the year 1509, Governor Diego Colon arrived at Santo Domingo with his wife, his brother Don Fernando, and his two uncles, Don Bartolomé and Don Diego. The new Governor of Hispaniola was accompanied by a large retinue of cavaliers and ladies of rank, and he established the first

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vice-regal court in the New World, where but a few years before the naked red man roamed in barbarian freedom. Governor Colon was much aggrieved that he was not given the vice-royalty in succession to his father, with dominion over Tierra Firme. He opposed the recruiting of Spaniards and Indians in Hispaniola by Ojeda and Nicuesa; and resented the allotment to them of the island of Jamaica as a place to obtain provisions. Instead of simply protesting to the King, Colon despatched Juan de Esquivel, with seventy men, to take possession of that island, and to hold it subject to his command. Before sailing, Ojeda heard of this movement, and swore that if he ever found Esquivel on Jamaica he would strike off his head.

Among the lawyers at St. Domingo, was the Bachiller Martin Fernandez de Encisco, who had already accumulated two thousand castellanos from his practice; "for it would appear that the spirit of litigation was one of the first fruits of civilized life transplanted to the New World, and flourished surprisingly among the Spanish colonists." Ojeda promised to make him Alcalde Mayor, or chief judge of his province; and the speculative bachelor of law put all his savings in the expedition. They agreed that Ojeda should go ahead to Nueva Andalucia, while the Bachiller would remain in St. Domingo to secure recruits and supplies, and follow his chief in a vessel purchased by himself.

Ojeda was the first of the rival governors to get away. He sailed from St. Domingo on the 10th of November, 1509, with two ships, two brigantines, 300 men, and 12 brood-mares. Among the adventurers who embarked with Ojeda was an illiterate soldier, by name Francisco Pizarro, who became famous as the conqueror of Peru. Another native of Estremadura, Hernando Cortés, was also in St. Domingo at this time, and intended to accompany Nicuesa; but was forced to remain in Hispaniola by reason of an abscess in the thigh of the right leg. In 1511, Cortés went with Diego Velasquez to Cuba; from whence, in 1519, he departed for the conquest of Mexico.

Nicuesa, having a larger expedition, and the rich Veragua in his province, attracted more followers than Ojeda. He selected Lope de Olano, an associate of Roldan in his rebellion against Columbus, to be his captain general. Nicuesa was lavish in his expenditures, and before his departure was besieged by creditors. When stepping in the boat to go aboard his ship, he was arrested for a debt of five hundred ducats and carried before the alcalde. Nicuesa did not have the money and was in a condition of despair; when a public notary, touched by his distress,

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stepped forward and paid the bill. With tears of gratitude, the governor embraced his deliverer, and hurriedly put to sea. Nicuesa sailed about ten days after Ojeda, with seven vessels, carrying eight hundred men and six horses.

Meanwhile, Ojeda, well pleased that he had gotten the start of his rival, arrived safely at Terra Firma; and, about the fifth day after leaving St. Domingo, entered the bay, where, in 1531, was founded the present city of Cartagena. Juan de la Cosa, who, with Bastidas, in 1501, was the first to visit this place, warned his commander not to make an entrance here, but to continue on to the Gulf of Urabá, where the natives were not so warlike, and did not use poisoned arrows. The rash Ojeda would not heed the advice of his Mentor, La Cosa, but landed a large force and advanced against an Indian village called *Calamar* (or *Caramari*). He ordered the friars with him to read aloud a ridiculous document, drawn up by profound jurists and pious divines in Spain, filled with subtle sophistry to excuse the crimes they were about to commit upon the natives. In it the Catholic Kings of Castile claimed *Tierra-firme* by gift from the Pope, and required speedy submission of the inhabitants, with dire threats and punishments for refusal. (*Vide Appendix.*)

The Indians, of course, did not understand a single word of this extraordinary manifesto; and, as the Spaniards continued to advance, brandished their weapons and let fly a shower of arrows. La Cosa entreated the governor to abandon these hostile shores, but Ojeda, invoking the protection of the Virgin, charged the people and captured the town. Some of the Indians were killed, and seventy captives sent on the ships. On their persons were found plates of the inferior gold, called *guanin*. In spite of the remonstrance of his lieutenant, Ojeda pursued the fugitives for four leagues into the interior. In the evening he came to a large town called *Turbaco*, which the inhabitants had deserted. While the Spaniards were divided, looting the houses which were scattered among the trees, they were assailed by troops of Indians and nearly all killed. The women of this region joined with the men in defending their homes, and were particularly expert in throwing a lance called the *azagay*. La Cosa, with a few others, went to the assistance of their commander, and for a time they held the enemy at bay from behind a palisade. Suddenly, the impetuous Ojeda sprang forth like a tiger, dealing blows on every side. The faithful Biscayan would have followed, but was already crippled by his wounds. He and the few remaining men took

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refuge in a shack, the roof of which they threw off, lest the enemy should set it on fire. Here they defended themselves until only La Cosa and one other were left alive. Feeling himself dying from the subtle poison in his wounds, the brave La Cosa said to his companion: "Brother, since God hath protected thee from harm, sally forth and fly; and if ever thou shouldst see Alonso de Ojeda, tell him of my fate."

Thus perished Juan de la Cosa, from the effects of those envenomed weapons against which he had ineffectually warned his commander. Aside from his eminence as a navigator, he will be remembered for his honesty, faithfulness, and generous traits of character. La Cosa is one of the few among the Conquistadores who win our affection as well as our admiration. The Spaniard who told the story of his death was the sole survivor of seventy or more men who went with their governor.

As for Ojeda, being small and active, as well as powerful, he was able to protect himself with his buckler from the deadly arrows, and succeeded in cutting his way through the Indians, and escaped in the darkness. When day broke, he concealed himself in the jungle, and that night wandered back towards his ships. After some days, a searching party from the fleet found Ojeda, exhausted and speechless, lying upon some matted mangrove roots by the margin of the sea. His sword was in his hand, and his buckler, still attached to his shoulders, bore the marks of three hundred arrows. They warmed his body by a fire, and gave him wine and food, so that he was soon able to tell his story. As usual, he had received no wound, and he considered his miraculous escape as another proof of the special protection of the Virgin.

While the Spaniards were yet on shore nursing their commander back to life and strength, the ships of Nicuesa entered the harbor. Ojeda was ashamed to be seen in his sad plight, and feared that his rival would call upon him to defend his challenge; so begged his men to leave him alone on the shore, and to tell Nicuesa that he was on an expedition into the country. Nicuesa, however, heard the true account of what had happened, and was indignant that they should even imagine that he could take advantage of his present superiority to revenge himself for past disputes. When they met, Nicuesa received Ojeda with open arms. "It is not," said he, "for *Hidalgos*, like men of vulgar souls, to remember past differences when they behold one another in distress. Henceforth, let all that has occurred between us be forgotten. Command

One hundred .thirty three

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me as a brother. Myself and my men are at your orders, to follow you wherever you please, until the death of Juan de la Cosa and his comrades are revenged."

The two governors united their forces, and landed four hundred men and several horses; proclaiming that no quarter should be given the Indians. They came upon Turbaco at night, and, though the parrots in the woods made a prodigious clamor, took the people by surprise. The houses were set on fire, and the men, women and children slain as they ran out. When the flying women, with children in their arms, beheld the horses and armor-clad Spaniards, they shrieked with terror, and rushed back into the flames. The body of the unfortunate Juan de la Cosa was found tied to a tree. It was so horribly swollen and discolored that his countrymen would not remain at that place over night. The ruins of the village were searched and the dead Indians robbed of their ornaments, with the result that considerable booty was obtained; the share of Nicuesa and his men amounting to seven thousand *castellanos*. Well satisfied with their work, the reconciled governors parted in great amity; and Nicuesa sailed away for the rich Veragua and his Golden Castile.

All too late, Ojeda took the advice of his dead lieutenant, and gave up all thoughts of colonizing at Calamar. Steering westward along the shore, and capturing Indians for slaves, he entered the gulf of Urabá. He sought the river of Darien (Atrato), discovered early in 1501 by Bastidas and La Cosa, because it was the western limit of his domain, and was famed among the Indians as abounding in gold. The river was not found, probably because it empties itself not at the head of the gulf, but by a number of mouths on the west shore.

Failing to find the Darien river, Ojeda disembarked his expedition on the east side of the gulf, and erected, on an elevation, a wooden fortress and houses, surrounding the whole with a stockade. He named his embryo capital *San Sebastian*, in honor of the arrow-martyred saint whose protection he craved from the venomous darts of the natives. This was the third attempt at settlement on the Tierra-firme; the first being Santa Cruz on Bahia Honda, and the second that of Belen in Veragua. Ojeda sent a ship to Santo Domingo, with his slaves and stolen gold; and by it, a letter to his *alcalde mayor*, the Bachiller Encisco, urging him to hasten on with recruits and provisions.

When the governor had completed his new town, he started out with an armed force to visit a neighboring cacique; a courtesy that was instigated largely by the reputed wealth of the

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chieftain. The latter had heard of these friendly visits by the white men, and resolved that they should not reach his village. He placed his warriors along the trail, and assailed the Spaniards with such flights of arrows that they retreated in confusion, leaving many of their number to die in the jungle. So great was their dread of the poisoned arrows that Ojeda found great difficulty in getting his men to leave the protection of the stockade. At night they heard the screams of tigers and other beasts about San Sebastian; and when they ventured out into the thickets they encountered the deadly darts of the natives, or large and venomous serpents. Herrera relates that an enormous alligator seized one of their horses by the leg and dragged the animal beneath the water.

It took the Spaniards some time to realize that the natives of Tierra Firme differed materially from the timid Arawaks of Hispaniola. These Indians were altogether or partly of Carib stock, and, whether on sea or land, were the fiercest fighters in the Americas. They ambuscaded all foraging parties and actually besieged the garrison. The sentinel of San Sebastian was often found dead at his post in the morning. Provisions were nearly all consumed, and the colonists were dying of wounds and disease. When the dusky warriors surrounded the settlement and brandished their weapons in defiance, the governor was always the first to sally forth; and it is said that he slew more Indians with his single arm than all his followers together. The quick-witted natives saw that Ojeda was the head and front of the invaders, and planned an ambush to discover if he really bore a charmed life, as they had heard. A number of warriors advanced on San Sebastian, sounding their conchs and drums, and uttering yells of defiance. When Ojeda rushed out, they retreated to the place where four of their best bowmen were concealed. Three arrows struck his shield and glanced harmlessly off, but the fourth pierced his thigh.

This was the first wound that Alonso de Ojeda had ever received in battle, and he was not only alarmed at the poisonous nature of it, but felt despondent that the Holy Virgin had withdrawn her protection from him. Nevertheless, he did not lose his courage, but proceeded to apply heroic treatment. A prominent symptom of these poisoned wounds was a feeling of cold in the part affected, so Ojeda caused two iron plates to be made red hot, and ordered his surgeon to apply one to each orifice of the wound. The surgeon shuddered and refused, saying he did not wish to murder his general. Ojeda swore that his general would hang him unless he obeyed; and the

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doctor, to avoid the gallows, applied the glowing plates. According to the good Bishop Las Casas, the cold poison was consumed by the vivid fire, and the governor recovered from his wound; but the cauterization induced such a fever that they had to wrap him in sheets steeped in vinegar, using an entire barrel of it for this purpose.

When the early Spaniards could not force food and labor from the Indians, they generally starved. Afraid to rob the natives, eating herbs and roots for sustenance, and much depressed at the disability of their commander, the miserable colony at San Sebastian waited the coming of Encisco. One day a ship came to anchor in the gulf, but it was not that of the Bachiller Encisco. The vessel was commanded by Bernardino de Talavera, a renegade debtor from Hispaniola. He was at St. Domingo when Ojeda's ship returned with the slaves and gold, tangible evidence of the richness of the colony. Understanding Ojeda to be in need of recruits, Talavera gathered together a band of worthless adventurers, like himself, and watched for an opportunity to go to San Sebastian. Fortune often favors knaves for a time, as if to lure them on to destruction. At Cape Tiburon, Hispaniola, was a vessel, belonging to some Genoese, loading with bacon and *cassava* bread. Talavera's gang, about seventy in number, made their way secretly to Cape Tiburon, overpowered the crew of the ship, and more by luck than seamanship, arrived at San Sebastian. Father Charlevoix thinks it was a special providence which guided this shipload of food to the colonists just when they were on the brink of starvation.

Talavera demanded gold for his provisions, to which Ojeda acceded, glad to get them at any price. The governor dealt out the new supplies so sparingly that his companions murmured, and even accused their leader of reserving an undue share for himself. The ancient chroniclers think there may have been some truth in this charge, as Ojeda was haunted by a presentiment that he should eventually die of hunger.

When these supplies were exhausted, and no Encisco had appeared, the discontented colonists plotted to seize one of the vessels in the harbor and sail for Hispaniola. The governor heard of this plan and resolved to go himself; and such was their belief in his ability, that they felt sure relief would be forthcoming. Ojeda made an agreement with his people that, if within fifty days they did not hear from him, they were at liberty to abandon the place, and embark in the remaining vessels for Hispaniola or elsewhere. The governor appointed as

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his lieutenant, to command until the arrival of Encisco, Francisco Pizarro, a name now first appearing in history. With a few attendants, Ojeda departed on the ship of Talavera and his crew, who preferred the risk of returning to Hispaniola to the famine and poisoned arrows of Tierra Firme.

The domineering governor assumed the command as a matter of course, while Talavera, who had stolen the ship, maintained his claim with equal stubbornness; with the result that Ojeda found himself again returning to Hispaniola in chains. When a storm arose, the ruffianly land-lubbers took off his irons on condition that he would pilot the vessel. In spite of his skill as a mariner, the equatorial currents bore them west of Hispaniola, and the vessel ran aground on the south coast of Cuba, near the port of Xagua. All hands landed in safety, and started for the eastern end of the island, from which they hoped to cross over to Haiti (Hispaniola).

Cuba (now called Juana) was not yet colonized by the whites. Many fugitive Indians sought refuge here from their cruel taskmasters on Hispaniola, and these excited the Cubans to hostilities against the Spaniards. The cut-throat gang now looked to Ojeda as their commander, and he led them away from the villages, through which they had to fight their way, and sought a passage through the lowlands. They wandered into an immense swamp, said to be thirty leagues in extent, through which the party waded and floundered for thirty days. The water about them was briny, their scant supply of food spoiled, and at night they slept on the twisted roots of the mangroves, which grew in clusters throughout the morass. Ojeda still carried his little image of the Virgin Mary, which he would often hang upon the bushes, and kneel before in prayer. When their condition seemed hopeless, he made a vow to erect a shrine and leave the image at the first Indian village they came to, if the Virgin would conduct them out of their peril.

After losing about thirty-five of his seventy men, from exhaustion and drowning, Ojeda arrived at the village of Cueyba, or Cuebás, where the Indians washed them, supplied meat and drink, and exhibited the kindest humanity. True to his vow, Ojeda built a little hermitage in the hamlet, and placed his precious image over the altar, explaining to the cacique, as best he could, the story of the Mother of Christ, while the Spaniards recuperated at Cueyba. Las Casas tells us that the natives almost worshipped them, "as if they had been angels;" very good evidence that none of their countrymen had preceded them to this place.

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A few years later, when the Clerigo (as Las Casas calls himself) and Pamphilo de Narvaez came to Cueyba, they found the image left by Ojeda held in great reverence by the natives, who had constructed an ornamented chapel about it. The Indians composed native couplets, called *areitos*, in honor of the Virgin, which they sang to sweet melodies, accompanied by dancing. As the painting was also held in repute by the Spaniards, the Clerigo offered another picture of the Virgin in exchange for it; which so alarmed the cacique that he fled by night with the sacred image, and did not return until after the departure of the white men.

The kind cacique and his people helped the Spaniards to reach Cape de la Cruz, in the province of Macaca, a region visited by Columbus. From here, Ojeda sent Diego Ordaz in a canoe to Jamaica, to beg assistance of Juan de Esquivel, whose head he had threatened, with so much bluster, to strike off. Esquivel immediately despatched a vessel over to Cuba, commanded by Pamphilo de Narvaez, who thus courteously addressed the fallen governor: "Senor Ojeda, will your worship please to come hither; we have to take you on board." The unfortunate man replied with a proverb expressive of his changed condition, "*Mi remo no rema*"—my oar rows not. When Ojeda reached Jamaica he was tenderly cared for by Esquivel, and furnished transportation to St. Domingo. Governor Diego Colon despatched a party of soldiers to Jamaica to arrest Talavera and his gang, and bring them in chains to St. Domingo. They were tried for piracy, and, in 1511, Talavera and his principal accomplices were hanged.

Ojeda arrived at St. Domingo long after the fifty days set for his return to San Sebastian. Encisco had already left with supplies for the colony, and nothing had since been heard from him. Ojeda endeavored to enlist another force to go to his province, but the disasters attending his colonists were too well known. His name was no longer one to conjure with, and, very naturally, Diego Colon would not assist another to seize a province which he claimed as his own. One incident occurred which reminds one of the Ojeda of old. One night he was set upon by a lot of ruffians—probably some of the Talavera gang against whom he had testified at their trial—and he not only beat them off, but chased the miscreants through the streets of St. Domingo. In 1513, and again in 1515, Ojeda gave depositions in the case of Diego Colon against the Crown.

Broken in health, spirit, and fortune, Alonso de Ojeda soon died. Gomara, the historian of the Indies, affirms that a few

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hours before his death he became a Franciscan monk, and died in the habit of that order. Being too poor to provide for his interment, Ojeda begged that his body might be buried just beyond the threshold of the church in the monastery of San Francisco, "that every one who entered might tread upon his grave."

"Never," says Charlevoix, in his history of St. Domingo, "was man more suited for a coup-de-main, or to achieve and suffer great things under the direction of another; none had a heart more lofty, or ambition more aspiring; none ever took less heed of fortune, or showed greater firmness of soul, or found more resources in his own courage; but none was less calculated to be commander-in-chief of a great enterprise. Good management and good fortune forever failed him."

Several daring feats are related of Alonso de Ojeda. One day when Queen Isabella was visiting the Giralda tower, at Seville, Ojeda, who was an officer of the guard, gave proof of his courage and strength in a singular manner. Armed as he was at the time, Ojeda walked out upon a beam which projected about twenty feet, near the top of the tower, and upon reaching the end of it, he stood on one leg, raising the other in the air. Then turning nimbly, the young cavalier walked back to the wall, and with one foot on the beam and the other placed against the tower, he drew an orange from his pocket and threw it over the figure of Giralda, on the summit of the building.

What would that old sea-dog, Juan de la Cosa, as well as Francis Drake, the Buccaneer Chiefs, and commanders of the *guarda-costas* think of the following, penned by a naval officer in 1871. After anchoring his warship near Isla del Muertos, in the Gulf of Urabá, the captain writes: "Ours was the first ship whose keel had ever plowed these waters, and thoughts could but arise whether this magnificent bay was destined ever to remain grand in solitude as well as proportions; or, would it one day be covered with sails from every clime? To the West stretched the great delta of the Atrato, covered with its dense vegetation, bounded by the blue outline of the Cordilleras; to the East were the high hills of the Antioquian range, rising from the very shores of the bay; while just visible above the horizon to the South were the tops of the trees that skirt the bottom of the bay. This bay, so magnificent in its dimensions, so uniform in its soundings, and tranquil as an inland sea, I named Columbia. Numerous small streams empty into it on the East side, and at the foot of the bay is the Leon river, the largest of them all, which rises in a spur of the Antioquia Mountains, and is said to be navigable many miles for steamboats. The small town of Pisisi, or Turbo, is the only habitable spot, containing about four hundred inhabitants."

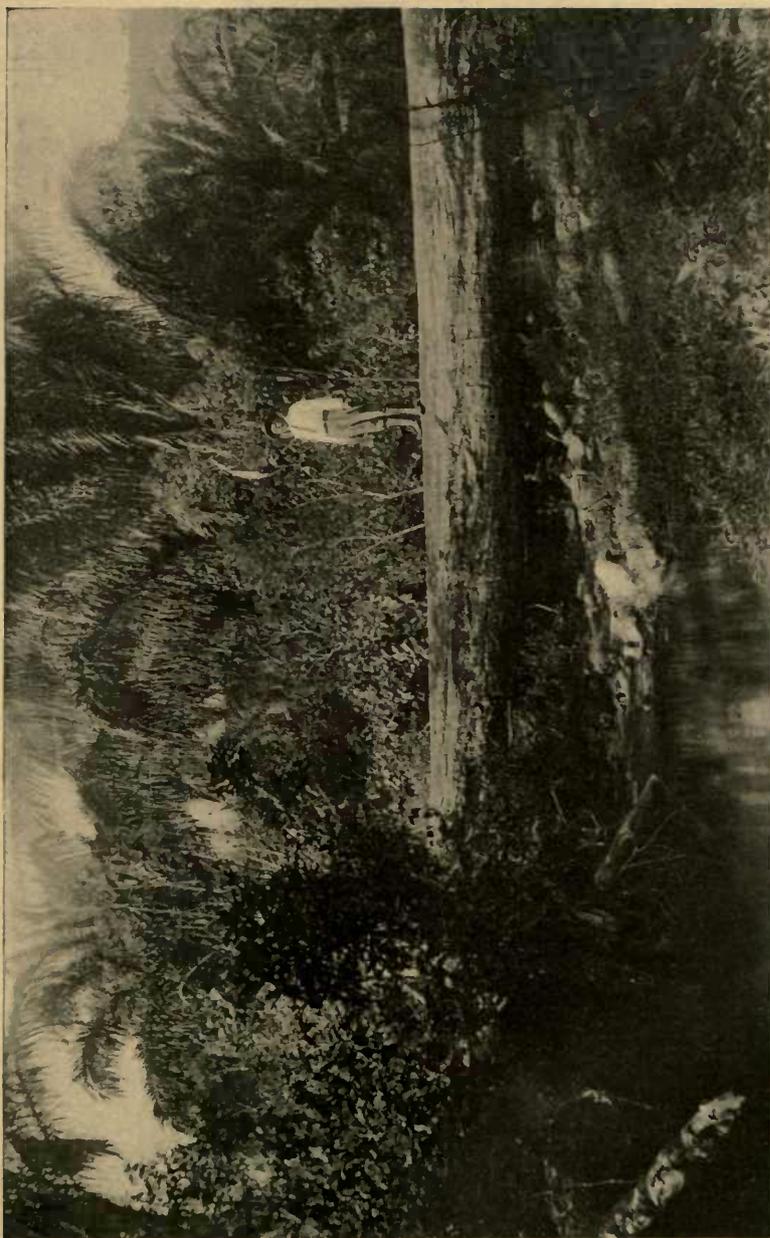


Photo by the Author.

ISTHMIAN JUNGLE.

CHAPTER IX

DIEGO DE NICUESA

First Governor of the Isthmus

"An epic quest it was of elder years,
For fabled gardens or for good red gold,
The trail men strove in iron days of old."

Richard Burton.



HAVING followed Alonso de Ojeda, the first governor of Nueva Andalucia, literally to the bitter end of his life, we yet have three parties to account for, viz: the colony at San Sebastian in Urabá; Encisco and recruits on the way to San Sebastian; and Diego de Nicuesa and his expedition. We will first relate the fortunes of the rival governor, and shall find that Nicuesa fared no better than did Ojeda.

When the two governors separated in the port of Calamar (Cartagena), Nicuesa kept on to the west, passing the gulf of Urabá (the eastern boundary of his province) until he came to the district of Cueva. Here the fleet anchored in a harbor, into which flowed a stream called the Pito. The Spaniards landed and said mass, the first on the Isthmus, and hence named the place *Puerto de Misas*. This was opposite the Mulatas, near where Santa Cruz was established a few years later. Leaving his largest ships at Misas under command of his relative, Cueto, Nicuesa continued on to the westward in a caravel, with sixty men, to find the rich Veragua and fix on a place for his capital. He was attended by his lieutenant, Lope de Olano, and thirty men in a brigantine. Somewhere off the coast of Veragua, the two vessels ran into a storm, and to avoid danger at night, put out to sea.

When morning dawned, Nicuesa found himself alone, and feared that the brigantine had perished. He returned to the land and coasted to the west until he came to a large river, which he entered and came to anchor. The stream, which had been swollen by the rains, suddenly subsided, causing the caravel

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to fall on its side and begin to go to pieces. A brave seaman attempted to carry a line ashore, but was swept away by the rushing current and drowned. Another sailor, undismayed by the fate of his comrade, plunged into the water and succeeded in making the line fast to a tree, over which the crew passed safely to land. The boat was saved, and a barrel of flour and cask of oil drifted ashore and were secured. This disaster left them without arms, and with but little food, on a strange and inhospitable shore; and if the brigatine was not lost, the despairing ones claimed that the old rebel, Olano, had deserted them.

The governor determined to continue to the westward, where he believed Veragua to lie, trusting to find his lieutenant already at the site of his intended government. The jungle was too dense to travel inland, so Nicuesa, with most of his men, followed the shore; while Diego de Ribero and three companions went by sea in the boat, keeping within hail of their chief. For days these miserable men, half dead with fatigue and hunger, struggled through swamps and across rivers mistakenly seeking Veragua in the west. When they came to a large stream or inlet of the sea, Ribero would carry them over in his boat. Most of the party were without shoes, and their food consisted of palm-buds, roots and shell-fish. Only those familiar with the mangrove swamps of the Caribbean, the sultry heat and torrential rains of the tropics, and the myriads of insects which bite and sting by day and night, can fully appreciate the suffering and horror of Nicuesa's journey in the lowlands of Panama.

Unbeknown to the party, the Indians, of course, were aware of the presence of the white men, and the wonder is that they did not annihilate the Spaniards. One morning they were about to resume their weary march when the governor's favorite page fell dead at his side, pierced by an Indian arrow. This was the only hostile act, and Nicuesa and his men never saw a native during the trip. The unfortunate page was dressed in a white *sombrero* and gaudy, though tattered garments, and had been singled out as the leader of the Spaniards. Each fearing for his life, they took up their toilsome journey to the west, every day getting farther and farther from their goal. The pilot, Ribero, who had been with Columbus when he discovered this coast, in 1502, assured Nicuesa that he had passed Belen and Veragua; but the obstinate governor, who claimed to have a chart made by Don Bartolomé Colon, insisted that Veragua was yet to the westward.

Nicuesa had a dog which, so far, had followed the fortunes of

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the expedition. One day the canine looked up into his hungry master's eyes, and there saw something which made him give a yelp, drop his tail between his legs, and disappear in the brush. It has always seemed to me that this story was a reflection on a noble race of animals noted for their devotion to mankind in adversity, and I venture to exonerate the dog on the grounds that, by intimate association, he had acquired some of the characteristics of his human companions.

The party finally came to a body of water which appeared to be a bay, and Ribero ferried them over to the opposite shore. Resuming their march, the land proved to be an island, but the sailors being too tired to row them back to the mainland, the Spaniards rested for the night. The next morning neither the boat nor the four mariners could be found. Some of the party became frantic at the hopelessness of their situation; others abandoned themselves to silent despair. The island was found to be almost a desert, with a few pools of brackish water. The men lashed together some drift-wood and attempted to reach the mainland, but the currents carried the raft out to sea, and the enfeebled swimmers returned with difficulty to the island. Nicuesa ordered another raft to be constructed, and another effort was made to get away from the island; but the outcome was the same. Roots, fruits, and shell-fish provided a little nourishment; but many died of famine and exhaustion, envied, we are told, by the miserable survivors. Weeks passed, during which the Spaniards waited for death in sullen despair. The site of this wretchedness was, probably, the island at the eastern entrance to the *Laguna de Chiriqui*.

Lope de Olano has rested under the suspicion of deserting Nicuesa, with the hope of usurping the command of the expedition. According to Oviedo, a contemporary historian, Olano's pilot declared rightly that they had arrived at Veragua, saying: "This is Veragua, and I came here with the Admiral, Don Cristoval Colon, when he discovered this land." But Nicuesa, relying upon some papers given him by the Adelantado Bartolomé Colon, denied this, and abused the pilot from on board the caravel. The pilot maintained his position, and told Olano they "might cut off his head" if they did not find that he was right.

On the night of the storm, assuming that the governor was a lost man, Olano commanded his pilot not to follow the lantern of the caravel. He took shelter under the lee of an island, and in the morning made no effort to find Nicuesa.

In the meantime, Cueto waited two months at the port of

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Misas with the larger ships. Hearing from no one, he became uneasy, and set out in a small vessel to the west, exploring the bays and inlets for some signs of his countrymen. On a little island he found a letter, wrapped in a leaf, fastened to a stick, which informed him that Nicuesa had sailed farther westward. Cueto then returned to Misas and started for Veragua with all his ships, which were so worm-eaten that he put in the River of Alligators (Chagre) for repairs. Here he partly unloaded the vessels, and while stopping up the holes, sent out one of his pilots, Pedro de Umbria, in a brigantine to look for the lost governor of Castilla del Oro. Umbria met Olano, and both agreeing that the governor had drowned, sailed back to join Cueto in the Rio Chagre. With tears which would have done honor to the "crocodiles" in the river, Olano recounted the circumstances of the storm, and the disappearance of Nicuesa. "And now, gentlemen," he said, "let no more mention be made of him if you would not kill me."

Lope de Olano is then recognized as their commander, or lieutenant-governor, and the entire outfit sails for the Rio Belen, which the pilots who had been with Columbus find without difficulty. Olano entered the river and disembarked, losing four of his men by drowning. The ships are so rotten that they are dismantled. On the site of the old settlement of *Nuestra Señora de Belen*, occupied by Bartolomé Colon, in 1503, the colonists of Nicuesa made another attempt to found a white man's town in Veragua. Where stood the storehouse and cabins of the Adelantado, destroyed by the Quibian, Olano and his people built new huts and landed their supplies.

Surely, the fighting Quibian of 1503, must be dead, for the present chief is a veritable Fabian for wisdom. Instead of attacking the whites, the Indians forsake their villages and passively retire before the Europeans. There being no food and gold to steal, or natives to kill, there is neither livelihood nor entertainment for the Spaniards. The provisions brought from Hispaniola were spoiled or consumed, and starvation stared them in the face. Disease and disaffection followed as usual. Herrera relates that one day a foraging party of thirty men came upon a dead Indian, and, being famished, devoured the putrescent corpse; which caused the death of every one of them. A sudden rise in the Rio Belen nearly washed away their shacks; and on another occasion, when Olano was out with his men looking for gold, the flood-waters came down from the mountains and drowned several of the party; their leader escaping only by expert swimming.

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This was the state of affairs at Belen when Ribero arrived with his three companions. Seeing the futility of trying to convince Nicuesa that he had passed Veragua, the pilot induced his fellow seamen to steal away from the governor and seek assistance from the other colonists, whom he hoped to find in the river Belen. Ribero found the rest of the Spaniards at Belen, just as he expected he would; but their condition was not much better than that of the party with Nicuesa. The survival of the governor was unwelcome news to Olano; but he sent a caravel, which he had recently constructed, with palm-nuts and fresh water, to the island on which Nicuesa was marooned. The rescued and their deliverers embraced, with tears of joy, and the governor's party transposed the theater of their miseries from the island to Belen.

When the survivors of the expedition were reunited, the first thing Nicuesa did was to accuse Olano of treachery and put him in chains. When the other captains interceded in his behalf, the governor turned on them and exclaimed: "You do well to supplicate mercy for him; you who yourselves have need of pardon! You have participated in his crime, why else have you suffered so long a time to elapse without compelling him to send one of the vessels in search of me." It was the governor's desire to punish the captains; but this was neither the time nor place for severities. Half of the expedition, about four hundred men, had already perished. Nicuesa sent out detachments to rob the plantations and deserted villages, but they came back worn out and empty handed. The remainder of the disheartened colonists clamored to be taken away, so Nicuesa determined to seek elsewhere for a more desirable place for settlement.

The Spaniards, with more fore-sight than usual, had planted maize and vegetables, and they requested the governor to remain a few days longer until the crops would ripen. Instead of waiting, Nicuesa left a party behind to gather the harvest, under the command of Alonso Nuñez, to whom he gave the high-sounding title of Alcalde Mayor. The governor had his fill of the country west of Belen, so followed the coast to the eastward. A sailor named Gregorio, of Genoa, who had been with Columbus, told Nicuesa that they must be in the neighborhood of a fine harbor, named *Puerto Bello*, where the old Admiral had left an anchor sticking in the sand, near which was a spring of cool water at the foot of a large tree. After some search, Puerto Bello was entered, and the anchor, spring, and tree found just as Gregorio stated. The Spaniards forage for some-

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thing to eat, when the Indians kill twenty of their number and drive the rest back in confusion.

Discouraged at the prospect of making a settlement at Puerto Bello, the governor resumed his search to the eastward. After sailing about seven leagues, they came to a harbor, usually identified with the Puerto de Bastimentos of Columbus. The country looked fruitful and the shore seemed to present a favorable location for a fortress. "*Parcemos aqui, en nombre de Dios!*" (Let us stop here, in the name of God) exclaimed Nicuesa. His followers, seeing a lucky augury in his words, decided to call the place *Nombre de Dios*, even before a landing was effected. The party then disembarked, and the governor took formal possession of the country for Spain. A blockhouse and huts were constructed, and another attempt made to locate the government of Castilla del Oro. The caravel was sent to Belen to bring up Nuñez and his men. Many had already died, and the rest were living on reptiles; a piece of alligator being considered a banquet.

The entire force of Nicuesa was now at Nombre de Dios, and mustered only one hundred sick and famished souls. The caravel was sent to Hispaniola for bacon, which the governor, before sailing, had ordered to be prepared; but the vessel was never heard of again. Gonsalo de Badajos made a foray among the Indians, who retreated with their valuables and provisions, and harassed the Spaniards from the shelter of the jungle. The white man's thirst for gold was lost in his struggle for mere existence. The miserable colonists blamed their leader for their suffering, murmured when ordered out to seek food, and perished so fast that the survivors wearied of burying the dead. "It was noticed in these calamities," states Las Casas, "that no one died but when the tide was ebbing;" a phenomenon which has been observed in many other instances, and which seems to have a physiological reason to account for it. Soon the settlers ceased to even mount a guard, and hopelessly awaited death.

We will now go back to *San Sebastian* and take up the narrative of the remnant of Ojeda's colony left in charge of Francisco Pizarro. When Alonso de Ojeda sailed away for Hispaniola he agreed with Pizarro that should he not return within fifty days, nor the bachiller Encisco arrive within the same period, the colonists were at liberty to abandon the place if they chose, and go wheresoever they pleased. When fifty

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hungry days had passed, and no news of their governor or chief justice had been received, the people decided to give up their hopeless effort to continue the settlement, and return to San Domingo.

Though so many had perished from the poisoned arrows, and from disease and starvation, there yet remained seventy Spaniards at San Sebastian. As the two little brigantines could not hold that many men, the colonists deliberately tarried until death had reduced their number to the capacity of the boats. They did not have long to wait.

When enough had died off, the remainder of the Spaniards loaded their few possessions and the salted meat of four mares, and embarked for Hispaniola (Española). When sailing to the east along the coast looking for food, the brigantine commanded by Valenzuela suddenly foundered, as if it had been rammed by a whale or overturned by a squall. All on board were lost. Pizarro, the Lucky, was in the other boat, and continued on to the port of Calamar (Cartagena), where he found the tardy Encisco looking for the capital of Nueva Andalucia, whose laws he was to administer.

When the bachiller Encisco was drumming up recruits for Ojeda's colony, many of the worthless adventurers and hangers-on in Santo Domingo endeavored to go with him in order to escape from their creditors. Under the law, no debtor could leave the island; so the merchants and others, to whom bills were owing, applied to the Admiral, Don Diego Colon, who watched the outfit, and ordered an armed vessel to accompany Encisco's ship until clear of the land. Notwithstanding this vigilance, one debtor managed to elude his creditors and stow himself away on the expedition. His name was *Vasco Nuñez de Balboa*, destined, in the few remaining years of his life, to win everlasting renown. Encisco raved at the enormity of the offense, as became a good bachelor-at-law, and threatened to maroon Vasco Nuñez on the first desert island they came to; but recognized a good recruit in the impoverished gentleman, and soon calmed down.

The bachiller Encisco arrived at Tierra Firme near the present city of Cartagena, and entered the bay of Calamar, near which Ojeda had his fights with the Indians, and where Juan de la Cosa lost his life. Ignorant of the hostilities stirred up by his chief, Encisco sent some men ashore for water and to repair the boat; when the natives sounded their war-calls and gathered in the vicinity. As two of the Spaniards were filling a water cask they were suddenly surrounded by eleven Indians,

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who, with bows drawn, stood ready to drive their fatal arrows into the bodies of the intruders. One of the white men started to run to his companions, but the other spoke a few words in the Indian tongue, and the natives soon became friendly. Encisco hastened up with an armed force, but the diplomatic interpreter maintained amicable relations. Quite different this from the blood-thirsty Ojeda. Encisco was not seeking a fight, and the Indians exhibited their friendship by supplying the whites with maize, salted fish, and fermented drinks.

At this time, the little brigantine containing Francisco Pizarro and his enfeebled men sailed into the harbor. The suspicious lawyer was not inclined to believe their story, but their sickly and emaciated bodies presented evidence which he could not deny. Encisco was now their commander, and he insisted that Pizarro and his party must go back to San Sebastian with him. Against both law and authority, the miserable survivors of Ojeda's settlement had no appeal. Like the other commanders who had sailed along Tierra Firme, Encisco planned to do a little stealing on the way. While at Calamar, he learned that at a place called Cenú (Zenú), about twenty-five leagues further west, the mountains were so full of gold that the rains washed it down into the rivers, where it was caught in nets by the natives. He was also informed that Cenú was a general place of sepulture for the Indians of that region, who interred with the dead their most valuable ornaments. This was greater temptation than European flesh and blood, especially Spanish, could resist.

Ever since the institution of burial customs, mankind has adorned the dead with, and placed in the grave, the valuables of the deceased; and succeeding generations have spent much time and acquired considerable wealth by tearing open and robbing the tombs of the departed. Martin Fernandez de Encisco, Bachelor of Law, will desecrate the sanctity of the Indian sepulchres only according to due legal form. To the two caciques he finds at Cenú he reads, and partly interprets that curious and presumptuous document called *El Requerimiento* (The Requisition) prepared by the ablest lawyers and divines of Spain; it being the same proclamation used by Ojeda, and later robbers, as a sop for their subsequent massacre and pillage of the natives. The chiefs who listened with grave and courteous decorum to the reading of the paper, replied that the doctrine of one Supreme Being was good; but that the king of Spain must be some madman to ask for what belonged to others, and that the Pope must have been drunk to give away

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what did not belong to him. The two caciques significantly added that they were the lords of that region, and if the Spanish king annoyed them, they would cut off his head and put it on a pole, as was their custom with their enemies; in evidence of which they showed the Bachelor of Law a row of impaled grizzly heads.

Encisco threatened to enslave the lords of Cenú if they did not acknowledge his rulership, and the two chieftains assured the Bachiller that, should he try that game, they would add his head to their collection. A fight then ensued in which the Indians were worsted, one of the caciques being taken prisoner. Two Spaniards were wounded with the poisoned arrows and died in great torment. No doubt Pizarro and the older colonists warned the new arrivals of the warlike character of these Indians; and Encisco did not think it wise to make an entry into the country, nor did he fish with nets for gold in the rivers. The rich sepulchres of Cenú remained undisturbed, but the fabled story of their wealth, like that of El Hombre Dorado, Lake Parima, and the Golden City of Manoa, became an *ignis fatuus* to lure many heroic robbers to their destruction in the wilds of South America.

Encisco left Cenú and sailed westward for San Sebastian. As he rounded Punta Caribana and Punta Arenas, at the mouth of the gulf of Urabá, the Bachiller's ship struck upon the rocks and went to pieces, losing all the stores, horses, and swine. The colonists escaped to the shore with their lives, and not much else. They then tramped along the eastern side of the gulf until they came to the site of San Sebastian. Here another disaster awaited them, as the fort and thirty houses erected by Ojeda had been reduced to ashes by the natives. Amid such desolation, even the Bachiller lost some of his arrogance and self-importance.

The people killed some peccaries for food, and Encisco started out with one hundred men to forage the country. When going along a trail, three Indians suddenly appeared and discharged all the arrows in their quivers at the Spaniards, with such incredible rapidity that, before the latter could realize what had happened, the dusky warriors had swiftly disappeared. Several men were wounded by the envenomed shafts, and this was enough for the terrified party. They turned back to the desolate ruins of the settlement, and insisted on leaving a place so fatal to the white man. But whither should they go?

Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, the stowaway, now begins to take a part in the affairs of Tierra Firme. Stepping forward, he said:

One hundred forty-nine

DIEGO DE

"Once when I coasted this gulf with Rodrigo de Bastidas, along the western shore we found the country fertile and rich in gold. Provisions were abundant; and the natives, though warlike, used no poisoned arrows. Through this land of which I speak flows a river called by the natives Darien." This was cheerful news to the disheartened colonists, as it was only a short distance, say about ten miles, to the other side of the gulf. Probably in Pizarro's brigantine and the ship's boat, they then crossed to the western shore of the gulf of Urabá, which they found to be as Vasco Nuñez had described it.

This territory was called *Darien*, as was the great river emptying into the gulf. The chief village was also called Darien, where dwelt the cacique, whose name was *Cemaco*. The Bachiller and his followers looked upon Cemaco's prosperous capital with hungry, gold-thirsty eyes. Being a good lawyer, Encisco first swears his witnesses. He made every man promise under oath that he would not show his back to the foe. He then turned priest, and made a vow to "Our Lady of Antigua," in Seville, that, should she favor him with victory, he would give to the village her name; as well as make a pilgrimage to her shrine, and adorn it with jewels.

Meanwhile, Cemaco sent his women and children to a place of safety, and prepared to defend his home and country. He, too, exhorted his warriors, and solicited the aid of supernatural powers; and who shall say that his honest invocations received less heed than those of the Bachiller Encisco. With five hundred men, Cemaco awaited on a height the onslaught of the invaders. Both sides fought desperately, but the red men could not stand against the bearded white devils with hard shiny clothes, which turned aside the Indian darts; or their long, keen cutting knives; and their thundersticks, belching forth smoke and death with every report. These natives were not so fierce as those on the opposite shore, and as soon as the Spaniards discovered that they did not use poisoned arrows, the whites pressed the charge with their accustomed assurance and valor, and the Indians broke and fled.

Hidden in various recesses, and among the canes by the river's bank, the Spaniards found a quantity of golden coronets, plates, anklets, and other ornaments, to the value of ten thousand castellanos. Encisco put aside the king's tax, a part for the Virgin, and the rest of the spoils he divided among his men. They now possessed a habitation much better adapted to the climate than any the Spaniards themselves could erect. In accordance with his vow, the Bachiller renamed the village,

One hundred fifty

NICUESA

Santa Maria de la Antigua del Darien; a handicap under which it struggled for a few more years. Nevertheless, it was the first real capital of Spanish government in Tierra Firme. For short, the place often was called simply Antigua. Its site has been identified with the Puerto Hermoso of Columbus, but I am inclined to believe that it was farther south in the gulf of Urabá, on the westernmost outlet of the Darien (Atrato) river.

The lawyer ruler was now well established, and proceeded to make laws and issue edicts to his heart's content, and to the misery of the Spaniards. The people resented most his order, given in conformity to royal commands, forbidding private traffic for gold. Encisco's arbitrary regulations, entirely unsuited to their life in a wild and hostile country, stirred up so much opposition that his adventurous crew planned to get rid of him. Vasco Nuñez, the absconding debtor of Hispaniola, again rescues the colonists. Said he: "The gulf of Urabá separates Nueva Andalucia from Castilla del Oro. While on the eastern side we belonged to the government of Alonso de Ojeda; now that we are on the western, we are subject only to Diego de Nicuesa." The facts were irrefutable, and the logic irresistible. The Bachiller Encisco was out of his province, and had no jurisdiction over them; so the populace deposed him.

The people then formed themselves, in conformity with Spanish law, into a municipality, and elected Vasco Nuñez and Martin Zamudio to be *alcaldes*; and the cavalier Valdivia was chosen *regidor*. This was the first Town Meeting, by white men, in the New World. Later, additional town officers were elected; but discontent still reigned at Antigua. The two-man power was unsatisfactory, as it always is. The logic which deposed the Bachiller Encisco would also hold against any other officer elected from among Ojeda's colony. Being in *Castilla del Oro*, Governor Nicuesa was their lawful commander. So a faction was formed for Nicuesa; while another party were strongly in favor of retaining Vasco Nuñez as their ruler.

In November, 1510, while this dispute was going on, the booming of cannon was heard from across the gulf, in the direction of the deserted San Sebastian de Urabá. Shortly after, Rodrigo Enriquez de Colmenares, a lieutenant of Nicuesa, appeared with two ship-loads of supplies from Hispaniola, seeking the government of Castilla del Oro. East of Calamar, near where Santa Marta was founded, he had lost some of his men by shipwrecks, and was now carefully searching the coast for some signs of the governor.

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take, when he descried a quantity of chicken feathers¹⁷ floating down one of the branches, which he entered. The fourth day of his ascent of the river, Ortega espied the pinnacle of the Englishmen lying upon the sand, with only six men near, one of whom was killed, the others fleeing. Nothing but provisions remained in the boat, so the Spanish captain, with 80 men, followed a trail on the land, and after traveling half a league, arrived at a place covered with limbs of trees. Digging up the ground, the Spaniards recovered all the booty, which they carried back to their barks, intending to return to Panama without making any effort to search for the robbers.

In the meantime, Oxenham had been informed of the pursuit by the Spanish soldiers, and hastened back with his men and negroes to retake the treasure. With more impetuosity than judgment, he attacked the Spaniards by the river's side. Ortega disposed his men to good advantage, and drove back the British, killing eleven of them, and taking seven prisoners. Only two Spaniards were killed, and a few wounded.

It seems that Oxenham's men had demanded an immediate division of the gold and silver, before recrossing the Isthmus, which distrust offended the Captain, so that he would not suffer them to touch the treasure, and went away to get the Symerons to carry it to the north coast. This dissension caused a delay of fifteen days, and brought about the failure of the expedition, and the death of nearly all the party. Oxenham came back with the Symerons just in time to see his booty vanish.

Captain Ortega went back to Panama with the treasure and captives, very well satisfied with himself. The prisoners were compelled to disclose all they knew of the expedition, and the Governor immediately sent word to Nombre de Dios, giving information of where the English ship was concealed; and

¹⁷ "Well, sir, on the seventh day we six were down by the pinnacle clearing her out, and the little maid with us gathering flowers, and William Penberthy fishing on the bank, about a hundred yards below, when on a sudden he leaps up and runs towards us, crying, 'Here come our hens' feathers back again with a vengeance!' and so bade catch up the little maid, and run for the house, for the Spaniards were upon us.

"Which was too true; for before we could win the house, there were full eighty shot at our heels, but could not overtake us; nevertheless, some of them stopping, fixed their calivers and let fly, killing one of the Plymouth men. The rest of us escaped to the house, and catching up the lady, fled forth, not knowing whither we went, while the Spaniards, finding the house and treasure, pursued us no farther.

"For all that day and the next we wandered in great misery, the lady weeping continually, and calling for Mr. Oxenham most piteously, and the little maid likewise, till, with much ado, we found the track of our comrades, and went up that as best we might."

Charles Kingsley, *Westward HO!*

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before Oxenham reached the Caribbean coast, his vessel, stores, and ordnance had been located and removed.

The remaining Englishmen lived among the natives, rapidly contracting fevers and fluxes, and slowly making canoes, without tools, in which to venture away to sea. While so engaged, they were surprised by 150 soldiers sent to capture them by order of the viceroy of Peru, and fifteen sick men were taken. Ultimately, by reason of sickness and the treachery of the negroes, all the Englishmen fell into the hands of the Spaniards, and were taken to Panama.

When questioned whether he had the Queen's license or a commission from any other prince or state, Oxenham replied that he acted upon his own account and risk. He and his men were condemned to death, and most of them executed in Panama. Oxenham and his officers, with five boys, were carried to Lima, to be interviewed by the viceroy, where all, except the boys, were put to death.

Thus ended the first transit of the Isthmus, and invasion of the South Sea, by Europeans other than Spaniards. John Oxenham has been called the First Buccaneer. Had he exhibited the same energy and enterprise in a legitimate undertaking, his name would rank with those other sailor men of Devon who won so great renown in the sixteenth century.

On the 13th of February, Drake and his allies were well down the Pacific slope, marching through grassy savannas, and getting occasional views of Panama from the high points. On the 14th they could look down the great main street of Panama Viejo, running north and south from the landward gate to the waterside. To an Englishman, barred from the New World, this sight alone was worth all the toil and suffering it had cost. Drake was now looking into the very Holy of Holies of the Spanish Indies, the source of all Spain's wealth and arrogance. But what was more to his purpose, was the plate-fleet from Peru riding proudly at anchor off the city.

Captain Drake then hid in a grove, about a league from Panama, and waited for the night, when a Cimaroon went into the city to gather news. On account of the heat, it was customary for the Spaniards to start out the pack-trains by moonlight; and the native spy soon returned with the information that three trains left Panama that very night. One was to carry silver; another provisions; and the third was a special train, accompanied by the Treasurer of Lima, consisting of eight mules, seven loaded with gold, and one with jewels.

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Drake led his men back within two leagues of Venta Cruz, and divided them in two parties, placing one half on either side of the Camino Real, about fifty yards apart; so as to attack the front and rear of the mule-train simultaneously, and allow none of the treasure to escape. The English put their shirts outside their other clothes in order to recognize each other during the expected melee. The Captain ordered that everything coming from Venta Cruz should be permitted to pass; and that all must keep quiet. In about an hour a man and boy appeared from the direction of Venta Cruz, when a chuckle-headed Englishman, named Robert Pike,¹⁸ (over-zealous from imbibing too much stolen wine or native *chicha*) raised up to stop them. A Cimaron pulled him back, and the traveler was allowed to pass on. This was a mistake; for soon the Spaniard was heard galloping rapidly towards Panama, and Drake suspected that they were discovered, and that an alarm would be given.

Nevertheless, the Captain waited for a time, and soon was heard the tinkle of the bells on the lead-mare of a pack-train coming from Panama. When the mules were between the two parties, Drake gave a whistle, and the train was captured without resistance. When the packs were hastily opened, nothing but provisions were found. Captain Drake judged that he had been tricked by the Treasurer of Lima, and that the food train had been sent on ahead to develop the suspected ambush, and the soldiers would soon be coming up. With his small party, he could risk no further delay, or attempt to hold up the next train, which might be heavily guarded.

After consulting with Pedro, the Captain decided not to return to his ships by the long and secret way by which he came, but to cut a road with his sword through the enemy. Perhaps the hope of finding rich loot in the warehouses at Cruces had something to do with his decision.

Drake mounted his men on the captured mules, and English and blacks hastened to Venta Cruz. A sentinel challenged them and demanded *Que gente?* Drake replied, *Englishmen*; and the party rushed the town with strange English oaths and the

¹⁸ "One Robert Pike, having drunk too much Aqua-Vitae without water, forgetting himself, perswaded a Simeron to go into the road, and seize on the foremost Mules, and a Spanish Horse-man riding by with his Page running on his side, Pike unadvisedly started up to see who he was, though the Symeron discreetly endeavored to pull him down, and lay upon him to prevent further discovery, yet by this gentleman taking notice of one all in white, they having put their shirts over their cloths to prevent mistakes in the night, he put spurs to his horse both to secure himself, and give notice to others of the danger." Burton, *English Heroe*.

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dreaded 'Yó pehó' of the Cimaroons. The Spaniards fired a volley, lightly wounding Drake and killing John Harris. Soldiers and citizens sought refuge in the monastery, where Drake locked them up. He harmed no one, and destroyed no property. His men sought treasure about the town, but found little of value, though the Symerons got some good pillage. In Cruces at this time were three gentlewomen of Nombre de Dios, lately delivered of children, who were filled with much terror, and would not be comforted until El Draque himself assured them of his protection. In all his operations, Drake charged his men, and the Symerons also, never to hurt a woman, nor man that had not weapon in his hand to do them injury.

Captain Drake passed the remainder of the night in Venta Cruz, and the next morning, February 15th, he marched over a bridge and was conducted north-eastward through the hills by his colored allies; reaching his ships on the 23rd of the month. His camp had recently been moved from the first location, and was now nearer Nombre de Dios.

Not wishing to remain idle, especially in the dry season, Drake inquired about other places on the Isthmus, and the Symerons told him of "*Sinior Pezoro*" [Señor Pizarro], a rich miner of Veragua, who worked at least a hundred slaves in the mines. The blacks offered to conduct the English through the woods to the residence of Señor Pizarro, which was a very strong house of stone, where he kept certain great chests full of gold. The Captain did not like to weary his men by the long march; but in a few days, he captured off the *Cabezas* a frigate of Nicaragua, which had been at Veragua only eight days before, having a Genoese pilot familiar with that coast. This pilot told Drake of a vessel soon to leave Veragua, with above a million of gold aboard, and offered to conduct him to that place if the Captain would do right by him. John Oxnam had sailed to the eastward in the *Bear*, to hunt for victuals about Tolu; so Captain Drake hastened alone in the *Minion*, under sail and oars, to the harbor of Veragua, intending to capture the frigate by night, and attempt Señor Pizarro's house later on. When about to enter the port, two signal guns were heard, answered by two other reports towards the town, which was five leagues within the harbor.

The Genoese pilot judged the whole region was alarmed, as even in their beds the Spaniards lay in great and continual fear of El Draque. Being defeated of their expectation to surprise the place, and "that it was not God's will" to plunder the wealth of Veragua, the Englishmen set their sails to a westerly wind,

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CHAPTER X

VASCO NUÑEZ DE BALBOA

Discoverer of the Pacific Ocean

"Before him spread no paltry lands
To wrest with spoils from savage hands;
But, fresh and fair, an unknown world
Of mighty sea and shore unfurled."

Nora Perry.



VASCO NUÑEZ DE BALBOA was a native of Jerez (Xeres) de los Caballeros in Spain. The moderns call him simply Balboa, but the older writers refer to him as Vasco Nuñez. He was of a noble but impoverished family, and was reared in the service of Don Pedro Puertocarrero, the deaf lord of Moguer. Vasco Nuñez came out to the New World with Bastidas and Cosa, in 1500, and thus was among the first to arrive, in 1501, at the eastern half of the Isthmus. On his return voyage, Bastidas, as we have seen, was compelled

to beach his vessels on Hispaniola (Española); where he was arrested by Bobadilla, and sent a prisoner to Spain.

Vasco Nuñez remained in Hispaniola, obtained a *repartimiento* of Indians, and located as a planter at the town of Salvatierra on the sea coast. Doubtless, he led the usual loose and careless life of the Spanish adventurer in the island. The only thing he accumulated was debt; so when Alonso de Ojeda, in 1509, got up his expedition for Terra Firma, the young cavalier determined to accompany him. Debtors were prohibited from leaving Hispaniola, and the vigilance of the authorities prevented Vasco Nuñez from openly joining Ojeda. Nevertheless, he succeeded, as before stated, in getting away with Encisco, and the manner of his escape was this: Vasco Nuñez ensconced himself in a large cask, such as was used in shipping stores, and caused it to be headed up and carted to the shore, where it was placed with the other supplies, from whence, in due time, it was carried aboard Encisco's ship¹.

¹ Oviedo's account differs from this. He says that Vasco Nuñez, with the assistance of one Hurtado, hid himself in a ship's sail.

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Francis Drake did so many fine things that one is tempted to follow in detail his fascinating career. But we will merely outline the events of the intervening years, until he again invades the dominions of Spain in the New World.

Upon his return to England in 1573, Drake volunteered for service in Ireland. He fitted out three frigates with men and munitions at his own expense, and joined the forces under the Earl of Essex; "where he did excellent service both by sea and land, at the winning of divers strong forts."

In the year 1520, Fernao de Magelhaes, a Portuguese navigator in the service of Charles V. of Spain, had solved the secret of a passage in the Western Hemisphere by sailing through the Strait which ever since has borne his name. For many days he sailed to the west, showed for the first time the immensity of that South Sea (which he renamed Pacific), and then came to an untimely end at the hands of the natives on the little island of Matan in the Philippine Archipelago. By gift from the Pope, by the discovery of the South Sea by Balboa, and by the voyage of Magellan, Spain claimed this vast ocean for her very own and held it inviolate.

Ever since his view of the forbidden sea, Drake had been itching to sail an English ship thereon. He believed where a Portuguese sailor could go an Englishman might follow. After his adventures in Ireland, Drake came back and fitted out a squadron for the Mediterranean, as he announced. The Spaniards thought it meant another attack on the Treasure of the World, at Nombre de Dios. The vessels were the *Pelican*, 100 tons, Captain Drake; the *Elizabeth*, 80 tons, Captain John Winter; the *Marigold*, 30 tons, Captain John Thomas; the *Swan*, flyboat, 50 tons, Captain John Chester; the *Christopher*, pinnace, 15 tons, Captain Thomas Moone; carrying 163 men in all. Drake made a final departure from Plymouth on the 13th of December, 1577, touched at the Cape Verd islands, took the pilot, Nuno da Silva, from a Portuguese ship, and steered for Brazil and the Plate river. Drawing near the equator, Drake, being always very careful of his men's health, let every one of them blood with his own hand.

On the 20th of June, 1578,, the fleet anchored in Port St. Julian on the coast of Patagonia. The first object which met the sight of the Englishmen was a bleached skeleton, dangling from a gibbet on the main shore, opposite the island; the remains of some mutineers executed by Magellan, fifty-eight years before. While here, forty of Drake's best men tried Mr. Thomas Doughty for conspiring to overthrow Captain Drake,

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and adjudged that he deserved death. Drake partook of the Holy Communion with him, like a Christian; dined and wined him, like a gentleman; and then chopped his head off with his own hands.

Reducing his fleet to the Pelican, the Elizabeth, and the Marigold, Francis Drake entered the eastern mouth of the Strait²⁰ of Magellan on the 20th of August. To note the momentous occasion, the General (as Drake was designated) changed the name of the Pelican to *Golden Hind*, in reference to the crest of his friend and patron, Sir Christopher Hatton; and caused the ships to strike their topsails in homage to Queen Elizabeth. "Which ceremonies being ended, with a sermon and prayers of thanksgiving, they entered the narrow strait with much wind, frequent turnings, and many dangers. They observed on one side an island like Fogo,²¹ burning aloft in the air in a wonderful sort without intermission."

The passage of the Strait was made in sixteen days, Drake often going ahead in a boat to take soundings. On passing out of the Strait, as frequently happens, the vessels encountered stormy weather, and the little Marigold was swamped with all hands. On October 8th, Captain Winter, on the Elizabeth, reentered the Strait, deserted the General, and returned home, leaving Drake's ship "a Pelican alone in the wilderness." Drake was driven as far as 57 degrees south in the neighborhood of Cape Horn, but by the 25th of November, he was at the island of Macho, twenty degrees nearer the equator. Mistaking them for Spaniards, the natives killed two Englishmen, and shot the General in the face and head.

An Indian pilot, named Felipe, showed the way to Valparaiso, where the Pelican was supplied with stores, provisions and wines. From a Spanish ship lying there, Drake took the Greek pilot, Juan Griego, to show the way to Lima. In looking for water at Tarapaca, the English found a sleeping Spaniard, and nearby, a stack of silver. At another place they robbed a llama-

²⁰ The pinnace, containing eight men, was lost. These men made a landing on Tierra del Fuego, and later reached the Plate River. Four were killed by Indians, and afterwards two more died, leaving only William Pitcher and Peter Carder. The former succumbed, when suffering from thirst, from drinking too much water. Carder was adopted by some cannibal Indians, and arrived at Bahia, where he was arrested. A friendly Portuguese aided him to escape, and Carder finally reached England in 1586, when Lord Howard introduced him to Queen Elizabeth.

²¹ Meaning like the volcanic island of Fogo, one of the Cape Verd Islands, which they had passed on the voyage out.

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train, each animal being loaded with a hundred pounds of silver. At sea, barks were captured, and usually bullion was secured. And so it continued all the way up the coast.

On the 15th of February, 1579, Drake reached Callao, the port of Lima, where resided the Viceroy of Peru, Don Francisco de Toledo. About thirty Spanish vessels were in the harbor, which were plundered without resistance. Drake destroyed no property, and when he learned that the plate-ship had sailed for Panama on February 2nd, he decided to attempt to overtake her. Had Drake known that his faithful follower, John Oxenham, had been hung but a few miles away, it is likely that he would have burnt the shipping before leaving. The proper name of the treasure galleon was *Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion*, but she was commonly called the "Cacafuego" (or "Spitfire," as we would say in English), and was commanded by Juan de Anton. While in pursuit of her, Drake boarded a brigantine, and took eighty pounds of gold, a golden crucifix, and some emeralds.

On March 1st, off Cape San Francisco, about a hundred and fifty leagues from Panama, the Golden Hind caught up with the Cacafuego, and Drake poured in a broadside and boarded her after dark. The next few days the treasure was transferred.²² It consisted of 26 tons of silver, 80 pounds of gold, 13 chests of money, and jewels. There was consternation along the coast when it was learned that El Draque was in the South Sea. Two armed vessels from Lima, and one from Panama came up with Drake, but declined to fight. The man who invaded the Isthmus, braved the terrors of the Strait, and stole the King's treasure at will, was not one to be idly assailed.

The Golden Hind kept on sailing northward, past the Gulf of Panama, and up the coast of Central America. On April 4th, Drake captured a ship from Acapulco, and took from her owner, Don Francisco de Carate, the celebrated "falcon of gold, handsomely wrought, with a great emerald set in the breast of it." He put in at Acapulco, the western port of New Spain (Mexico), and refitted the Golden Hind in Canoas Bay. Captain Drake had a notion of trying to find a passage to the north

²² John Drake (son of Bernard), probably a nephew of the General, was in the Hind, and won a gold chain for being the first to sight the treasure ship. When the English cast off the Cacafuego, the boy of Don Francisco, the Spanish pilot, said to Drake: "Captaine, our ship shall be called no more the *Cacafuego*, but the *Cacaplata*, and your shippe shall bee called the *Cacafuego*: which pretie speach of the pilots boy ministered matter of laughter to us, both then and long after."—*World Encompassed*.

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of America, and sailed up the California coast as far as 43 degrees north, when he abandoned the idea on account of the cold. He knew the Spaniards would be watching the Isthmus, and the Strait of Magellan; so determined to attempt to reach home by way of the Moluccas and Cape of Good Hope.

Captain Drake sailed back to a harbor in about latitude 38 degrees north, thought by some to be San Francisco Bay, but probably north of that port. The white cliffs reminded him of home, and he called the country New Albion, and took possession for the Queen. The natives were gentle and friendly, and seemed to adore the white strangers. The *Golden Hind* was refitted again, and on the 23rd of July, 1579, she sailed out of Port Albion (or Port Drake) on the long voyage home. The next day, the island of St. James (probably the Farallons) was passed; and then for sixty-eight days they saw no land. On September 30th, they fell in with islands 8 degrees north, probably Pelew islands; and the 21st of October, they got fresh water on the large island of Mindanao, in the Philippine group. Drake then sailed to the Moluccas, and exchanged courtesies with the King. He landed his men on Crab island in the Celebes, and repaired the ship.

Drake's good fortune nearly deserted him, when, on the night of the 9th of January, 1580, the good ship *Golden Hind* ran on a reef and stuck fast. When day came, all hands fell prostrate in prayer, and then threw overboard eight cannon, three tons of cloves, "and certaine meale and beanes"—but none of the heavy bullion. After being hard and fast for twenty hours, the gallant little ship fell on her side at low water, and slipped off the reef with a sound hull.²³ March 10th, Drake

²³ While the *Hind* was fast on the reef, Mr. Fletcher, their minister, made them a sermon, and all received the communion; "and then every theefe reconciled him selfe to his fello theefe." Nevertheless, shortly after they were come off the rock, Drake fastened his chaplain by one leg to a staple in the forecastle hatch, and excommunicated him with a pair of pantoffles, or slippers; at the same time binding this legend about his arm: "Francis Fletcher, the falsest knave that liveth." The company being called together, "and Drake sytting cros legged on a chest, and a peire of pantoffles in his hand, hee said Frances Fletcher, I doo heere excommunicate the out of ye Church of God, and from all the benefites and graces thereof, and I denounce the to the divell and all his angells; and then he charged him upon payne of death not once to come before the mast, for if hee did, he sware hee should be hanged; and Drake cawsed a posy to be written and bond about Fletcher's arme, with chardge that if hee tooke it of hee should then be hanged. The poes was, Frances Fletcher, ye falsest knave that liveth."

Memorandum to World Encompassed.

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anchored at the south side of Java, and on the 26th of the same month he laid a course for the Cape of Good Hope, which was passed on the 15th of June. July 22nd, they put in at Sierra Leone for water and provisions, and then no more stops until they arrived at Plymouth, the port from which they started. Drake reached home on Monday the 26th of September, 1580, which according to his reckoning should have been the preceding Sunday.

Francis Drake was the first Englishman, and the second of any country, to circumnavigate the globe. The mayor and people of Plymouth turned out to greet their famous mariner, and the bells of St. Andrew's Church pealed a joyous welcome. In a short time Drake took his ship around to Deptford, and waited to hear from the court. England went wild in his praise, but Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, insisted that Drake be punished, and the spoils delivered to him.²⁴ The Queen kept silent for a few months, but on April 4th, 1581, after dining at Deptford, she visited the Golden Hind, and knighted Francis Drake on the deck of his ship. One enthusiastic Briton wished to place the ship on the top of St. Paul's; but at the Queen's desire, the Golden Hind was preserved in a dock at Deptford, and for many years was an object of admiration, and an eating place for merry-makers.

In 1582, Sir Francis Drake was made mayor of Plymouth; and in 1584, he was member of Parliament for Bossiney.

The successes of Drake and other English seamen, induced Elizabeth to plan reprisals to offset the insults to her subjects, and the embargo on English goods perpetrated by her brother-in-law, Philip of Spain. Sir Francis was commissioned an Admiral, and ordered to gather a fleet of twenty-five ships, to sail to the Caribbean, and harass Spain in her weakest points. With Drake went Martin Frobisher as Vice-Admiral, and Francis Knollys as Rear-Admiral. This was a combined naval and military expedition of about twenty-three hundred men; the land forces being under Lieutenant-General Christopher Carleill (Carleill).

On the 14th of September, 1585, the fleet left Plymouth, and sailed down the coast of Spain to the Canaries. The English spent two weeks at St. Jago and Porta Praya in the Cape de

²⁴ "Indeed, of the treasure which Drake had amassed, some portion was actually repaid to Don Pedro Sebura, who acted as agent for the parties interested; but who, nevertheless, it is said by Camden, never himself gave it back to the rightful owners." W. S. W. Vaux, *Introduction to World Encompassed*, Hakluyt Society.

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Verd islands, where the only thing they got was a pestilence, from which two or three hundred men died. At Dominica, which was reached in eighteen days, the Caribs assisted in watering the ships. The English passed Christmas at St. Christopher's (St. Kitts), which they found uninhabited.

The expedition then proceeded to Hispaniola, being allured thither by the glorious fame of the city of St. Domingo, being the ancientest and chief inhabited place in all the tract of country thereabouts. New Year's Day, 1586, General Carlile, with twelve hundred men, landed at a convenient place about ten miles from the city, and marched on St. Domingo. About one hundred and fifty horsemen came out to oppose them, but hastily retired. Carlile placed half his force under Captain Powell, and the two divisions stormed the two sea-ward gates at the same time and gained the plaza. The English troops did not take the citadel, but held the town for a month, demanding ransom. The Spaniards being very slow in coming to terms, two hundred sailors spent several days in trying to burn the houses, finding "no small travail to ruin them, being very magnificently built of stone, with high lofts." It is said that Drake spared the cathedral because it held the ashes of Admiral Christopher Columbus.

Admiral Drake was particularly incensed at a haughty painting and motto which he saw in the Governor's house, wherein "there is described and painted in a very large Scutcheon the arms of the king of Spaine, and in the lower part of the said Scutcheon, there is described a Globe, containing in it the whole circuit of the sea and the earth whereupon is a horse standing on his hindes part within the Globe, and the other fore-part without the globe, lifted up as it were to leape, with a scroll painted in his mouth, wherein was written these words in Latin, *Non sufficit orbis*; which is as much as to say, as the world sufficeth not." The English would point out this device to the Spanish officials sent to negotiate with them, and sarcastically inquire what it meant; "at which they would shake their heads and turn aside their faces, in some smiling sort, without answering anything, as if ashamed thereof."

Drake finally accepted 25,000 ducats, in addition to their loot; and stood over to the mainland, keeping along the coast till he came to Cartagena. The ships entered the harbor about three miles westward of the city. Carlile landed and drove back two squadrons of Spanish horse, and then attacked the gateway, barricadoed with wine butts filled with earth, at the end of the causeway. An entrance was effected and the town taken; the

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Lieutenant-General, with his own hands, slaying the chief ensign-bearer of the Spaniards, who fought manfully to his life's end. It is like old times to read that the Indians, who aided the Spaniards, made use of poisoned arrows, the least scratch of which caused death, "unless it were by great marvell."

The Governor, the Bishop, and many other gentlemen of the better sort, visited Admiral Drake and General Carlile, and there was feasting and divers courtesies. The English demanded 110,000 ducats ransom, but after remaining six weeks, and their sickness not abating, they accepted 30,000 ducats and sailed away.

It was Drake's intent when he left England to take Nombre de Dios, and then proceed overland to Panama, "where we should have striken the stroke for the treasure, and full recompense of our tediousse travailes." But he lost so many men from calenture—"a verie burning and pestilent ague"—that the trans-Isthmian undertaking was abandoned. March 1st, Francis Drake left Cartagena and sailed westward, casting longing eyes on Nombre de Dios and the road to Panama. On April 27th, the fleet arrived at Cape San Antonio, Cuba; and May 28th, 1586, the English went up the St. Augustine river, Florida, took the fort of San Juan de Piños, and burnt the town of St. Augustine.

The expedition then sailed up the coast to Roanoke, and took on Mr. Ralph Lane and the colony recently planted by Sir Walter Raleigh. One hundred and three colonists embarked, five of the original number having died. "And so, God be thanked," writes Cates, "both they (the colonists) and we in good safetie arrived at Portsmouth the eight-and-twentieth of July, 1586, to the great glory of God, and to no small honour to our Prince, our country, and ourselves." The expedition lost 750 men, mostly from tropical fevers, but had taken two of Spain's chief cities in the Indies, and brought home 60,000 pounds, and 240 pieces of ordnance. This was the strongest fighting force that had ever sailed in the Caribbean Sea, and awoke in Spain alarm for the safety of her colonies, and an appreciation of the growing power of England.

Affairs were rapidly coming to a crisis between England and Spain. Mary Stuart had been beheaded; and it was obvious that Philip was fitting out a large fleet of ships to invade the British Isles. "The first step to be taken in this emergency

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was to ascertain, by personal inspection, the actual state of the enemy's preparations in the ports on the coast of Spain and Portugal; to intercept any supplies of men, stores or ammunition, that the Duke of Parma might dispatch from the Low Countries; to lay waste the harbors of Spain and Portugal, on the western coast, and destroy all the shipping that could be met with at sea conveying stores and provisions, or to attack them in port. For such a purpose, no one was considered so fitting as Drake."²⁵

On the 2nd of April, 1587, Drake sailed from Plymouth in the *Elizabeth Bonaventura*, with a score of other ships. As he departed, a courier galloped into town with orders that under no circumstances should Drake enter a Spanish port or injure Spanish subjects. Nevertheless, on the 19th, he went into the harbor of Cadiz, fought the armed galleys and forced them to retire under the guns of the castle, and looted and destroyed upward of a hundred vessels, great and small. Among them were five great ships of Biscay, and a new ship of 1,200 tons belonging to the Marquis of Santa Cruz, High Admiral of Spain. After this, Drake shaped his course towards Sagres (near Cape Vincent), burning a hundred ships, barks, and caravels, loaded with stores for the intended invasion of England; the crews being put on shore. From the mouth of the Tagus he stood for the Azores, and when within twenty or thirty leagues of the Isle of St. Michael, captured a Portuguese carrack, called *St. Philip*; being the ship which, in the outward voyage, had carried back the three princes of Japan who had visited Europe.

This was the first carrack that ever was taken on a return voyage from the East Indies, and she was "so richly loaded that every man in the fleet counted his fortune made." Among the Portuguese, who now belonged to Spain, her capture was looked upon as an evil omen, because the ship bore the King's own name. Well satisfied with what he had accomplished, and with scarcely the loss of a man, Drake returned to Plymouth in June of the same year. The people were elated at his success, and came miles to see the *St. Philip*, the biggest ship ever brought into an English port. She proved that these immense vessels were easy to take; and her rich cargo acquainted the English people, for the first time, with the wealth of the East Indies, the trade of which was monopolized by the Portuguese and Dutch.

²⁵ Barrow.

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This expedition—which Drake somewhat facetiously called “singeing the King of Spain’s beard”—astonished Europe at his audacity, and caused even the Spaniards to say that “if he was not a Lutheran there would not be the like of him in the world.”

The destruction of Spanish shipping and stores wrought by Drake in 1587, delayed for a year the completion of that fleet which, first in alarm and then in derision, was called the *Invincible Armada*. On account of the death of Santa Cruz, the command was given to the Duke of Medina-Sidonia. So sure were the Spaniards of conquering England, that Philip sent along a chest of jeweled swords to be presented to the Catholic nobles of the English court; and the Pope directed that Elizabeth should be brought to him to be turned over to the Inquisition. In anticipation of victory, poets sung premature songs of triumph, and children at play lisped ludicrous ballads to the prowess of Spanish arms.

The Lord High Admiral, Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, in the *Ark Royal*, commanded the English fleet; and Sir Francis Drake was next in command as Vice-Admiral, in the *Revenge*. Drake’s relative, Sir John Hawkins (of San Juan de Ulloa fame), sailed in the *Victory*, as Rear-Admiral. Barrow summarizes the two forces as follows:

	Ships.	Tons.	Guns.	Mariners.
English	197	29,744	837	15,785
Spaniards	132	59,120	3,105	8,766
				†21,855
				30,621
	*65 More E.	29,376 More S.	2,328 More S.	14,836 More S.

* Erroneously given as 45 in the original, p. 270, C. L. G. A.

† Soldiers.

“So that the Spaniards had double the force of the English, except in the *number* of ships, and in guns nearly four times the force.”

The day was fast approaching when the contest was to be decided between two of the largest and most powerful fleets

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that had hitherto ever gone to sea or met in battle. On the 19th of July, 1588, "one Fleming, the master of a pinnace," reported the Armada in the Channel, off the Lizard Point. It was necessary to quickly get the British fleet out of Plymouth, so as not to be caught in the harbor. With a stiff breeze blowing in, this was a difficult task; but by morning, Howard's vessels had all been towed outside, and they set sail to steal the wind from the Spaniards. On the 21st, the two fleets came together, but Sidonia refused a general action, and kept on his course, expecting to join with Parma. The English kept up a firing for two hours, but did not press them further. The Armada was composed of immense galleons, with castles on bow and poop; and unwieldy transports and storeships. The English ships were smaller, better sailers, and more skilfully handled. It was the English policy to harass the enemy in every way, to fight at a distance, and not attempt to board the towering warships of Spain. The flagship of Oquendo took fire and was abandoned; and the next morning Drake picked up the *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdes.

July 22nd there was no fighting. On the 23rd each endeavored to obtain the weather gage, which brought on a mix-up, and a running fight. July 24th there was a cessation on both sides. Lord Howard divided his fleet into four divisions; the first under himself, the second under Drake, the third under Hawkins, and the fourth under Frobisher. On the 25th, the English took another laggard, the *St. Anne*, of Portugal. Medina-Sidonia sent another message to the Duke of Parma, at Dunkirk, telling him he was now off the Isle of Wight, and urging the Duke to come out. But Lord Henry Seymour was outside with a strong fleet, and the Duke remained in Dunkirk. The 26th was calm, and the two fleets remained inactive in sight of each other. "The Lord High Admiral this day bestowed the honour of knighthood on Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Sheffield, Roger Townsend, Captain John Hawkins, and Captain Martin Frobisher, in consideration of their gallant behaviour. And it was decided, in Council, that no further attempt should be made on the enemy, until they came into the Straits of Calais, where Lord Henry Seymour and Sir William Winter would there reinforce them."

July 27th, the Armada anchored off Calais, by the advice of his pilots, lest they should be carried by the current into the North Sea. The Spanish commander then sent more messengers to Parma. On the 28th, Seymour joined Howard; and at

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night the English sent eight fire-ships, with shotted guns, in among the Spaniards. Not a Spanish ship was fired, but they were thrown into confusion, and many dispersed; a few going on the shoals. The 29th there was much fighting off the Flemish coast, Drake particularly distinguishing himself by his aggressive tactics. Several Spanish ships were sunk and others driven on the coast. Finding it impossible to turn against the wind and tide, and to avoid being driven on the shoals, the Duke of Sidonia proceeded into the North Sea. On the 30th Howard was still in pursuit, but perceiving the Armada drifting towards the shoals of Zealand, he did not think proper to press them. When in only six fathoms and a half, a timely wind saved the Spaniards, and they sailed northward. The English kept them in sight until the 2nd of August, and then turned back. The Armada blundered on, met with rough weather, and lost a lot of ships and men on the rocks of the Orkneys and the coast of Connaught. The wild Irish, their co-religionists, knocked the Spaniards in the head, and stole their finery. The Lord Deputy of Ireland rounded up a large number and sent them into England, from whence Elizabeth returned the survivors to their homes in Spain.

Sir Francis Drake played the most prominent part in the overthrow of the so-called Invincible Armada, and it marked the pinnacle of his remarkable career. Most of his manhood had been spent in combating Spain, in one way or another, and the next year, Drake and Sir John Norris (Norreys) got up an expedition to place Don Antonio on the throne of Portugal. The latter object was not accomplished, but the English burnt two ports; whipped an army; marched through the territory of the King of Spain to the gates of Lisbon; captured or destroyed nearly a hundred vessels; and, best of all, destroyed the nucleus of another Armada intended for operations against England.

In the years 1590 and 1591, Drake was engaged in bringing the river Mesny to Plymouth; and when the water was brought to the town, he built six corn-mills, an event still celebrated in Plymouth. In 1593, Francis Drake represented Plymouth in Parliament; and the next year, he and old John Hawkins planned another venture to the Spanish Main. For years, Drake had dreamed of landing at Nombre de Dios with a strong force, and marching across the Isthmus to Panama. In 1592, an expedition was prepared for this purpose in England; but owing to intrigues, politics, and the whims of Elizabeth, the command was given to Sir Walter Raleigh. Owing to the late-

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ness of the season, and scarcity of victuals in the fleet, the project was dropped.

Considering all he had done on the Isthmus, Drake felt that, for offensive operations, the region belonged to him. It is thought that Sir John Hawkins, then over seventy-five years of age, undertook this voyage with the hope of redeeming his son, Captain Richard Hawkins, who, in 1593, had sailed through the Strait of Magellan, and had been captured by Admiral de Castro in the South Sea.

It was Drake's intention to make a sudden dash to the Isthmus and sack Panama; but the Queen heard of a plate-ship which had lost her mast and put in at Porto Rico; so ordered the fleet to stop there. It was reported that this treasure was destined to equip a third Armada (the second having been destroyed by Drake) for the invasion of England. The expedition of Drake and Hawkins left Plymouth on the 28th of August, 1595. It consisted of the *Defiance*, Admiral Sir Francis Drake; the *Garland*, Vice-Admiral Sir John Hawkins; the *Hope*, Captain Gilbert York; *Buonaventure*, Captain Troughton; the *Foresight*, Captain Winter; the *Adventure*, Captain Thomas Drake; besides about twenty other ships supplied by private individuals. Sir Thomas Baskerville commanded the land forces.

The first stop was at the Grand Canary, where they blundered in attempting to subdue the island. Here, Captain Grimston was killed. Sailing hence, the fleet arrived at the island of Guadeloupe, where the pinnaces were set up, and the men landed to refresh themselves.

On the 30th of September, Captain Wignot in the *Francis*, a bark of thirty-five tons, was taken by five Spanish frigates, sent out for the treasure at San Juan de Puerto Rico. Drake remained two days among the Virgin Islands, where Sir John Hawkins was extremely sick. The fleet then stood for the eastern end of Puerto Rico, near which, on the 11th of November, Sir John Hawkins breathed his last. That same evening, Drake anchored his ships at the distance of two miles or less to the east of the town of *San Juan de Puerto Rico*. While the officers were at supper, the Spanish batteries fired twenty-eight great shot, one of which penetrated to the great cabin of the *Defiance*, struck the stool from under Drake, killed Sir Nicholas Clifford, mortally wounded Mr. Brute Brown, and injured Captain Stratford and others. The following morning the whole fleet came to anchor before the point of the harbor,

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a little to the westward; and at nightfall, twenty-five pinnaces and small boats were manned, and entered the road.

The treasure-ship had been repaired, and was on the point of sailing, when the Spaniards heard that Drake was coming. The treasure was taken ashore, and the galleon sunk in the mouth of the harbor, which, with other obstructions, rendered the entrance impassable. The women, children, and infirm people were sent inland, and the authorities prepared for a desperate defence. Nevertheless, the British advanced into the harbor, burnt the five frigates (or *Zabras*) sent from Spain for the treasure, and also a ship of four hundred tons, with a rich cargo of silk, oil, and wine. About forty or fifty men on each side were killed, after which the English retired without accomplishing their purpose. Hawkins and Clifford were committed to the deep; and the expedition sailed for the Main.

La Hacha, the scene of Drake's first venture in the Indies, and *Rancheria*, the village of the pearl-fishers, were taken; with pearls and other loot. The people of these places promised ransom, and brought in some pearls, which were valued so highly that Drake would not accept them. The Governor then appeared and said that the pearls were brought in without his consent, that he cared not for the town, and would not ransom it. "Then the town of *Rancheria* and of *Rio de la Hacha* were burnt cleane downe to the ground; the churches and a ladie's house only excepted, which, by her letters written to the General, was preserved."²⁶

Santa Marta was taken, and not a single piece of gold or silver found. This place, and several small villages along the coast, were burnt; very unusual behavior for Drake. He probably realized that the expedition would be a failure; was grieving for the loss of his friends; and already suffering from the malady which carried him off. On Christmas day, he sailed for *Nombre de Dios*. The people knew Drake was again on the coast, and had fled with their valuables. About a hundred soldiers fired a few shots, and then took to the woods. The captors found no booty in the town, but in a watch-house on a hill²⁷ close by, were "twentie sowes of silver, two bars of gold, some pearl, coined money, and other trifling pillage."

Another relation states that the fleet anchored before the face of the town of *Nombre de Dios* on the 27th of December, the same day Capt. Arnold Baskerfield, Sergeant Major, died. The

²⁶ Hakluyt.

²⁷ Probably the elevation called by *Andagoya* the "Hill of *Nicuesa*."

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English landed a mile from the town, and on marching to it, were received by a bravadoe of shot, when the Spanish soldiers ran away into the woods, a few being taken prisoners. In the fort were found but three great pieces of ordnance, one broken by the firing. Two days later, December 29th, 1595, Sir Thomas Baskerville, with 750 soldiers, started out on the Camino Real for Panama (Viejo), where he expected to find gold and silver in abundance. They met with numerous obstructions erected at favorable points, and were sorely galled by showers of shot from the jungle, by which many fell. "The march²⁸ was so sore as never Englishmen marched before." Drake thought of going up the Chagres with another column, but in a few days Baskerville's weary and half-starved soldiers dragged themselves back to Nombre de Dios. When about half-way across the Isthmus, and after losing eighty or ninety men, among whom was the quarter-master general, an ensign, and two or three other officers, they heard of still more forts ahead, and deemed it prudent to turn back.

Nombre de Dios was destroyed, and all the frigates, barks, and galliots in the harbor were burnt. Vessels on the beach, with houses built over them to keep the pitch from melting, met a like fate. "On the 15th January, on their way towards Puerto Bello, Captain Plat died of sickness, and then Sir Francis Drake began to keep his cabin and to complain of a scowring or fluxe."

Drake took a map, and showed his officers San Juan de Nicaragua, and Truxillo, the port of Honduras; and asked them which to take. Baskerville answered, "Both." The ships took shelter behind the island of Escudo²⁹ de Veragua, while the

²⁸ "In this march a pair of shoes were sold for thirty shillings, and a Bisket Cake for ten shillings, so great was their want both of Clothing and Victuals."—Burton, *English Heroe*.

The chief officers on this march were Sir Thomas Baskerville [Baskerville], Capt. Nicholas Baskerville, the Lieutenant-General, who was hurt, and Captains Stanton, Boswell, Christopher, Powers, and Bartley. Upon returning to Nombre de Dios, they found that their comrades had burnt the king's treasure-house, and also a town inhabited by negroes, two leagues distant.

²⁹ Called *Scoday* in an early narrative, where they built four pinnaces. Drake had all the sick carried on the island, to comfort and strengthen them. Among the wild beasts at Scoday was the "Nelegature," in form like a serpent, and of the bigness of a man's thigh, living in the water. They ate many of these animals, as the meat was very sweet, "and in his bladder is muske and the flesh tasteth accordingly."

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pinnaces were put together, in which to ascend the San Juan river. After this they must have encountered a storm, for we find the fleet on the way back to Puerto Bello. Drake kept getting worse all the time. He became delirious, rose from his couch, and uttered some speech. Then he clothed himself, called for his arms, lay down like a Viking, and died within an hour. The poison of the Isthmus was in his blood, and the tropics, which he had invaded so often, exacted her toll.

Between Escudo and Puerto Bello, and nearer the latter place, on the 28th day of January, 1596, at 4 o'clock in the morning, Sir Francis Drake departed this life. The ships moved on to Puerto Bello and anchored in the bay. The next day his body was enclosed in a leaden coffin, carried a league to sea, and buried in the waves, in sight of the scenes of his early exploits.³⁰ Trumpets sounded, and the fleet thundered a last salute to their dead chief. Two of his own ships, and all his late prizes were sunk near the spot. At the same time, a fort on shore, which Philip was erecting to defend the new port of Puerto Bello, was given to the flames. Mr. Bride made a sermon on board the *Defiance*, attended by all the captains of the fleet.

“Where Drake first found, there last he lost his name,
And for a tomb left nothing but his fame.
His body's buried under some great wave,
The sea that was his glory is his grave.
On whom an epitaph none can truly make,
For who can say, ‘Here lies Sir Francis Drake?’ ”

If we admit his birth to have taken place in 1540, then Drake died in his fifty-sixth year. He was low in stature, broad of chest, and strong of limb; with round head, brown hair, large lively eyes, and fair complexion. Accepted portraits represent him as wearing a short, pointed beard. Drake was twice married, but, like ten of his brethren, died without issue.

England might well say of Francis Drake and his contemporary seamen—Hawkins, Frobisher, Cavendish, Cumberland, Grenville, Davis, Lancaster—as Lord Howard said of his captains who fought the Armada: “God send us to see such a company together again, when need is.”

³⁰ There is a dubious statement to the effect that Drake's heart was removed and buried in a nearby island, since called *El Draque*.

Captain William Parker, who captured Portobello a few years later (Feb. 7th, 1602), says: “The Place where my Shippes roade being the rock where Sir Francis Drake his Coffin was throwne overboorde.”

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Sir Thomas Baskerville called a council aboard the *Garland*, showed his commission, and was accepted as General. Many men had already succumbed to the climate, and with the death of Drake, the survivors decided to return home. Near the Isle of Pines, off Cuba, they were intercepted by twenty Spanish ships, being part of a fleet of sixty vessels sent out from Cartagena to catch them. After a sharp action of two hours, the English burnt one of the Spanish ships and the rest sheered off. Without further molestation, the unfortunate expedition proceeded on its way, and early in May, 1596, arrived in England.

"The same day Sir *Francis Drake*, our General, departed this life, whose death was exceedingly deplored, his interment was after this manner: His Corps being laid in a Cophin of Lead, he was let downe into the Sea, the trumpets in dolefull manner echoing out this lamentation for so great a losse, and all the Cannons in the Fleet were discharged according to the custome of all Sea Funerall obsequies. We continued here until the eighth of *February*, watring and ballasing our Ships. In this Horbor are some few houses inhabited with *Spaniards*, they beginning to build a new towne and a great Bulwarke, which we spoiled and burned; we found many Chests full of Carpenters' tools with many Iron Bars and other necessaries for building, which we brought away with us. The day before we came away the Enemy came downe and took some six of our Men at the watring place. Certaine of our Men were sent in Boats up the South side of the River, where we found some more of their Carpenters' tools. This Harbour is very commodious for Shipping, having a good anchoring place and ten or twelve fathome deep in water; we landed great store of *Spaniards* and *Negroes* at this Island, giving the Enemy to understand that he would use our Men well which they took prisoners, comming from *Panama*, and sent a Messenger not hearing any answer again, yet at our departure the Governour was come down with many Souldiers with him who wrote to our Generall. The eighth of *February* we came away from this Harbour of *Porta Vella* beating up to the height of *Cartegena*, which was ten dayes after, we took our course for *Gemico* North North and by West."

"*A Full Relation of Another Voyage into the West Indies made by Sir Francis Drake from Plimmouth, 28 Aug., 1595.*"—London, 1652.

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CHAPTER XXI.

THE BUCCANEERS.

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

RUDYARD KIPLING.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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are apprehended as vagabonds in France, and can give no account of themselves, are sent to these islands, where they are obliged to serve for three years. The first that gets them, obliges them to work in the plantations; at the end of the term of servitude somebody lends them a gun, and to sea they go abuccaneering. * * * The Governors of our settlements in St. Domingo, being enriched by them, do mightily extol them for the damages they do to the Spaniards." Many outsiders who had settled down as honest planters, when driven out by the Spaniards or some other nationality, took to piracy.

While the home governments of France, England, and Holland found it good policy to encourage the Buccaneers, their West Indian colonies had still more reason for favoring them. In the minutes of the Council of Jamaica, dated the 22nd of February, 1666, are recorded twelve good reasons for granting commissions to the privateers.

1. "Because it furnishes the island with many necessary commodities at easy rates.

2. It replenishes the island with coin, bullion, cocoa, logwood, hides, tallow, indigo, cochineal, and many other commodities whereby the men of New England are invited to bring their provisions and many merchants to reside at Port Royal.

3. It helps the poorer planters, by selling provisions to the men-of-war.

4. It hath and will enable many to buy slaves and settle plantations.

5. It draws down yearly from the Windward Islands many an hundred of the English, French, and Dutch, many of whom turn planters.

6. It is the only means to keep the buccaneers on Hispaniola, Tortuga, and the south and north quays of Cuba from being their enemies and infesting their sea-side plantations.

7. It is a great security to the island, that the men-of-war often intercept Spanish advices, and give intelligence to the Governor; which they often did in Colonel D'Oyley's time and since.

8. The said men-of-war bring no small benefit to his Majesty and Royal Highness by the 15ths and 10ths [the dues on the commissions and the share of the prizes paid to the Crown].

9. They keep many able artificers at work in Port Royal and elsewhere at extraordinary wages.

10. Whatsoever they get the soberer part bestow in strengthening their old ships, which in time will grow formidable.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴ Treaty of Tordesillas, June 7, 1494.

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

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

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

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

To one of these complaints Queen Elizabeth replied, "That

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

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

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

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

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

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

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could cut each other's throats, a fleet of twenty-nine Spanish ships under Don Federico de Toledo arrived, in 1629, killed many of both parties, and broke up the settlements. Spain at that time was at war with England, France, and Holland; and Don Frederic was then on his way to attack the Dutch in Brazil. Some of the colonists returned later to St. Christopher, but most of them located, in 1630, on Tortuga, the garrison of twenty-five Spaniards retiring without a blow. The latter is a little island, five or six miles off the northwest coast of Haiti, which, from its resemblance to a sea-turtle (*tortuga de mar*), is called Tortuga. The Buccaneers built a fort, established magazines, and cultivated the land. For a long time, Tortuga was the headquarters of the Buccaneers, and a haven for the corsairs and smugglers of all nations.⁷ It was easily defended, and gave an outlook over the Mona Passage, the route taken by Spanish galleons to and from Cartagena, Puerto Bello, and Vera Cruz.

Here the Buccaneers gathered supplies and planned their raids, divided the spoils of victory, gambled away their pieces-of-eight, and passed the nights in drunken revels in the arms of dusky mistresses.⁸

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

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

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

⁷ "Tortuga, the common Refuge of all sort of Wickedness, and the Seminary, as it were, of Pirates and Thieves." Yet, they are described as living together in an orderly manner, and without bolts or bars to their houses.

⁸ The Buccaneers led profligate, irregular, and intemperate lives, consumed enormous quantities of meat and alcohol, and were exposed to many hardships and dangers; yet we do not read of diseases and epidemics among them, like occurred in the Spanish *flotas*, and the fleets of Drake and Vernon.

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁰ Hakluyt.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁶ Perhaps from *fluyt* (Dutch).

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

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

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

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

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each officer and man was specified, contingent, of course, upon making captures; the understanding being, "no prey, no pay." Each captain was allowed so much for his vessel; and the surgeon given 200 pieces-of-eight for his stores. Preferential shares were set aside for the maimed and wounded. The loss of a right arm was rewarded with 600 pieces-of-eight, or six slaves; while the left was worth only 500 pieces-of-eight, or five slaves. The right leg was valued at 500 pieces, the left at 400 pieces-of-eight. The compensation for the loss of one eye was the same as for the loss of a finger, 100 pieces-of-eight, or one slave. Any boys aboard received half a share each. Two friends would often swear brotherhood;¹⁸ and make the other heir to his share in case of death.

When the Buccaneers sailed under commission,¹⁹ the Governor or Admiral granting the authority claimed one-tenth of the prizes. It is stated that these agreements were well observed, and the spoils equably distributed. Values were reckoned in the Spanish colonial silver dollar (*peso duro*, or *peso de ocho reales de plata*), called by the English a piece-of-eight, because it contained eight reales. The food of the Buccaneers included boucan, maize, cassava, potatoes, fish, turtle, banana, and tropical fruits.

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

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

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

¹⁸ This was called *matelotage*.

¹⁹ Except when Spain was at war with the government issuing the commissions, they were not much protection. The Spaniards sometimes hanged buccaneer captains with their commissions tied about their necks.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The French people have always regarded with sympathy and

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²⁶ Often written Santa Catalina.

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

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

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

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

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

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

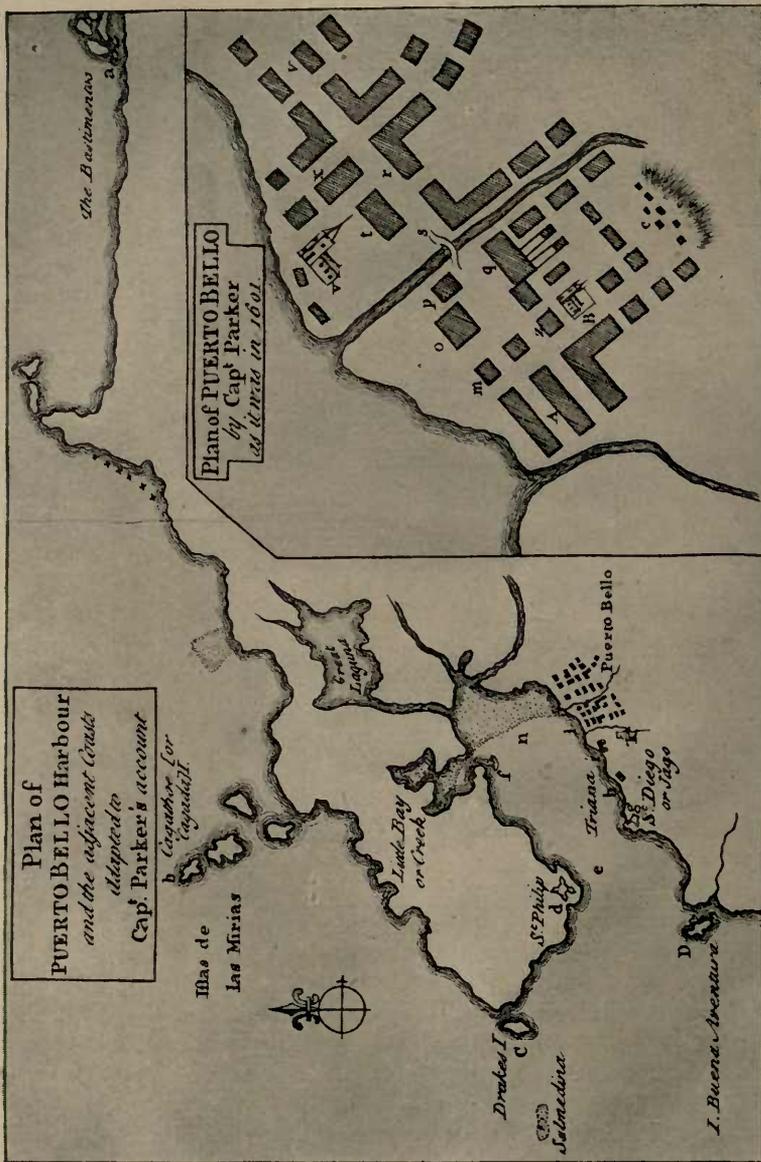
One of the mountains surrounding the harbor, from San Felipe on the north, around to the opposite point on the south, was the peak called *Monte Capira*, which stood at the extremity of the port, in the direction of the road to Panama. This mount was looked upon as a barometer for foretelling changes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

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

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

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

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

PLAN OF PORTOBELLO, IN 1602.
Probably not in 1601, as above stated.

EXPLANATION OF THE PRECEDING PLAN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

p.—The Market Place or Court of Guard.

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

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

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

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

v.—Saint Mary's Church.

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

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

z.—The Houfe where Pedro Melendus dwelt.

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

B.—Another Church and Street of Artificers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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The terms of capitulation were soon arranged, the Spanish troops marched out, and by 3 o'clock in the afternoon, Captain Knowles and 120 men took possession. Much merchandise was found in the custom house, on the opposite side of the river. This building was burnt, and also some *guarda-costas* in the port. On the 29th, Vernon blew up the Castle of *San Lorenzo*, and on the 30th he departed from Chagre. April 1st, 1740, Vernon was back at Puerto Bello.

During this conflict—commonly known as the "War of Jenkins' Ear," because Capt. Jenkins had his ear removed by the commander of a *guarda-costa*—England planned to take the city of Panama, and hold the key to the South Sea. The next year, Vernon sailed again from Port Royal to Puerto Bello, intending to march over the Isthmus, and operate against Panama in conjunction with another force under Admiral Geo. Anson, who had sailed through the Strait of Magellan, and was attacking Spanish ports and commerce on the Pacific side. Vernon's men became infected with the Isthmian fevers and died by hundreds, and in council on board the *Boyne*, 28th October, 1741, it was unanimously agreed that, from the best advice they had been able to collect, it was impracticable to advance with cannon to Panama.

Hearing that Vernon had failed to take Cartagena, Anson made no attempt on Panama, but went on around the world; capturing, near Manila, a Spanish ship worth a million and a half pesos.

A little later, San Lorenzo was attacked by three British frigates, which were beaten off by the Castellan, Capt. Don Juan de Hermida.

In 1745, Capt. Wm. Kinrains battered Puerto Bello with 5,000 cannonballs, so it is claimed, for having been denied the restitution of a prize.

In the years 1751-2, the three castles at Puerto Bello, and the castle of San Lorenzo at Chagre, were thoroughly rebuilt by Don Ignacio de Sala, lieut-gen. and engineer, governor of Cartagena.

The late war with England, but more especially the previous raids and incursions of the Buccaneers, drove Spanish trade and travel from the Isthmus. Ships to and from the Pacific coast now went through Magellan's strait, or around Cape Horn; and the Puerto Bello-Chagres Panama route ceased, for a time, to be the great highway of commerce.



JOHAN MORGAN,
gebooren in de Provincie van Wales, in Engelandt
Generaal van de Roovers op Jamaica.

From Exquemelin, *De Americaensche Zee-roovers*, 1678.

SIR HENRY MORGAN — OFTEN CALLED JOHN MORGAN.

The original of many subsequent portraits.

CHAPTER XXII.

HENRY MORGAN AND THE SACK OF PANAMA.

"Oh, what a set of Vagabundos,
Sons of Neptune, sons of Mars,
Raked from todos otros mundos,
Lascars, Gascons, Portsmouth tars,
Prison mate and dock-yard fellow,
Blades to Meg and Molly dear,
Off to capture Porto Bello
Sailed with Morgan the Buccaneer!"
—Edmund C. Stedman.



MORGAN English people, the best known of the Buccaneers is Henry Morgan. Spanish writers often call him Juan Morgan, and he is sometimes designated Henry John Morgan. Morgan was born about 1635, at Llanrhymny, Glamorganshire, in Wales; and was the eldest son of Robert Morgan, "a rich Yoeman or farmer of good quality." While yet young, he left home and went to Bristol, where he was kidnapped and sent to Barbados, at which place he was sold as a bondsman, like so many other Europeans who went to the West Indies at this period.

After serving his time, Morgan went to Jamaica, where he joined the Buccaneers and rose rapidly into favor. His uncle, Colonel Edward Morgan, came out as Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica in 1664, but died the following year in the attack on St. Eustatius. Henry Morgan was not in this expedition, but was one of the captains in Mansfield's expedition against Curacao, in 1666.

After several ventures, he accumulated enough money, with the help of some comrades, to buy a ship. Morgan was elected captain, and succeeded in capturing several Spanish vessels off the coast of Campeche. Probably he was that Morgan who, in

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January, 1665, went up the Tabasco river in Campeche, with Captains Morris and Jackman, when they took and plundered Vildemos; after which, they seized Truxillo, in Honduras; and then went up the San Juan river to Lake Nicaragua, and sacked the city of Granada. He attracted the attention of Captain Mansfield, who made him his vice-admiral in the attack on Santa Catarina.

Shortly after the death of Mansfield, in 1668, Morgan captured and looted the town of *Puerto Principe*, in Cuba. The Spaniards still claimed Jamaica, and Governor Modyford had instigated this expedition to discover plans of an attempt to retake the island. In this affair, the French members of his company began those complaints of unfair treatment which continued throughout Morgan's career. He got but fifty thousand pesos, as a Spanish prisoner aboard his ship escaped to the shore and warned the people.

His next expedition was against *Puerto Bello*, which was, says Exquemelin, the strongest possession of the King of Spain in the West Indies, excepting Havana and Cartagena. "It is judged to be the strongest place that the King of Spain possesses in all the West Indies, excepting two, that is to say Havana and Cartagena. Here are the castles, almost impregnable, that defend the city, being situated at the entry of the port; so that no ship or boat can pass without permission. The garrison consists of three hundred soldiers, and the town constantly inhabited by four hundred families, more or less. The merchants dwell not here, but only reside for awhile, when the galleons come or go from Spain; by reason of the unhealthiness of the air, occasioned by certain vapours that exhale from the mountains. Notwithstanding, their chief warehouses are at Porto Bello, howbeit their habitations be all the year long at Panama; whence they bring the plate upon mules at such times as the fair begins, and when the ships, belonging to the Company of Negroes, arrive here to sell slaves." Morgan did not disclose his plans, but sailed with nine vessels, and about four hundred and sixty men, nearly all English, towards the Isthmus. When he told his captains and men of his intention to attack Puerto Bello, some of them objected on the grounds of his small force; to which Morgan replied, "If our number is small, our hearts are great, and the fewer persons we are, the more union and better shares we shall have in the spoils." They sailed first to *Puerto de Naos*, now known as Limon Bay, the port of Colon. The following places are not so easily identified:

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"Being come to this place, they mounted the river in their ships, as far as another harbour called Puerto Pontin [Ponton]; where they came to an anchor. Here they put themselves immediately into boats and canoes, leaving in the ships only a few men to keep them and conduct them the next day to the port. About midnight they came to a certain place called Estera longa Lemos,¹ where they all went on shore, and marched by land to the first posts of the city."

Morgan was much assisted by one of his crew, an Englishman, who formerly had been a prisoner in Puerto Bello. It was rumored that several Englishmen, among them Prince Maurice, were then confined in the dungeons. The place was surrounded, and the sentinel captured. Surrender was demanded, otherwise no quarter would be given. Puerto Bello was strongly fortified, and garrisoned by three hundred troops, besides four hundred citizens capable of bearing arms. The castle of Triana in the western part of the town was first attacked and captured. Because its defenders refused to surrender, Morgan shut them up in the castle and fired the magazine; thereby destroying both castle and garrison. In the meantime the town people had fled, first hiding their valuables or casting them into wells.

The Governor rallied his men and retired to the strongest remaining fort, where he kept up the fight from break of day till noon. Morgan was almost in despair of taking the castle, when he conceived the plan of having a number of wide wooden ladders made, so broad that three or four men at once might ascend by them, which he forced the priests and nuns to erect against the walls. The Buccaneers then ascended these ladders, using the religious persons as a shield, and throwing fire-balls and pots of powder among the Spaniards, which overcame them so that they asked quarter.

The priests and nuns begged the Governor by all the saints in heaven to surrender, and to their prayers were added the entreaties of his wife and daughter, but the brave man would not yield. He did not hesitate to fire on the priests who were forced

¹ Estero Longarremos. From Limon Bay, the Buccaneers went east of Manzanillo Island (Colon), and anchored in Puerto Manzanillo. They then took to the small boats and rowed northeast by sea, around Punta Manzanillo, until they came to Estero Longarremos. The point of land east of Punta Manzanillo is still called Punta Longarremos.

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in front of the Buccaneers, and killed not a few of his own soldiers because they would not stand to their arms.

All the Spaniards in the castle were killed, or craved quarter, except the Governor. When asked to surrender, he constantly answered: "By no means; I had rather die as a valiant soldier than be hanged as a coward." The pirates endeavored to take the governor alive, but he defended himself so obstinately that they were forced to kill him. The castle commanding the entrance to the port was the next to fall.

All prisoners were shut up in one of the castles, and the wounded Buccaneers placed in charge of some female slaves, Morgan telling them: "Your groans shall supply the place of clothing for your wounds." The victors then proceeded to loot the town and indulge in all manner of drunkenness and debauchery. The next day, a number of citizens were put to the torture to discover where they had hidden their riches.

Morgan sent two prisoners as messengers to the President of Panama to procure a ransom of one hundred thousand pieces-of-eight, or Porto Bello would be consumed to ashes. Instead of sending the money, the President started with a body of troops, stated to be fifteen hundred, to relieve Porto Bello; but was ambushed and put to flight by one hundred Buccaneers, "at a narrow passage through which of necessity he ought to pass."

Morgan had brought up his ships, which gave him a secure retreat; so he remained in the town, and threatened to kill all his prisoners and blow the castle into the air if the ransom was not paid. The miserable citizens managed to raise the amount, and the Buccaneers loaded their vessels with pillage and vic-tuals, and prepared to depart.

Morgan also carried away the best guns of the castles, nailing the rest which he could not take with him. During the fifteen days the Buccaneers held Porto Bello, a number had died from excesses and from the unhealthiness of the country.

The President of Panama, filled with admiration that four hundred men had been able to take such a great city, with so many strong castles, sent a messenger to Captain Morgan, "desiring him to send him some small pattern of those arms wherewith he had taken with such violence so great a city." Morgan gave the man a pistol and a few small bullets of lead, to carry back to his master; with this answer: "He desired him to accept that slender pattern of the arms wherewith he had taken Porto Bello, and keep them for a twelvemonth; after

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which time he promised to come to Panama and fetch them away."

The President soon returned these to Morgan, thanking him for the favor of lending him such weapons as he needed not; and, as illustrating the polite usages of the times, also sent Captain Morgan an emerald set in a ring of gold, with this message: "That he desired him not to give himself the labor of coming to Panama, as he had done to Porto Bello; for he did certify to him, he should not speed so well here as he had done there."

Morgan and his men sailed away to the south coast of Cuba, where division of the booty was made. The ready money amounted to two hundred and fifty thousand pieces-of-eight; besides silks, linens, and other merchandise.

The Buccaneers then returned to their rendezvous in Jamaica, and gave themselves up to debauchery; "Spending with hugh prodigality what others had gained with no small labor and toil."

Morgan's official report of his Porto Bello expedition, found in the "State Papers," differs considerably from Exquemelin. Morgan relates that Porto Bello was left in as good condition as he found it, and that the people had been well treated; "several ladies of great quality and other prisoners who were offered their liberty to go to the president's camp refused, saying they were now prisoners to a person of quality, who was more tender of their honours than they doubted to find in the president's camp; and so voluntarily continued with them."

Gov. Modyford was somewhat in doubt how the capture of Porto Bello might be regarded in England, as Morgan's commission was only to war against ships. Nevertheless the governor gave Morgan another commission shortly afterwards.

Not long after the loot of Porto Bello, the Buccaneers of Jamaica determined to go on another venture. Morgan notified the commanders to meet at *Isla de la Vaca* (Isle à Vache) on the south side of Haiti. While there, he increased his unpopularity with the French by forcibly seizing a large ship belonging to some French *flibustiers* who would not join him. This treacherous act was soon followed by retribution.

Having decided at a council to lie in wait for the Spanish *flota* at the island of Savona, the English proceeded to fire off guns, and drink many healths for joy of their new enterprise. While most of the men were drunk, Morgan's great thirty-six

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gun ship, the frigate *Oxford*, was blown up into the air, with the lives of three hundred and fifty Englishmen, and the French prisoners that were in the hold. There escaped only about thirty men, including Morgan, who were in the cabin at some distance from the force of the explosion. The English blamed the French for this disaster, and sent the French ship, the *Cour Volant*, and the remainder of her crew to Jamaica, where their vessel was confiscated and the men threatened with hanging.

After mourning eight days for the loss of the ship and men, Morgan commanded the bodies floating on the sea to be searched for valuables, and the gold rings to be cut off their fingers.

Later, Morgan mustered eight small vessels and five hundred men at Savona. By the advice of one of his captains, a Frenchman who had been with Lolonnois and Michel le Basque, Morgan sailed for *Maracaibo*.

The Buccaneers entered the gulf of Maracaibo by night, so as not to be seen from the Vigalias, or watch tower. The next morning, Morgan found himself under the guns of the fort, which opened fire on him.

"The dispute continued very hot on both sides, being managed with huge courage and valour from morning till dark night." During the night the Spaniards vacated the fort, and the next day the Buccaneers passed up to the city of Maracaibo in small boats. The principal inhabitants had departed with their riches, but such as remained were subjected to inhuman cruelties to make them disclose the hiding place of valuables.

After three weeks of rioting, Morgan and his men proceeded up the lake and took *Gibraltar*, just as Lolonnois had done two years before. Five more weeks of pillage and murder at this place; and then Morgan went back to Maracaibo.

Here he heard that three Spanish men-of-war, under command of Don Alonso del Campo y Espinosa, lay in wait in the entrance of the lake, to dispute his exit. May 1st, 1669, at dawn, Morgan attacked the Spanish fleet, and by means of a *brulot*, or fire-ship, which one of the Buccaneers had prepared, he was able to destroy two of them and capture the third. Most of the Spaniards escaped to the castle on the shore.

Morgan again returned to Maracaibo, collected a ransom, divided two hundred and fifty thousand pieces-of-eight among his men, besides merchandise and slaves, and prepared to leave.

By a clever stratagem, he was allowed to drift out the lake at night on an ebbing tide, without sails, and thus pass the castle

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commanding the entrance. The Buccaneers encountered a great tempest at sea, but finally all arrived safely at their headquarters in Port Royal.

Another party, under Captain Hansel, about the same time, returned empty handed from an attempt on the town of Cumana. Morgan's men ceased not to mock and jeer them for their ill success, saying: "Let us see what money you brought from Comana, and if it be as good silver as that which we bring from Maracaibo."

It was not long before the Buccaneers were again clamoring for another expedition against the Spaniards. The men had spent their money, and many were in debt to the rum-sellers and merchants of Port Royal. Rumors had reached the West Indies of an impending treaty of peace between Great Britain and Spain, and the brotherhood were anxious to engage in some great undertaking before it went into effect. The fame of Morgan was now so well established that they importuned him to lead them. "He undertook therefore to equip a new fleet of ships; for which purpose he assigned the south side of the Isle of Tortuga, as a place of rendezvous. With this resolution, he wrote divers letters to all the ancient and expert Pirates there inhabiting, as also to the Governor of the said isle, and to the planters and hunters of Hispaniola, giving them to understand his intentions, and desiring their appearance at the said place, in case they intended to go with him. All these people had no sooner understood his designs than they flocked to the place assigned in high numbers, with ships, canoes, and boats, being desirous to obey his commands. Many, who had not the convenience of coming to him by sea, traversed the woods of Hispaniola, and with no small difficulties arrived there by land. Thus all were present at the place assigned, and in readiness, against the 24th day of October, 1670," (Exquemelin).

Morgan sailed, August 14th, 1670, from Port Royal for Port Corillon [Couillon] in the island of Vache, where he held council with his leaders.

A lot of Buccaneers were set to work on Hispaniola, killing cattle and curing the meat; another party, comprising four or five ships, under command of Captain Bradley (Sharp says vice-admiral Collyer) was sent to the *Rio Hacha* to loot the village of La Rancheria, a place famous for its abundance of

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corn; while the remainder cleaned the ships and fitted them for sea.

The hunters soon had an abundance of dried beef, and in five weeks Bradley returned with four thousand bushels of maize as ransom for Rancheria; a good ship from Cartagena already laden with maize; and other booty and prisoners. Morgan distributed the provisions among his crews, inspected the ships, and sailed for *Cape Tiburon*, the last place of rendezvous. Here he was joined by some more ships from Jamaica, "So that now the whole fleet consisted of thirty-seven ships, wherein were two thousand fighting men, besides mariners and boys; the Admiral hereof was mounted with twenty-two great guns, and six small ones, of brass; the rest carried some twenty, some sixteen, some eighteen, and the smallest vessel at least four; besides which they had great quantity of ammunition and fire-balls, with other inventions of powder."

Morgan's present commission gave him free hand against Spain, and further stated that "as there is no other pay for the encouragement of the fleet, they shall have all the goods and merchandise that shall be gotten in this expedition, to be divided amongst them according to their rules." Pursuant to his authority as admiral, Morgan then issued sub-commissions to his vice-admiral and captains.

On the second of December, the thirty-seven captains met and drew up articles of agreement for the division of the spoils. Morgan should receive one-hundredth of the whole; every captain was to have the shares of eight men for the expenses of his ship, besides his own share; the surgeon should have two hundred pieces-of-eight for his chest of medicaments, in addition to his ordinary pay; and the carpenter an extra one hundred pesos. Recompenses for the maimed, and rewards for bravery, were regulated much higher than usual.

The council then considered whether to go against Cartagena, Panama, or Vera Cruz. The lot fell upon *Panama*; believed to be the richest of the three. Another reason was "that it stands most for the good of Jamaica and safety of us all to take Panama, the president thereof having granted several commissions against the English."

The Buccaneers had no knowledge of the routes to Panama, so in order to procure guides, they determined to retake the island of *St. Catharine* (Santa Catarina), now used as a penal settlement by the Spaniards, trusting to find there banditti and outlaws familiar with Panama and its approaches. Flying the

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English flag, the fleet sailed from Cape Tiburon (the southwestern corner of Haiti), the sixteenth day of December, 1670; and on the fourth day arrived at St. Catharine, and summoned the garrison to surrender.

The Spaniards had no show against such a large armada, but in order to save his face the Governor "desired that Captain Morgan would be pleased to use a certain stratagem of war, for the better saving of his own credit, and the reputation of his officers both abroad and at home." In other words, a sham fight was arranged which waged fiercely throughout the night, and during which much powder was consumed. The fort of St. Jerome, the battery called St. Matthew, and the castle of Santa Teresa fell in turn; and soon all of the nine fortresses were in the hands of the assailants. Real war was then made against the poultry and cattle by the hungry Buccaneers.

The population of the island, male and female, numbered, in all, four hundred and fifty souls, including one hundred and ninety soldiers. Among the felons were two Indians and a mulatto from Panama. The Indians, aware that their own people would probably suffer, feigned ignorance of the road to Panama, but the negro betrayed them. After one had been broken on the rack until he died, the other Indian consented to guide the buccaneers.

Morgan decided to approach Panama by the Chagres river route, a selection which required the subjugation of the castle guarding the mouth of the river. He must have considered the use of artillery essential in subduing Panama, and that the control of the Chagres was necessary in order to transport it as far as possible by water; otherwise Morgan would not have selected the most difficult way of getting to Panama at this time of the year. As we shall see later, when he went up the river he had "five boats with artillery," which he was forced to leave behind at the end of the second day. The facility with which Francis Drake reached Cruces, and even within sight of Panama, by land in 1573, seems to have been entirely forgotten. Had the Buccaneers taken the Camino Real, back of Porto Bello, they would have avoided the heavy losses at San Lorenzo, and the starvation trip up the Chagres; and could have reached Panama in three or four days in comfort. The dry season had begun, and the Royal Road was easy footing for such amphibious creatures as the Buccaneers. Morgan sent Colonel Joseph Bradley, a famous privateer familiar with those coasts,

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to take the castle of Chagre (*San Lorenzo*); while he himself remained at St. Catherine, lest the Spanish should suspect his design on Panama.

Bradley (called Brodely, by Exquemelin), departed from St. Catherine with four ships and a boat, and a force of four hundred men, and in three days arrived off the mouth of the Chagres. "They came to an anchor in a small port, at the distance of a league more or less from the castle. The next morning very early they went on shore, and marched through the woods, to attack the castle on that side. This march continued until two o'clock in the afternoon, before they could reach the castle, by reason of the difficulties of the way, and its mire and dirt."²

Exquemelin, the Buccaneer historian, who probably participated in the assault, thus describes the castle of San Lorenzo (St. Lawrence):

"This castle is built upon a high mountain, at the entry of the river, and surrounded on all sides with strong palisades or wooden walls; being very well terreplained, and filled with earth; which renders them as secure as the best walls made of stone or brick. The top of this mountain is in a manner divided into two parts, between which lies a ditch of the depth of thirty foot. The castle itself has but one entry, and that by a drawbridge which passes over the ditch aforementioned. On the land side it has four bastions, that of the sea containing only two more. That part thereof which looks towards the South is totally inaccessible and impossible to be climbed, through the infinite asperity of the mountain.

The North side is surrounded by the river, which hereabouts runs very broad. At the foot of the said castle, or rather mountain, is seated a strong fort, with eight great guns, which commands and impedes the entry of the river. Not much lower are to be seen two other batteries, whereof each hath six pieces of cannon,

² As San Lorenzo is on the east bank of the Chagres river, and as the Buccaneers reached the fort altogether by land, it follows that they must have approached from the eastward. Their long march seems to indicate that they landed at a considerable distance from the castle, as on the western playa of Puerto de Naos, but an old map shows that the Buccaneers disembarked by Punta Brujas, within Little Orange Key.

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to defend likewise the mouth of the said river. At one side of the castle are built two great store-houses, in which are deposited all sorts of warlike ammunition and merchandize, which are brought thither from the inner parts of the country. Near these houses is a high pair of stairs, hewed out of the rock, which serves to mount to the top of the castle. On the West side of the said fortress lies a small port, which is not above seven or eight fathom deep, being very fit for small vessels and of very good anchorage. Besides this, there lies before the castle, at the entry of the river, a great rock, scarce to be perceived above water, unless at low tide."

Their guides served them exactly, bringing them out into an open space so close to the castle that many of the Buccaneers were killed by the first fire of the guns. This brisk defence from a seeming impregnable position much perplexed the Pirates in their minds, and caused them to fear the success of their enterprise. The Buccaneers tried to take the place by assault, and advanced with swords in one hand and fire-balls in the other. The Spaniards repulsed them bravely, crying withal:

"Come on, ye English dogs, enemies to God and our King; let your other companions that are behind come on too; ye shall not go to Panama this bout."

Failing to climb up the walls, the besiegers were forced to retreat. Resting until night, they renewed the attack, and were almost in despair, when an accident gave them the opportunity for victory.

"One of the Pirates was wounded with an arrow in his back, which pierced his body to the other side. This instantly he pulled out with great valour at the side of his breast; then taking a little cotton that he had about him, he wound it about the said arrow, and putting it into his musket, he shot it back into the castle. But the cotton being kindled by the powder, occasioned two or three houses that were within the castle, being thatched with palm-leaves, to take fire, which the Spaniards perceived not so soon as was necessary. For this fire meeting with a parcel of powder, blew it up, and thereby caused great ruin, and no less consternation to the Spaniards, who were not able to account for this accident, not having seen the beginning thereof."

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Cliffs protected the castle on the north, south, and west. The only way it could be approached was by the hill on the east side. At the crest of the hill was the ditch, thirty feet deep, crossed by a drawbridge, the only entry to the castle. Back of the ditch was the wall of earth held up by wooden palisades. When the latter were consumed, the dry earth dropped into the ditch, filling it more or less, and allowing the Buccaneers to pass over. At the same time the interior of the castle became exposed to the fire of the enemy. The valiant Governor caused his artillery to be transported to the breaches, and made his men stand to their posts.

The Buccaneers would creep up as near as they could, and shoot the Spaniards they perceived in the glare of the burning buildings. When day was come, they could see those within the castle better. About noon, the Buccaneers charged, and gained a breach held by the Governor and twenty-five men, who defended themselves in the most desperate manner with muskets, pikes, stones, and swords. After this, the rest was easy. The Governor, Don Pedro de Lisardo, retreated to the *corps du garde*, before which were placed two pieces of cannon. Refusing to ask quarter, he was killed by a musket shot which pierced his skull. Many of the remaining Spaniards cast themselves from the castle into the sea, or to the bottom of the cliff (few or none surviving the fall), rather than ask any quarter for their lives.

The President of Panama had long been aware of the coming of the Buccaneers, and had reinforced the regular garrison of one hundred and fifty men with one hundred and sixty-four more. This made a total of three hundred and fourteen regular troops, besides a lot of Indian bowmen. It is seen that the defenders were nearly as numerous as the Buccaneers. Of this number, only thirty remained alive, whereof scarce ten were not wounded. Not one officer survived. Consider, then, the daring and desperation necessary to overcome such valorous resistance in an almost impregnable position.

Of the Buccaneer force, of not over four hundred men, more than one hundred were killed, and the wounded exceeded seventy. Colonel Bradley lost both legs by a round shot, which caused his death within ten days, to the great grief of all. The church of the castle was turned into a hospital, where also they

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shut up the women. The Buccaneers made the surviving Spaniards cast their own dead from the cliffs, and afterwards to bury them.

From considerable reading of Buccaneer history, and from personal knowledge of many of the places taken by them, I am of the opinion that the capture of San Lorenzo by Colonel Bradley was the bravest of their achievements; and, of course, was an indispensable precedent to reaching Panama by the river route.

From Chagre, word was sent to Morgan that the castle had fallen. He dismantled all the forts on St. Catherine except St. Teresa, and burnt all the houses. Morgan collected all the maize, cassava, and other provisions that he could, and putting the prisoners aboard his ships, sailed for the Chagres river, where he arrived in the space of eight days.

“Here the joy of the whole fleet was so great, when they spied the English colours upon the castle that they minded not their way into the river, which occasioned them to lose four of their ships at the entry thereof, that wherein Captain Morgan went, being one of the four. Yet their fortune was so good as to be able to save all the men and goods that were in the said vessels. Yea, the ships likewise had been preserved, if a strong northerly wind had not risen on that occasion, which cast the ships upon the rock above-mentioned, that lies at the entry of the said river.”

The commander-in-chief entered the castle amid the acclamations of the Buccaneers. He set the prisoners to work building new palisades, and gathered boats for the journey up the river.

When Morgan was in Porto Bello, and made his boast to call on the President of Panama within a year, it is very unlikely that he had any intentions at that time of such an undertaking. Had he cherished such a plan, it would have been the part of wisdom, and more in accord with his usual custom, to have kept it quiet. Nevertheless, the success of the Buccaneers at Porto Bello and other places ashore, had alarmed the people of Panama, and preparations had been made to repel an invasion. That the President of Panama, Don Juan Perez de Guzman, had strengthened his defenses, was shown by con-

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fessions of Spanish prisoners, and actual commissions signed by him found in captured vessels.

The raids of Drake and Oxenham had not been forgotten by the Spaniards, and the increasing aggressions of other European nations kept them in a constant state of alarm. Indeed, there were a number of times when the Buccaneers could have seized and held the Isthmus, or other parts of Spanish America, had they had any desire for permanent possession and orderly government.

Morgan learned from the prisoners taken at San Lorenzo that the President of Panama had received notice three weeks previously from Cartagena, and also by a deserter from the Buccaneers while at the Rio Hacha, of his designs on Panama. They also told him that ambuscades had been placed along the Chagres, and that the Spaniards awaited the Buccaneers with a force of three thousand six hundred men, in the open plain in front of Panama. This was so well known that the Buccaneers were repeatedly greeted, by both Spaniards and Indians, with the cry: *A la Savanna!*

The President states in a letter, given in Sharp's *Voyages*, that he had sent two hundred additional men to Puerto Velo (Porto Bello), and one hundred and fifty to reinforce Chagre (San Lorenzo); and had placed five hundred more in ambuscades along the Chagres, under the command of Don Francisco Saludo. He further states that he held consultations with his officers, and was assured that the castle and forts on the river were impregnable.

Among the Spanish boats found at Chagre were four little ships, a lot of canoes, and some vessels called *chatten*, (*chata*—a flat-bottomed boat) which were used for transporting merchandise up and down the river, as also for going to Porto Bello and Nicaragua. These latter vessels were commonly mounted with two great guns of iron, and four small ones of brass.

Leaving Captain Norman with five hundred men to garrison San Lorenzo, and one hundred and fifty more to remain with his fleet; Morgan started up the Chagres river, January 9th, 1671, with fourteen hundred men in seven ships and thirty-six boats, on his way to Panama. According to Exquemelin, who was not always accurate in his dates,³ he departed on January

³ It is probable that this conflict in dates may be explained by the difference between the Julian and Gregorian calendars, which at this time amounted to about ten days.

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18th, at the head of twelve hundred men, in "five boats with artillery and thirty-two canoes." Morgan carried but few provisions, being in good hopes he should provide himself from the Spaniards.

In my account of the trip up the Chagres I shall give the names of places, and distances traveled, as narrated by Exquemelin. Those familiar with the river will be able to locate the stops, and make corrections for distance.

First day—

The first day they journeyed six leagues, and came to a place called *De los Bracos* [at the mouth of the Trinidad]. The men left their cramped quarters on the boats, and went ashore to sleep for a few hours. After which, they sought something to eat among the neighboring plantations, but found nothing, as the Spaniards had fled and carried with them all their provisions. Many of the Buccaneers had to be content with a pipe of tobacco for refreshment.

Second day—

They resumed their journey very early in the morning, and about evening arrived at a place called *Cruz De Juan Gallego*. "Here they were compelled to leave their boats and canoes, by reason the river was very dry for want of rain, and the many obstacles of trees that were fallen into it."

Third day—

All went ashore in the morning except one hundred and sixty men left to defend the boats and hold them as a refuge in case of necessity. These men had strict orders, under great penalties, that no one should leave the boats for fear of being cut off by the Spaniards that might chance to lie thereabouts in the neighboring woods, which appeared so thick as to seem almost impenetrable. The Buccaneers found marching so dirty and irksome that they re-embarked in the canoes. By making two trips, Morgan was able to get his column up the river as far as *Cedro Bueno* by evening. They were now reduced to such extremity of hunger that they were infinitely desirous to meet some Spaniards, that they might roast or boii them to satisfy their famine.

Fourth day—

Most of the party traveled by land, being led by one of the guides. The rest went by water, being conducted by another guide, who always went ahead to discover ambuscades. The Spaniards, of course, had spies along the river, who gave notice of the advance of the Buccaneers.

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About noon, when near a post called *Torna Cavallos* [opposite Bujio de Soldado], the guide of the canoes gave warning of an ambush ahead. Instead of being alarmed, the Buccaneers were filled with joy at the thought of finding something to eat. But they found the place abandoned, and judged that about five hundred Spaniards had been there. Crumbs of bread strewn about tantalized their appetites, so that they fell upon some leathern bags and devoured them, to quell the ferment of their stomachs.

After feasting on these pieces of leather they marched farther on, till about night they came to another post, called *Torna Munní*. Here they found another ambuscade, also barren of provisions.

“Here again he was happy, that had reserved since noon any small piece of leather whereof to make his supper, drinking after it a good draught of water for his greatest comfort. Some persons, who never were out of their mothers’ kitchens, may ask how these Pirates could eat, swallow and digest those pieces of leather, so hard and dry. To whom I only answer: That could they once experiment what hunger, or rather famine, is, they would certainly find the manner, by their own necessity, as the Pirates did. For these first took the leather, and sliced it in pieces. Then did they beat it between two stones, and rub it, often dipping it in the water of the river to render it by these means supple and tender. Lastly, they scraped off the hair, and roasted or broiled it upon the fire. And being thus cooked they cut it into small morsels, and eat it, helping it down with frequent gulps of water, which by good fortune they had near at hand.”

Fifth day—

About noon on the fifth day the Buccaneers had gotten as far as *Barbacoa*, the present Barbacoas, where the Panama Railroad crosses the Chagres river, and a midway point across the Isthmus. Here were signs of another ambuscade, but not a particle to eat. Several plantations in the neighborhood were narrowly searched, but not an animal or any food found. After searching up and down the river they found a grotto, lately hewn out of a rock,

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“in which they found two sacks of meal, wheat and like things, with two great jars of wine, and certain fruits called Platanos.”

Morgan, wisely, distributed this food among those who were in the greatest need. They then advanced again with greater courage, and late at night arrived at a deserted plantation, where they rested until morning.

Sixth day—

They continued their progress, partly in canoes, and partly by land through the woods; but constrained to rest frequently on account of the ruggedness of the way and their great weakness. The men were in such extremity of hunger that they ate the leaves of trees, grass, and green herbs.

“This day, at noon, they arrived at a plantation, where they found a barn full of maize. Immediately they beat down the doors, and fell to eating of it dry, as much as they could devour. Afterwards they distributed great quantity, giving to every man a good allowance thereof.”

About an hour after resuming their journey, they ran into an ambuscade of Indians, who retreated before them, and were routed by the Forlorn (the advance guard) under Captain Thomas Rogers. Some of the Buccaneers crossed the river and pursued a body of about one hundred on the other side, hoping to catch a few of them. The nimble Indians easily avoided the Buccaneers, and killed two or three of them with their arrows; at the same time taunting them with cries of *Ha! perros, a la savana, a la savana. Ha! ye dogs, go to the plain, go to the plain.*

The Buccaneers had now traveled as far on the northern or east bank of the river as it was necessary to go, so went into camp for the night at a post called *Santa Cruz*. Many murmured against Captain Morgan for his conduct of the enterprise, and were desirous to return home, but a guide comforted them, saying: *It would not be long before they met with people, from whom they should reap some considerable advantage.*

Seventh day—

The next morning the Buccaneers cleaned their arms, and each man discharged his pistol or musket, without bullet, to test his firelock. They then crossed the Chagres in their canoes, and continued their march, in an easterly direction, on the south side of the river. Smoke was seen ahead, and they

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hurried forward, and at noon arrived all sweating and panting at the village of *Cruz*, the modern Cruces. The smoke ascending from each house led them to hope for good cheer within, but the Spaniards, as usual, had taken their departure and left no eatables behind. Before leaving, each man had set fire to his own house, excepting only the store-houses and stables belonging to the King.

The Buccaneers found a few cats and dogs, which they immediately killed and devoured; and in the King's stable were fifteen or sixteen jars of Peru wine, and a leather sack full of bread. In their half starved condition, the wine made the men sick, and caused them to think it was poisoned, which created much consternation for a time.

Morgan concealed one of his canoes and sent the rest back to where he had left his boats, not caring to weaken his force by leaving enough men at Cruces to defend them.

Contrary to orders, a party of English left the village in search of food, but were driven back by Spaniards and Indians, who captured one of them.

By reason of the sickness of his men, Morgan was compelled to remain at Cruces until the next morning.

“This village is situated in the latitude of nine degrees and two minutes, North, being distant from the river of Chagre [mouth of the Chagres] twenty-six Spanish leagues, and eight from Panama.”

Eighth day—

At Cruces, Morgan left the river and started south towards the city of Old Panama. He sent out an advance guard of two hundred men to give warning of the enemy.

Exquemelin complains of the road being so narrow that only ten or twelve men could march in a file; but at the present time on the Isthmus this would be considered a very fine highway. As a matter of fact, that old Camino Real was the best roadway the Isthmus ever had.

After marching ten hours, and reaching a spot called *Quebrada Obscura*, they suddenly received a flight of three or four thousand arrows from unseen foes.

“The place whence it was presumed they were shot was a high rocky mountain, excavated from one side to the other, wherein was a grotto that went through it,

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only capable of admitting one horse, or other beast laded."

The firing ceased, and the Buccaneers advanced and entered a wood, when they saw some Indians fleeing. One band of Indians, however, stood their ground, and fought with huge courage till their chief fell mortally wounded. The Buccaneers had eight men killed, and ten wounded. Shortly after, while passing through a savana, they perceived a party of Indians on top of a mountain. Fifty of the most active among the Buccaneers tried to catch some of them, but the Indians vanished, only to reappear in another place, hallooing to the English: *A la savana, a la savana corundos, perros Ingleses!*

A little further on, Morgan avoided an ambuscade in a wood, and saw a body of Spaniards and Indians on a mountain, but they soon retired and were seen no more. About night there fell a great rain. The Indians had burned the houses thereabouts, and driven away the cattle, so there was neither shelter nor food for the invaders. Notwithstanding, after diligent search, they found a few huts in which a few men from each company kept dry the arms of the remainder of the army. It rained all that night; and those tired, famished men suffered much hardship.

The Spaniards seen this day were the first encountered by the Buccaneers since leaving San Lorenzo. Don Francisco Saludo, with headquarters at Barbacoa, was in command of five hundred men to defend the passage of the Chagres. As the Buccaneers came up the river, Luis de Castillo, Captain of the Mulattos, retired from his post at *Barro Colorado* [opposite Tabernilla] and fell back on his chief at Barbacoa; and the latter very promptly retreated to Cruces. Removing and destroying supplies, and burning houses were wise measures, but not sufficient, without active opposition, to hold back the Buccaneers.

The only resistance offered was by the Indians. Had the Spaniards exhibited the same spirit, and continually harrassed the Buccaneers, those weakened and discouraged men never would have reached Panama.

Ninth day—

At the break of day, "being the ninth of this tedious journey," Morgan continued his march. "For the clouds then hanging as yet over their heads were much more favorable to them than the scorching rays of the sun, by reason the

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way was now more difficult and laborious than all the preceding."

In about two hours they saw a body of twenty Spaniards, but could not succeed in capturing any of them. They then came, towards noon, to a high mountain, from the top of which they saw the South Sea, which filled them with joy. This hill has ever since been known as "*El Cerro de los Bucaneros.*" (The Hill of the Buccaneers).

They also descried a ship and six boats sailing from the direction of Panama toward Tovaga and Tovagilla [Taboga and Tabogilla]. Descending this hill, their hungry eyes perceived a little valley filled with cattle. "Here while some were employed in killing and flaying cows, horses, bulls, and chiefly asses, of which there was greatest number, others busied themselves in kindling of fires and getting wood wherewith to roast them. Thus cutting the flesh of these animals into pieces, or gobbets, they threw them into the fire, and half carbonadoed or roasted, they devoured them with incredible haste and appetite. For such was their hunger that they more resembled cannibals than Europeans at this banquet, the blood many times running down from their beards to the middle of their bodies." This was the first square meal since leaving San Lorenzo. It was a stupid blunder on the part of the Spaniards to permit this stock to range within reach of the Buccaneers, so that they could strengthen their weakened bodies and revive their courage. During the meal, Morgan sounded a false alarm, fearing his men might be surprised, which proved to be a wise precaution. After satisfying their hunger, the Buccaneers resumed their march. Morgan was anxious to take some prisoners, that he might extract from them, by torture if necessary, the condition and forces of Panama.

In the evening they discovered a troop of two hundred Spaniards, and soon after they had their first sight of the highest steeple of the city. The Buccaneers leaped and yelled for joy, and sounded their trumpets and drums. In great content they went into camp, waiting in impatience for the morning to come to attack the city. About fifty horsemen, preceded by a sweet sounding trumpeter, issued from the city, and came almost within musket-shot of the Buccaneers, and shouted "*Perros! Nos Veremos.*" (Dogs! we will see you again). A few of the horsemen hovered about them as scouts, while the two hundred previously seen, re-appeared, and placed themselves so as to cut off retreat. Panama began shooting with

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her biggest guns, and kept up a useless firing all during the night. The Buccaneers placed sentries about their camp, made a hearty supper off the meat which they had reserved since noon, and laid themselves down to sleep upon the grass with great repose.

Tenth day—*The Capture of Panama, comprising the Battle of the Savana, and the Assault on the City.*

January 18th, 1671 (January 27th, according to Exquemelin), being the tenth day after leaving San Lorenzo, the Buccaneers fought the battle of Old Panama, and captured the city. The battle began early in the morning, and was executed in two stages; the first, being the destruction of the Spanish cavalry and rout of the wild cattle on the Savana, which lasted two hours; and the second stage, which comprised the assault and capture of the city, lasting three hours; and terminating at noon; or at three o'clock, as some say.

When the Governor (then called the President) of Panama heard of the continued advance of the Buccaneers, and retreat of Saludo, he left his sick bed and took the field in person. He writes—"In this conjunction having had the misfortune to have been lately Blooded three times for an *Erysipelas* I had in my right Leg, I was forced to rise out of my Bed and march to Guiabel [on the Cruces road] with the rest of the People, which I had raised in Panama." He soon returned to Panama with all his forces, and prepared to repel the Buccaneers. "But what was Don Juan Perez de Guzman doing while Morgan was on his way up the Chagre, after capturing the high-mounted castle of San Lornezo? Masses were being said daily for the success of the Spanish Arms. The images of our lady of pure and immaculate conception were being carried in general procession, attended by all the religious fraternity of the cathedral. Always the most holy sacrament was left uncovered and exposed to public view. Oaths were being taken with much pious fervor in the presence of the sacred effigies, and all the president's relics and jewelry, including a diamond ring worth forty thousand pesos, were laid on the altars of the holy virgin and of the saints, who held in their special keeping the welfare of Panamá." (Bancroft).

Early in the morning, with drums beating and trumpets sounding, the Buccaneers advanced in orderly array towards the city. They marched under the English flag, and Morgan held his commission from the Governor and Council of Jamaica,

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so their status was that of privateers operating on land, or authorized guerrillas.

By the advice of his guide, Morgan did not follow the main road, but took another way that went through the woods. Very often the Buccaneers were indebted to the Indians for the success of their enterprises, and this guide was probably that Indian who was brought from St. Catherine. This flanking movement disarranged the Spanish plan of battle, so that they were forced to leave their batteries and ambuscades which commanded the Camino Real, and form upon the plain. The Governor, therefore, drew up his men in battle array on the Savana in front of the city.

The Spanish forces consisted of two squadrons of horse, amounting to four hundred men; twenty-four companies of foot, of one hundred men each; and "sixty Indians and some negroes." Morgan mustered about twelve hundred men for the attack. "The Pirates being now upon their march, came to the top of a little hill, whence they had a large prospect of the city and campaign country underneath." This hill afterwards came to be known as "*El Cerro de Avance*" (the Hill of the Advance). When they saw the large Spanish force drawn up to receive them, they were filled with fear. They knew no quarter could be expected, and there were few or none but what wished themselves at home. The Spanish army was not made up simply of merchants, planters and servants, but contained, besides, many regular troops; veterans of the wars in Flanders, Sicily, and other countries of Europe.

The Buccaneers moved down the hill in three bodies, the battalion of *boucaniers* being in the van. "The next Morning being the eighteenth, our Admiral gave out very early his Orders, To draw out his Men in Battalia; which was accordingly performed, and they were drawn up in form of a Tertia. The Vanguard, which was led by Lieutenant Colonel Prince, and Major John Morris, was in number three hundred Men. The main body, containing fix hundred Men, the right Wing thereof was led by the Admiral, and the Left by Colonel Edward Collyer. The Rereguard, confisting of three hundred Men, was commanded by Colonel Bleary Morgan." At the same time the Spanish horsemen, commanded by Don Francisco de Haro, advanced on prancing steeds (400 gennets, says one writer), shouting *Viva El Rey* [Long Live the King!] The fine marksmanship of the cattle-hunters largely determined the success of the Buccaneers. The *boucaniers*, comprising the advance battalion of the Buccaneers, dropped on one knee, took deliber-

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*The Battle Between the
Spaniards and the pyrats or
Buccaniers before the City of
PANAMA. part. 3. Chap. 5.*



From Exquemelin, *Buccaniers of America*, 1684.

BATTLE OF OLD PANAMA.

This old copper-plate represents the city already in flames before the entry of the Buccaniers.

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ate aim with their long, clumsy muskets, and rapidly emptied the Spanish saddles. The gallant Don Francisco reformed his troop, but fell while leading the charge. All authorities agree that the Spanish cavalry behaved splendidly. No doubt, they included most of the gentry of the Isthmus, descendants of the Conquistadores; excellent horsemen, and superbly mounted.

Though the dry season was well advanced, the heavy rain of two nights before had made the plain soft under foot and full of quags, so that the cavalry could not maneuver and wheel as they desired. The Spanish infantry endeavored to support their cavalry, but, by chance or design, the Buccaneers were so placed that a morass protected them from attack except from the front.

After the horse had been nearly annihilated and repulsed by the Buccaneers, the foot came forward, but met such a furious reception that they never came to handystrokes. Failing likewise with their infantry to overcome the enemy, the Spaniards thought to break their ranks and rout the Buccaneers by over-riding them with a lot of wild cattle. From either flank, a thousand wild bulls in charge of 50 vaqueros, Indians, and negroes, were driven toward the Buccaneers, with the intent, like the elephants of Pyrrhus, to disorganize the foe. Instead of shooting the cattle, Colonel Morgan ordered his men to shoot the cowboys; and the bulls were soon out of control, and stampeded in every direction but towards the Buccaneers. A few half-crazed bulls, excited by the noise and carnage, were attracted by the English colors and charged the standards, goring them into shreds.

The Buccaneers then followed up their advantage, and the Spaniards, thoroughly disheartened, threw down their arms and fled in every direction. The Governor, Don Juan, seeing the left wing under Don Alonso Alcandete giving way, placed himself at the head of the right wing, shouting—according to his own story—"Come along Boys, there is no other remedy now but to Conquer or Die; Follow me!"

He further states that he soon found himself alone, deserted by all his troops. A priest of the great church, called Juan de Dios, came up and persuaded him it was not like a Christian to remain out there all alone and be killed; so he returned to the city, giving thanks to the Blessed Virgin who had brought him off safe from amidst so many thousand bullets.

Many of the Spaniards who hid in the woods, and among the bushes along the seashore, were captured and killed by the

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Buccaneers. A few Franciscan friars who remained on the battle field to minister to the dying, were brought before Morgan, who ordered them pistolled. Some Spaniards were held as prisoners, including a captain who told Morgan that the city had defences, and its streets were barricadoed with 32 brass guns.

Morgan reviewed his men, and found his losses in killed and wounded very heavy. It was estimated that six hundred Spaniards lay dead on the field. The fight had lasted two hours, and left the Buccaneers victorious on the plain; but the city yet remained to be taken.

Second Stage—The Buccaneers Take The City.

After giving his men a short rest, Morgan proceeded to attack the city. Instead of being depressed by their losses, the Buccaneers were filled with pride that they had overcome such a large body of troops, and renewed their oaths to each other that they would fight till never a man was left alive.

Old Panama was the first settlement by white men on the Pacific coast of the New World, and one of the largest and wealthiest cities of all the Americas. The city was really started by Gaspar de Espinosa, in 1517; but two years later, in 1519, Governor Pedro Arias de Avila—who stole everything he could get hold of—moved over from Antigua on the north coast and appropriated the honor of founding Panama. The name of the fishing hamlet *Panama* (meaning “abounding in fish”), which preceded it, was retained. The streets were laid out in regular form about the Plaza Mayor according to the cardinal points, “so that when the sun rises no one can walk in any of the streets, because there is no shade whatever; and this is felt very much as the heat is intense; and the sun is so prejudicial to health, that if a man is exposed to its rays for a few hours, he will be attacked with a fatal illness, and this has happened to many.”

Panama Viejo was built on a rectangular point of land, bordered by low rocky bluffs, which projects into the bay. The sea surrounds it on three sides, and at high tide waters a slough or morass on the landward side, at the mouth of the Rio Algoroba, to cross which the Spaniards had constructed a causeway and stone bridge. The viaduct is yet used by the infrequent visitor to the old ruins, and the South Sea still ebbs and flows beneath the archway over which the pack trains carried the

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wealth of an empire, and across which rushed the Buccaneers to sack the city. These structures, with the old cathedral tower and foundation ruins covered with jungle, are the only visible evidences of former habitation.

At the time of its destruction, the city comprised about seven thousand houses and shacks, and contained in the neighborhood of thirty thousand inhabitants; nearly as populous as the Panama of today, five miles to the westward. It had a large transit trade in the silks, linens, spices and drugs of the East Indies; and received the produce of the west coast from Acapulco, in Mexico, to Lima, in Peru; and furnished those parts with flour, wine, iron, and utensils from Europe. The adjoining waters are shallow, and vessels could come in close to the city, to load and unload, only during high water. At full moon the waves frequently entered the houses in the low part of the town.

The richest commodities were the silver and gold from the Peruvian and other mines, and pearls from the islands in the gulf of Panama. In its prime, Panama Viejo was the greatest mart for gold and silver in the whole world. The great Cathedral of San Gerónimo⁴ and other churches were adorned with massive silver railings and candelabra, golden plate and chalices, and jewelled vestments. Many private houses were of two stories and constructed of cedar or stone. Two hundred residences, belonging to the rich officials and merchant princes, were of European elegance, finely furnished, with rich carvings and rare paintings. The wealthy had villas and gardens in the savannahs, like the same class of Panamanians of today.

Most writers, following Exquemelin and Burney, state that Panama lay open and accessible to plain fighting, because it did not have the defence of walls and regular fortifications. This misrepresents and belittles the strength of the city; for on account of its protection by the sea, and large population, Panama was really a formidable place to capture.

Since the days of Drake and Cavendish, no foe had menaced Spain in the South Sea, and the only probable route for an enemy to approach was by the slow and dangerous march across the Isthmus, or up the Chagres river. This gave the Spaniards plenty of time in which to prepare to repel the

⁴ San Francisco, according to the letter of Governor Guzman. Confusion has arisen among English writers from translating *iglesia mayor* as necessarily meaning the cathedral church. See note 20, chap. I.

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invasion. That the people of Panama failed in this instance is to be ascribed to their over-confidence, the incompetence of the Governor and other officers, and to too great reliance on masses and religious processions.

Authorities agree that it took three more hours for the Buccaneers to get possession of the city, but differ as to the amount of resistance offered by the Spaniards. As the Buccaneers advanced, the city opened fire on them with her defenses. There appears to have been several batteries, one of which was so situated as to command the road over the causeway. Details of the fight are wanting. The Buccaneers rushed over the bridge and took the gate-house, and fort nearby. Another party probably entered the town by the low ground to the north. Trenches had been dug across the streets and barricades constructed, which had to be approached carefully, and carried. The batteries had been so placed as to command the main approaches, while the musket-men fired from the upper windows.

The last stand was made in the Great Plaza, where the Spaniards fired their battery and killed four Buccaneers, and wounded five more. The Governor caused his chiefest fort to be blown up, which was done in such haste that it carried with it forty of his best soldiers.

The Governor in his report, writes: "After this I endeavored with all my industry to persuade the Souldiers to turn and face our Enemies, but it was impossible; so that nothing hindering them, they entered the City, to which the Slaves and Owners of the Houfes had put Fire, and being all of Boards and Timber, 'twas most of it quickly burnt, except the Audiencia, the Governor's Houfe, the Convent of the Mercedes, San Jofeph, the Suburbs of Malambo, and Pierde Vidas, at which they say the Enemy fretted very much for being difappointed of their Plunder. And because they had brought with them an English Man, whom they called The Prince, with intent there to Crown him King of the Terra Firma."

According to Captain Sharp's narrative, the Buccaneers had five killed and ten wounded while entering the city. He gives the Spanish loss as four hundred men, which would indicate that no quarter was given. The Governor, with most of the people who had not already departed, managed to escape from the city, but some of the populace still remained.

Henry Morgan had made good his boast, uttered at Porto

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Bello two years before, to call upon the President of Panama, and with small arms take his city.

The Spaniards did not defend their city with the energy and desperation to be expected of people protecting their homes. Had they fought with half the spirit and bravery exhibited by the garrison at San Lorenzo, the Buccaneers might have reached the city, but there would have been few left to rejoin their companions at Chagre. It seems that the authorities of Panama had planned to exterminate the Buccaneers in the Sabanas in front of the city. "A la savana" was the taunting cry from Chagre to Panama. When this failed, and their best troops, the Spanish cavaliers, were nearly annihilated, the defenders were thoroughly disheartened.

The Spaniards first blundered in not harassing the Buccaneers while toiling up the Chagres, and passing through the hills between Cruces and Panama; and again, when they fought upon the plain, instead of making a defensive fight from behind stone walls and barricades. The Buccaneers had no artillery, a fact of which the Spaniards were well aware. Every church, and each of the eight convents, the Audiencia, the Royal stables where the *recuas* were kept, the palace of the Genoese, and many private houses and places of business were thick-walled and barrèd, and capable of effective defence. I have gathered the impression that the Spanish foot was poorly armed; but that was only another reason for not opposing well-armed and skillful warriors in the open.

When the Buccaneers came into complete possession of the city, which was not later than three o'clock in the afternoon, fires were discovered in a number of places, and by midnight most of Panama was consumed. Two churches, and three hundred houses in the suburbs, were saved. Spaniards have always claimed that Panama was secretly fired by order of Morgan. The pirate-chronicler, Exquemelin, and also von Archenholtz, confirm this charge. On the other hand, Morgan himself, and English writers generally, say the Spaniards burnt their city; and English official papers substantiate their assertions.

After considerable reading and study of the case, I can find no reason why Morgan should burn the city before he had a chance to pillage, and hold it a time for ransom, as was the custom. Henry Morgan was that rare bird, a thrifty Buccaneer. He knew of the pending treaty between England and Spain, saw that piracy was doomed, and determined to make

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his fortune, at any hazard, as soon as possible, and get out of the business. His men needed the shelter and protection of the houses, and the provisions therein, and it is not likely that Morgan would wantonly destroy a probable source of revenue. Had the burning occurred as the Buccaneers departed from Panama, and with the present data, everyone would believe Morgan guilty. As it is, I do not believe that Morgan or his men fired Panama. It is just possible that the statement of the Governor is true, and that the Spaniards credited the report about a young Englishman, and fired their houses with their own hands, rather than see an English Prince crowned King of Tierra Firme in the Spanish capital of the South Sea.

My opinion is, that Old Panama was set on fire, in the confusion of the moment, by Indian and African slaves, both of whom held racial and personal reasons for avenging themselves upon their Spanish masters. Anyhow, it was not the wish of the mass of the Buccaneers to see their loot destroyed before they had a chance to plunder, so they assisted the remaining citizens in trying to extinguish the fire by blowing up houses with gunpowder, and tearing down others. Panama burnt for days; and a month later, when the Buccaneers took their departure, the ruins were still smouldering. Some negro slaves are reported to have lost their lives during the fire, probably from being locked up. When they saw that the city was doomed, guards were placed, and the men withdrew to the *sabanas* and rested. At night-fall they re-entered the desolated city, and sought lodging in such houses as were not destroyed. The wounded were placed in one of the churches which had escaped the flames.

After taking a town, the first instinct of the Buccaneers was to get drunk quickly. Many times they lost valuable booty by first seeking the wine cellars. At Panama, one of the first acts of Morgan was to forbid his men drinking any wine, telling them that he had received warning that it had all been poisoned. "This dexterous falsehood produced the desired effect; and for the first time the Free-booters were temperate." (von Archenholtz). This was no needless precaution, as parties of Spaniards were still hovering in the *Sabanas*, and might rally their forces at any time, and catch the Buccaneers in a drunken stupor.

When the Buccaneers appeared before Panama, many of the citizens placed themselves and valuables aboard vessels in the bay, and awaited the result of the battle. The evening the city

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was taken, a bark which had delayed her departure for the turn of the tide, fell into the hands of the Buccaneers. Morgan placed twenty-five men on her, under command of Captain Searles, with orders to cruise about the bay. The next day they landed on Taboga, and in the evening captured a party of mariners who were getting water for a ship that was lying on the other side of the island. His men also found some wine in a gentleman's country house, and proceeded to get drunk in regulation pirate style. Captain Searles feared to attack the Spanish ship with his befuddled crew, so waited till morning.

The Spanish commander, Don Francisco de Peralta, becoming alarmed at the prolonged absence of his men, slipped away during the night. The next day the Buccaneers had the chagrin of learning that the Spanish vessel was the "*Trinidad*" of four hundred tons, carrying bullion for ballast, and having on board the old gentlemen and matrons of Panama, with friars and nuns, to the number of fifteen hundred; together with their most precious valuables, and church ornaments and jewels. The *Trinidad* contained one of the richest cargoes ever floated, being comparable in value to the *Cacafuego*, *Madre de Dios*, and *Santa Anna*. Hard luck seems to have followed Captain Searles, for a few years later we read of him cutting log-wood in the lagoons of Campechy, where he was killed by one of his company.

The *Trinidad* (Trinity) was an old half-rigged galleon, having no sails but topsails on the mainmast, and deeply laden. She was poorly manned, and armed only with seven small guns, and a dozen muskets. When Morgan heard of this rich prize almost within his grasp, he manned four barks and sent them out to look for her. They searched about the Gulf of Panama for eight days, but heard no more of the treasure-ship. They picked up a few small prizes, and returning to Taboga, captured a good ship lately come from Payta, containing provisions and twenty thousand pieces-of-eight. It is stated that the church-plate and jewelled vestments belonging to the great cathedral were hidden on Taboga, and that to this day their hiding place remains undiscovered.

At the same time, Morgan sent a convoy of one hundred and fifty men back to Chagre with the news of his victory; and parties, of two hundred each, to scour the savannahs and hills for twenty leagues around, to look for loot and bring in prisoners of both sexes. These detachments divided and weakened

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his forces, and gave the Spaniards another opportunity to take the Buccaneers at a disadvantage, and whip them piecemeal.

As the ashes of Panama cooled, the Buccaneers searched the ruins for gold and silver. They also found money and jewelry hidden in the wells and cisterns. Two hundred prisoners, of both sexes, were subjected to fiendish and exquisite tortures to make them disclose the hiding place of their own or their neighbors' valuables. Several warehouses well stocked with all sorts of goods escaped the conflagration. One poor wretch, a simpleton, servant to a wealthy gentleman, took advantage of the occasion to discard his rags and don his master's finery. The Buccaneers found him strutting around with a silver key suspended from his belt. They asked where his wealth was concealed, and refused to believe him when he showed them his ragged clothes. They put him upon the rack, wherewith they disjointed his arms, twisted a cord about his head till his eyes bulged out, singed his beard, and cut off his nose and ears; but still no confession. When so nearly dead that he could no longer lament his misery, a slave was ordered to run him through with a lance.

Beautiful woman has ever adorned, if she did not instigate, most of the notable events in the history of the world. The woman who graces the tragedy of Old Panama loses nothing by comparison with other famous females. "Her years were but few, and her beauty so great as peradventure I may doubt whether in all Europe any could be found to surpass her perfections either of comeliness or honesty." Her name, I regret to state, has been lost, but we know that she was a lady of quality, the young wife of a wealthy merchant then on a business trip to Peru. She was taken prisoner on Taboga, whither she had fled from Panama, and was brought before Morgan, who fixed her ransom and exemption from indignity at thirty thousand pesos. Her charms inflamed the passion of the Buccaneer commander, and he sought to win her favor by kindness and gentle treatment. He housed her in the best quarters remaining unburnt, assigned slave girls in attendance, and showered her with pearls and jewelry filched from her own countrywomen. She had heard much of the fierceness and cruelty of the pirates, but when she found herself treated well, and heard frequent mention of the name of God and of Jesus Christ by the cursing Buccaneers, she began to have better thoughts of them. Morgan soon undeceived her by disclosing his design; when she replied: "Sir, my life is in your hands; but as to

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my body, in relation to that which you would persuade me to, my soul shall sooner be separated from it, through the violence of your arms, than I shall condescend to your request." Morgan then had her stripped of her finery and confined in a dark cellar, and fed upon miserable fare. Tiring of her chastity, he attempted force; but faced a desperate woman who preferred death to ravishment. "Stop," she cried, "Thinkest thou then that thou canst ravish my honor from me, as thou hast wrested from me my fortune and my liberty? Be assured that I can die, and be revenged." Saying which, she drew a poniard from beneath her gown, and would have plunged it into his heart, had he not avoided the blow. Her treatment by Morgan, who was never popular, excited the remonstrance of his men; and it was probably only the fear of them which preserved the woman inviolate.

In contrast to this, we have the story of a woman of weak understanding, who had been told that Pirates were not like ordinary men,⁵ but were monstrous beasts, "who did neither invoke the blessed Trinity, nor believe in Jesus Christ." After an experience with them, she exclaimed: "Oh Holy Mary! These thieves be just like us Spaniards in every respect." There is no doubt but that the women were brutally assaulted; but this again is denied by some English writers, who claim that no woman was forced against her will.

In a couple of weeks the convoy returned from Chagre, leaving their canoes at Venta Cruz. They brought the pleasing news that the garrison of San Lorenzo had not been idle, but had lured a rich ship from Cartagena into port by raising the Spanish colors over the castle. The vessel carried several chests of emeralds, and a lot of provisions much needed by the garrison.

The Buccaneers remained nearly a month in Panama, during which time as many as three thousand prisoners are said to have been gathered in. Probably this is an exaggeration. Many were put to the torture, while others ransomed themselves as

⁵ They say some Spanish *padres* told the people that the Buccaneers were not even of human form, and that they ate women and children. Raveau de Lussan, on another occasion, relates how a Spanish lady implored him, "Señor, for the love of God do not eat me." According to his own story, Lussan was entirely successful in disabusing the lady's mind of her false belief as to his human nature. Similar tales were circulated, in 1898-1900, in the Philippines concerning the American soldiers; and the Americanos succeeded equally well with the Filipinas in removing their delusions.

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soon as they could communicate with friends. A number of small vessels were seized, and the Buccaneers became fond of cruising about the Gulf of Panama. The exploits of the Elizabethan Seamen in the Pacific were recalled, and Morgan's daring spirits saw the possibilities awaiting them in the South Sea; particularly in the direction of Peru, from whence came the plate-ships. Several of his Captains planned to leave Morgan, and carried provisions and arms aboard ship for that purpose.

It is doubtful whether, as often stated, this was mutinous conduct, as officers and men among the Buccaneers were at liberty to leave when the dangers of an expedition were past. The movement was becoming popular, so that soon they would be strong enough to demand division of the spoils before leaving Panama. This would materially interfere with Morgan's scheme for making away with the major portion of the loot. Accordingly, he chopped down the masts and burnt the vessels in the bay. There were also rumors that the Governor was forming another army to ambuscade the Buccaneers on their return, so Morgan thought it about time to be leaving Panama.

Before relating his departure, let us take our leave of Don Juan Perez de Guzman. After being driven out of Panama, he writes: "After this misfortune, I gave order to all the People I met, that they should stay for me at *Nata*, for there I intended to form the Body of an Army, once more to encounter the English. But when I came to that City, I found not one Soul therein, for all were fled to the Mountains." He then very truly adds: "This Sir, has been a Chastisement from Heaven, and the same might have happened to that great Captain Gonsalo Fernando de Cordova, as did to me, if his Men had deserted him, for one Man alone can do little." In spite of this explanatory letter, the Governor was deposed from office and carried prisoner to Lima, by order of the Vice-roy of Peru. He was succeeded by D. Antonio Fernandez de Cordoba, who was commissioned to rebuild the city on a better site. He died, however, in 1673, without having made the translocation; and was replaced by D. Alonso Mercado de Villacorta, who, in 1674, laid the foundations of the new city, the present Panama, on a point of land at the foot of Ancon Hill, about five miles west of Panama Viejo.

Having plundered every hamlet, *estancia*, and shack, for leagues around, Morgan gathered together pack animals and prepared to leave Panama. February 14th (according to Exquemelin, the 24th), 1671, the Buccaneers departed from the

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desolate and still smouldering city, with six hundred prisoners, including men, women, children and slaves; and one hundred and seventy-five animals laden with loot. Fearing ambuscades, they marched in good order, with van and rear guard, and the prisoners in a hollow square in the center. It was money and not prisoners that Morgan wanted, so he half-starved his captives, and made their lot as miserable as possible, so that they would make greater efforts to seek for ransom; otherwise they would be taken to Jamaica and sold into servitude.

The beautiful lady of quality, before mentioned, was especially guarded by a Buccaneer on either side. She lamented her unhappy fate, and told of authorizing two priests to obtain her ransom. They got the money all right, but applied it to ransoming their own friends. A slave brought a letter telling of their perfidy, and the two priests, who were still prisoners, acknowledged their treachery. Finding her story true, Morgan ordered the woman and her parents to be set at liberty. This is the only apparent generous act that I can find in the entire life of Morgan, and I am inclined to believe that it was induced by the sympathy of his men for the unfortunate lady. This is the last we hear of this admirable woman. Should the people of the Isthmus ever require a model of Beauty and Loveliness, Constancy and Chastity, they need seek no farther than the Beautiful Lady of Old Panama. I know that you will be sorry to hear that those two false priests were ransomed, a few days later, while Morgan tarried at Venta Cruz.

The caravan wended its way up through the foot-hills, and after a last view of Panama and the South Sea, crossed over the divide into the valley of the Chagres, and reached Cruces the next day, February fifteenth. The Buccaneers rested three days at Cruces, waiting for ransoms, and collecting maize and rice. Another account says that they remained here until February twenty-fourth. They then loaded the canoes with the stores, and started down the river, reaching Chagre (the modern Chagres) on the twenty-sixth. Half way to San Lorenzo they made a landing, and Morgan had every man searched for valuables, setting the example himself. One out of each company was assigned to search the rest, and so thoroughly was this done that even the muskets were taken apart to see that no precious stones were concealed therein. This caused much dissatisfaction, especially among the French *flibustiers*.

At San Lorenzo they found all in good shape, except that most of the wounded left behind had died. The plunder was

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then divided. The spoils of the Panama expedition have been reckoned at several millions, but instead of receiving two or three thousand dollars per man, as they expected, each share amounted to but two hundred pieces-of-eight (two hundred silver dollars). This filled them with chagrin, and anger at their leader. Many of the Buccaneers, including some of the English, did not hesitate to tell Morgan to his face that he had reserved the best jewels for himself.

Morgan sent some of the Spanish prisoners taken at St. Catherine as messengers to Puerto Bello, informing the authorities there that he would destroy the castle of San Lorenzo, if they did not redeem it. Puerto Bello declined to ransom San Lorenzo; so Morgan took the guns aboard his ships, and set his men to work demolishing the fort.

Discontent was growing among the Buccaneers, and Morgan himself was too rich a prize to remain longer with his mutinous crew; so about March 6th he went aboard his ship at night, and sailed away with his English favorites, in three or four vessels, for Jamaica. As Captain Burney truly says, "Morgan was a great rogue, and little respected the old proverb of honor among thieves." Morgan was followed because he was successful; obeyed because he was feared; but never liked or respected by his men.

The French, Dutch and other nationalities left behind at Chagre, fumed in impotent rage, and started to sail after the Englishmen to fight for their share of the booty; but it was found that the remaining ships were the poorest in the fleet, and the plan was abandoned. They then broke up and dispersed. Some went to Honduras and Campeche to cut log-wood, always keeping their weather eye open for a chance to plunder. One party went to Cuba and sacked the Town of the Keys. Our friend, Exquemelin, as his name would indicate, was one of those left in the lurch by Morgan. He accompanied another party of the Buccaneers that went up to *Boca del Toro* (Chiriqui Lagoon), where they lived on turtle, "the pleasantest meat in the world." We next hear of Exquemelin crossing the Isthmus in 1680, with captains Coxon, Sharp, Sawkins, and others, and taking part in the fights before the new Panama.

Morgan arrived safely at Port Royal, and the Governor, Sir Thomas Modyford, collected the Government's share of the spoils of Panama. Morgan then applied himself to recruiting for his settlement on Santa Catalina, but was compelled to desist by the hostile attitude of his government.

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The "Treaty of America," abolishing hostilities between Great Britain and Spain, had been signed at Madrid in July, 1670, and England was experiencing one of her ephemeral outbursts of virtue. The complaints of the Spanish Ambassador were now so effective that Modyford was arrested on the charge of "making war and committing depredations and acts of hostilities upon the subjects and territories of the King of Spain in America, contrary to his Majesty's express order and command." He was taken to London and imprisoned in the Tower. A few months afterwards, in 1672, Morgan was also carried prisoner to England for his connection with buccaneering.

Their arrest was of short duration, and Morgan rose rapidly in royal favor. With a goodly slice of his ill-gotten riches, and judicious presents to the King's favorite, Morgan was able to purchase knighthood from Charles II. John Evelyn notes in his diary: "20th October, 1674. At Lord Berkley's, I discoursed with Sir Thomas Modyford, late Governor of Jamaica, and with Colonel Morgan, who undertook that gallant exploit from Nombre de Dios [an error] to Panama, on the continent of America; he told me 10,000 men would easily conquer all the Spanish Indies, they were so secure. They took great booty, and much greater had been taken, had they not been betrayed and so discovered before their approach, by which the Spaniards had time to carry their vast treasures on board ships that put off to sea in sight of our men, who had no boats to follow. They set fire to Panama and ravaged the country for sixty miles about. The Spaniards were so supine and unexercised, that they were afraid to fire a great gun."

This would seem to indicate that Morgan himself told Evelyn that he had fired Panama. As I said before, I do not believe that the Buccaneers burnt the city. It is likely that in later years Morgan and other Englishmen claimed credit for what came to be looked upon as a meritorious deed. Sir Henry returned to Jamaica in 1675, and led the life of a man of wealth and of affairs in the colony. Officially, he distinguished himself by his severity towards the Buccaneers who had formerly been his followers and the makers of his fortune.

The most accurate and condensed account of Henry Morgan is the article in "National Biography," by Laughton. For the period after his return from Panama, I quote freely: "At Jamaica Morgan received the formal thanks of the Governor and Council on the 31st of May. But meantime, on the 8th of July, 1670, that is, after the signing of Morgan's commission,

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a treaty concerning America had been concluded at Madrid, and although the publication of this treaty was only ordered to be made in America within eight months from 10th October (Cal. State Papers, A. and W. I., 31 Dec. 1670, p. 146), and though in May, 1671, Modyford had as yet no official knowledge of it (ib. No. 531), he was sent home a prisoner in the summer of 1671, to answer for his support of the buccaneers; and in April, 1672, Morgan was also sent to England in the *Welcome* frigate (ib. No. 794). His disgrace, however, was short. By the summer of 1674 he was reported as in high favor with the King (ib. No. 623), and a few months later he was granted a commission, with the style of Colonel Henry Morgan, to be lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, 'his Majesty,' so it ran, 'reposing particular confidence in his loyalty, prudence and courage, and long experience of that colony.' (ib. Nov. 6, 1674, No. 1379). He sailed from England in company with Lord Vaughn early in December, having previously, probably in November, been knighted.

His voyage out was unfortunate. 'In the Downs,' wrote Vaughn from Jamaica, on 23 May, 1675, 'I gave him orders in writing to keep me company. * * * However, he, coveting to be here before me, wilfully lost me, and sailed directly for *Isle de la Vache*, where, through his folly, his ship was wrecked, and the stores which he had on board were lost. (Dartmouth MSS., Hist. MSS Comm. 11th Rep. pt. V. p. 25; cf. Bridge, *Annals of Jamaica*, 1. 273).

For the rest of his life Morgan appears to have remained in Jamaica, a man of wealth and position, taking an active part in the affairs of the colony as lieutenant-governor, senior member of the Council, and commander-in-chief of the forces. When Lord Vaughn was recalled, pending the arrival of the Earl of Carlisle, Morgan was for a few months acting-governor; and again on Carlisle's return in 1680, till in 1682 he was relieved by Sir Thomas Lynch. "His inclination," said the Speaker in a formal address to the Assembly on 21st July, 1688, "carried him on vigorously to his Majesty's service and this island's interest. His study and care was that there might be no murmuring, no complaining in our streets, no man in his property injured, or of his liberty restrained." (*Journals of the Assembly of Jamaica*, 1. 121)."

Some time after 1665, Morgan married his first cousin, Mary Elizabeth, daughter of that Colonel Edward Morgan who died at St. Eustatius. Henry Morgan died in 1688, without issue,

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and was buried in St. Catherine's church, Port Royal, on the 26th day of August. Lady Morgan lived until 1696, when the fortune went to Charles Bundless, or Byndlos, the son of her eldest sister, conditionally on his taking the name of Morgan.

Letter of Don *Alonso del Campo* and *Espinosa*, Admiral of the Spanish Fleet, unto Captain *Morgan*, Commander of the Pirates.

"Having understood by all our Friends and Neighbours, the unexpected news, that you have dared to attempt and commit Hostilities in the Countries, Cities, Towns, and Villages belonging unto the Dominions of his Catholick Majesty, my foveraign Lord and Master; I let you understand by these lines, that I am come unto this place, according to my obligation, nigh unto that Castle which you took out of the hands of a parcel of Cowards; where I have put things into a very good posture of defence, and mounted again the Artillery which you had nailed and dismounted. My intent is to dispute with you your passage out of the Lake, and follow and pursue you every-where, to the end you may see the performance of my duty. Notwithstanding if you be contented to surrender with humility all that you have taken, together with the Slaves and all other prisoners, I will let you freely pass, without trouble or molestation; upon condition that you retire home presently unto your own country. But in case that you make any resistance or opposition unto these things that I proffer unto you, I do assure you I will command Boats to come from Caracas, wherein I will put my Troops, and coming to Maracaibo, will cause you utterly to perish, by putting you every man to the sword. This is my last and absolute resolution. Be prudent therefore, and do not abuse my Bounty with Ingratitude. I have with me very good Souldiers, who desire nothing more ardently, than to revenge on you and your People, all the cruelties and base infamous actions you have committed upon the Spanish Nation in America. Dated on board the Royal Ship named the *Magdalen*, lying at anchor at the entry of the Lake of Maracaibo, this 24th day of April, 1669."

—Don Alonso del Campo y Espinosa.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE BUCCANEERS IN PANAMA BAY AND THE SOUTH SEA.

"O'er the glad waters of the dark blue sea,
Our thoughts as boundless and our souls as free,
Far as the breeze can bear, the billows foam,
Survey our empire and behold our home!
These are our realms, no limits to their sway—
Our flag the sceptre all who meet obey,
Ours the wild life in tumult still to range
From toil to rest, and joy in every change."

Lord Byron.



THE sack of Old Panama by Henry Morgan called the attention of the Buccaneers to the feasibility of crossing the Isthmus, and the opportunities for plunder on the Pacific coast. During Morgan's stay in Panama, he had great difficulty, as we know, in preventing some of his men from seizing a ship, and sailing away on their own account. The invasion of the Isthmus by Buccaneers, the fall of San Lorenzo, and the capture of Portobello and Panama, showed how easy it was to open the "Gateway" of the New World. The king of

Spain became alarmed, and ordered that Panama be rebuilt on a better site; and that the forts at Portobello, and the castle at the mouth of the Chagre, be repaired and strengthened.

In 1674, Don Alonso Mercado de Villacorta established the present city of Panama on a rocky peninsula at the foot of Ancon Hill, eight kilometers two hundred and sixty meters southwest of the old city. The new location was easier to defend, but not so advantageous commercially by reason of the reefs, which prevented vessels coming up to the city, except at high tide. The streets of *New Panama* were laid out at right-angles about a central plaza. The city was surrounded by a wall from twenty to forty feet high, and ten feet wide, with bastions and watch-towers every two or three hundred feet. A moat separated the city from the mainland, and access was

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gained through three massive gateways. So expensive were the fortifications of the new city that the council in Spain, auditing the accounts, wrote to inquire whether the walls were constructed of silver or of gold.

In 1673, Thomas Peche, an English privateer, sailed into the South Sea; and in 1675, strange ships were reported off the coast of Chili. The viceroy of Peru sent Don Antonio de Veá in a ship to reconnoitre, and he went as far as the west entrance of the Strait of Magellan, but found no intruders. One of his tenders, with a crew of sixteen men, was wrecked on the small islands called Evangelists, at the mouth of the strait; De Veá returning to Callao in 1676.

The first to follow Morgan in raiding the Isthmus were the French. In 1675, Captain La Sound, with a hundred and twenty filibustiers, was guided to the town of *Chepo* by some Darien Indians¹; but the Sargento Mayor D. Alonso de Alcaudate, with the assistance of the inhabitants, repulsed them with energy. In 1678, another French expedition, commanded by Captain Bournano succeeded in taking *Chepo*, and plundered the town. The Indians offered to conduct the French to a place called *Tocamoro*, where they said the Spaniards had much gold; but Bournano thought his force too small, promising to come again better prepared.

In 1679, as we already know, the crews of two English and one French vessel united in an attack on Portobello. They landed two hundred men at such a distance from the town that it required three nights marching to reach it; for during the day they lay concealed in the woods. When near Portobello they were discovered by a negro, who ran ahead to give the alarm, but the buccaneers followed so closely that they got possession of the town before the people could prepare for defence. Not knowing the smallness of their force, the inhabitants all fled. The buccaneers spent two days and nights in Portobello, collecting plunder, and in constant apprehension that the Spaniards would return in force and attack them. However, they got back to their ships unmolested, and shared 160 pieces-of-eight to each man.

This same year, William Dampier, the famous navigator, naturalist, and buccaneer, returned to Jamaica, and started out on a trading voyage with Mr. Hobby to the Mosquito shore. Soon after leaving Port Royal, the ship anchored in a bay in the western end of the island, where were Captains Coxon,

¹ As usual, the white man required the help of the natives.

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Sawkins, Sharp, and other "privateers." Mr. Hobby's crew deserted to the buccaneers, and with them went Dampier. From here, the buccaneers went to Boca del Toro, where there were plenty of fat turtles; and then assembled with some French ships at the *Samballas*, or Isles of San Blas, near the coast of Darien. It was their intent, on the report made by Captain Bournano, to go against "a very rich place named Tocamora." The Indians of Darien,² on whom the buccaneers depended for aid, now disapproved the project of going to Tocamora, and advised an attempt on the city of Panama; offering to guide them. The English were willing, but the French objected to the length of the march, and the two nationalities separated; the English buccaneers going to Golden Island (*Isla de Oro*), "which is the most eastern of the Samballas, if not more properly to be said to the eastward of all the Samballas."³

Panama was considered too great an undertaking without the assistance of the French; but the English were bent on crossing the Isthmus, and, at the suggestion of the Indians, they decided to make a raid on a town called *Santa Maria*,⁴ situated on the banks of a river that ran into the gulf of San Miguel. This place was simply a gold collecting station, and was guarded by a detachment of Spanish troops.

The buccaneer forces engaged in this expedition were the following:

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

The last two captains, Alleston and Macket, with thirty-five men, including themselves, were left to guard the seven vessels

² Dampier says that the foundation of the friendship of the Dariens for the English was laid by Captain Wright, who, in 1665, off the Samballas, captured an Indian lad, whom he named John Gret. Wright treated the boy well, and convinced his tribe that the English hated the Spaniards.

³ Captain James Burney.

⁴ Real de Santa Maria.

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during the raid; which was not expected to be of long continuance. Chief Andrés,⁵ styled Emperor of Darien, agreed to furnish guides and supply subsistence during the march; payment being made in axes, hatchets, knives, needles, beads, and trinkets.

On the 5th of April,⁶ 1680,⁷ three hundred and thirty-one buccaneers, most of them Englishmen, passed over from Golden Island to the mainland; each man provided with four cakes of bread called dough-boys, with a fusil, a pistol, and a hanger. The crews⁸ marched under their several commanders, with distinguishing flags, Captain Bartholomew Sharp and his men taking the lead. Among the medical men was Lionel Wafer, surgeon's mate, who wrote such an interesting account of the Isthmus.⁹ Chiefs Andrés and Antonio had charge of the Darien allies; and there were also a few Mosquito Indians from about Cape Gracias á Dios, always faithful friends to the English, whose king they voluntarily acknowledged as their sovereign.

⁵ Written Andreas by the English.

⁶ Near the end of the dry season on the Isthmus.

⁷ A short time before this undertaking, Captain Coxon (with Dampier aboard), in company with several more privateers, captured some Spanish Packets about four leagues east of Portobel. "We open'd a great quantity of the Merchants Letters, and found the Contents of many of them to be very surprising, the Merchants of several parts of Old Spain thereby informing their Correspondents of Panama, and elsewhere, of a certain Prophecy that went about Spain that Year, the Tenour of which was, That there would be English Privateers that Year in the West Indies, who would make such great Discoveries, as to open a Door into the South Seas; which they supposed was fastest shut: And the Letters were accordingly full of Cautions to their Friends to be very watchful and careful of their Coasts. This Door they spoke of we all concluded must be the Passage over Land through the Country of the Indians of Darien, who were a little before this become our Friends, and had lately fallen out with the Spaniards."

⁸ "Our several companies that marched were distinguished as follows. First, Captain Bartholomew Sharp with his company had a red flag, with a bunch of white and green ribbons. The second division led by Captain Richard Sawkins, with his men had a red flag striped with yellow. The third and fourth, led by Captain Peter Harris, had two green flags, his company being divided into two several divisions. The fifth and sixth, led by Captain John Coxon, who had some of Alleston's and Mackett's men joined to his, made two divisions or companies, and had each of them a red flag. The seventh was led by Captain Edmund Cook with red colours striped with yellow, with a hand and sword for his device. All or most of them, were armed with fuzee, pistol, and hanger."—Exquemelin.

⁹ That gifted man, William Dampier, with Basil Ringrose, and Alexandre Olivier Exquemelin, were also in this expedition, and have left accounts of their adventures.

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The first day, the expedition marched through the skirt of a wood, then along a bay for a league, and afterwards about two leagues directly up a woody valley; which brought them to an Indian house and plantation by the side of a river. Some passed the night in the house, others built huts; the Indians cautioning them against sleeping in the grass, on account of adders. The stones in this river, when broken, shone with sparks of gold.¹⁰ The Indians said these stones were washed down from the mountains during the rainy season. The first day's hike satisfied four of the buccaneers, and they backed out and returned to the ships.

The second day, April 6th, they started out at sunrise, and labored up a steep hill, which they surmounted about three in the afternoon; and at the foot, on the other side, the buccaneers rested on the bank of a river, which Capt. Andrés told them ran into the South Sea, and was the same by which Santa Maria was situated. They proceeded about six miles farther, over another steep hill, where the path was so narrow that seldom more than one man could pass at a time. At night they camped by the river, having marched this day about eighteen miles.

The next day, the party continued down the river, which ran with a swift current and serpentine course, which they had to cross almost at every half mile, sometimes only knee-deep, other times up to their middle. About noon they arrived at some large Indian houses, thatched over with palmito leaves, and the interior divided into rooms, but no upper storey. Before each house was a large plantain walk. Continuing their journey, at five in the afternoon they came to a house belonging to a son of Chief Andrés, who wore a wreath of gold about his head, for which he was dubbed by the buccaneers King Golden Cap (Bonete de Oro). The young chieftain entertained the party so well that they rested there the whole of the following day.

On the 9th of April, they resumed the march, accompanied by about two hundred Indians, armed with bows and arrows. They descended along the river, through which they had to wade fifty or sixty times. The buccaneers came to a house "only here and there"; at most of which the owner, who had been apprised of their coming, stood at the door and handed each man a ripe plantain, or some sweet cassava root. Here the Indians counted the white men by dropping a grain of corn for every one that went by. That night they lodged at three large houses, where entertainment was provided.

¹⁰ Confer reports by the Caledonia colonists a few years later.

THE BUCCANEERS IN PANAMA BAY

The next morning, Captain Coxon and Captain Harris had some disagreement; and Coxon fired his fusil at Harris, but without effect. Harris was about to return the shot, when he was restrained by Captain Sharp and others. The river was now navigable, and fourteen canoes had been provided, each managed by two Indians. These could accommodate only seventy of the British, the rest continuing by land. Those in the canoes became as weary as those marching, for at almost every furlong they were compelled to carry their boats over rocks, fallen trees, and sometimes over necks of land. At night they stopped and built shelters for themselves on a green bank by the river's side, where some wild-fowl were shot.

The following day, being the 11th day of April, the canoes continued to descend the river, meeting with the same obstacles as on the preceding day, and at night camped on the shore. "Our supper entertainment was a very good sort of a wild beast called a "warre," which is much like to our English hog, and altogether as good. There are store of them in this part of the world: I observed that the navels of these animals grew upon their backs."¹¹ At night a "Tygre"¹² visited the camp, looked at them for some time, and then went away. The buccaneers refrained from shooting the animal lest the report of their muskets should alarm the Spaniards about Santa Maria. So far, the land party had not caught up with those in the canoes.

The next day, the water party continued down the same river, somewhat concerned about not hearing from their comrades on the land. Perceiving their anxiety, Captain Andrés sent back a canoe, which returned before sunset with some of the land party, and intelligence that the remainder were not far behind.

Early the next day, Tuesday the 13th, the buccaneers arrived at a beachy point of land; where another stream from the hills joined the river. This was a point of rendezvous for the Indians: and here the entire party rested and cleaned their

¹¹ A common, but erroneous observation by the early writers. The "navel," so-called, on the back of the animal is a fetid gland, which must be removed soon after killing it to prevent the meat becoming tainted.

¹² Properly speaking, there are no tigers in the western hemisphere. The *Jaguar* is called *tigre*, or tiger, all over Central America; and sometimes the natives apply the term *tigre* to other members of the Felidae, even to the *puma*, or lion. Within the limits of Panama are found two varieties of the jaguar, the spotted and the black (*el tigre pintado* and *el tigre negro*). The writer encountered a pair of beautiful black "tigres" in the mountains of the Isthmus.

AND THE SOUTH SEA

arms. Thus far the canoes had been carried down by the current, and guided with poles, but here the river was broad and deep, so they made paddles to navigate with.

On the 14th, buccaneers and Indians, nearly six hundred men in all, embarked in sixty-eight canoes provided by the natives, and at midnight made a landing within half a mile of Santa Maria. At daybreak of the 15th of April, they heard guns fired by the guard in the town, and a "drum beating *a travailler*." By seven o'clock the buccaneers were on the open ground in front of the fort, when the Spaniards began firing. The fort was formed simply of palisades, some of which the English pulled down and entered without difficulty. The Spaniards surrendered without much opposition; nevertheless, twenty-six were killed and sixteen wounded. After the fight, it seems that the Indians were left in charge of some of the Spaniards, whom they took out in the adjoining woods, and then proceeded to kill them with lances. Fortunately, they were discovered at this pastime by the buccaneers, else not a prisoner would have been left alive.¹³ The Governor and some others escaped down the river. Captain Sawkins and ten men pursued them in a canoe, hoping to prevent news of the buccaneers reaching Panama.

The Spaniards had received some notice of the coming of the buccaneers, and all they could pillage, either in the town or fort, amounted to but twenty pounds weight of gold and a little silver; whereas three days sooner, they would have found three hundred weight of gold in the fort. The buccaneers were much disappointed, and now wanted to try their luck in the South Sea, to seek compensation for their failure at Santa Maria. Captain Coxon and his crew were for returning to the North Sea; but joined the majority when Coxon was made general of the expedition. Most of the Darien Indians left for their homes, but Andrés and his son Golden Cap, with some warriors, continued with the English.

The buccaneers burnt the town, and on the 17th started down the Santa Maria river,¹⁴ which is the largest of several rivers which fall into the gulf of San Miguel. About thirty Spanish

¹³ A daughter of Chief Andrés had been stolen by a Spanish officer at Santa Maria, and was now found with child by him. This increased the natural enmity between the two races.

¹⁴ Abreast the town, the Santa Maria was reckoned to be twice as broad as the Thames at London; and the rise and fall of the tide was two and a half fathoms.

THE BUCCANEERS IN PANAMA BAY

prisoners entreated not to be left behind to fall victims to the Indians, and managed to construct rafts on which to follow the buccaneers. The Englishmen landed on a small island at the mouth of the river, where they found two women left by the fleeing governor. Basil Ringrose was tardy in getting away from Santa Maria, lost his way on the river, and was overturned in the gulf of San Miguel. He escaped to a little island, and later, fell into the hands of the Spaniards; but was released for having saved the lives of some of the Santa Maria prisoners.

On the 19th of April, 1680, the buccaneers passed from the gulf of San Miguel into the gulf of Panama. The same day they all united at Plantain Island, where they captured a vessel of thirty tons, on which 130 of the party embarked. The buccaneers separated to seek provisions, agreeing to rendezvous at the island of *Chepillo*. Captain Sharp went to the King, or Pearl Island, in the bark hunting fresh water, but the rest met at *Chepillo*, at the entrance of the river *Chepo*, on the 22nd; and at four o'clock that same afternoon started towards *Panama* in canoes. On the morning of the 23rd, they came in sight of the new¹⁵ city, and found eight vessels lying in the road.

The authorities at Panama knew that the buccaneers were in the harbor, and had manned three ships with all the crews in the harbor, as well as with some of the land force. The flagship had a crew of 86 Biscayans, and was commanded by Jacinto de Barahona, high admiral of the South Sea; the second ship was manned by 77 negroes, and commanded by Francisco de Peralta; the third contained a crew of 65 mulattoes, under Diego de Carabajal. As soon as the buccaneers were descried, the three war vessels stood towards them. A desperate battle ensued, which lasted the greater part of the day. The wind was too light for the ships to maneuver to advantage, and the buccaneers in their canoes could so place themselves as to avoid the gun-fire of the Spanish. The flagship was captured, the admiral being killed in the attempt. Peralta fought his ship gallantly, and repulsed two efforts of Sawkins to board her. Several explosions of powder took place, and when Sawkins succeeded on the third attempt, the deck presented a horrible

¹⁵ At this time (1680) New Panama was already built up, though its eight churches were not yet completed. The cathedral church at the old city was still in use, "the beautiful building whereof," says Ringrose, "maketh a fair show at a distance, like unto the church of St. Paul's at London."

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sight. "There was not a Man but was either killed, desperately wounded, or horribly burnt with Powder. Inasmuch, that their Black Skins were turned White in several places, the Powder having torn it from their Flesh and Bones." The third ship was more easily secured.

Captain Sharp was still away in the bark with about one hundred men, so the number of buccaneers engaged in the fight was about 200, of whom 18 were killed, and above 30 wounded. Among the latter was Captain Peter Harris, who died two days later. They considered that Captain Sawkins had particularly distinguished himself; while many thought their commander, John Coxon, had shown backwardness in the fight. The Darien chiefs were in the heat of the combat. After the battle, the buccaneers went to the island of Perico, where the five other ships were found abandoned; the largest, called the *Santisima Trinidad*, of 400 tons, was burning. The English put out the fire, and used her as a hospital for the wounded, and later for cruising. In the other prizes were found ammunition, flour, and other provisions. Some of the stores, which the Spaniards refused to ransom, they destroyed. Among the islands they also captured some small vessels laden with poultry. Thus, within a week after entering the South Sea, the buccaneers had provided themselves with a fleet sufficient for their number, fairly well provisioned, with which they maintained a close blockade by sea of Panama.¹⁶

A few days after the battle with the Spanish *armadilla*, Captain Coxon, aggrieved at the reflections cast upon his behaviour during the fight, departed with about 70 adherents to return to the North Sea by the route they had come. He, of course, left his wounded, but carried off nearly all the medicines and the best doctor in the party. Captain Andrés and Captain Antonio, with most of the Dariens, departed at the same time; but chief Andrés left one son and a nephew with the buccaneers.

Richard Sawkins¹⁷ was now chosen general or commander. After remaining ten days before the city, they retired to the

¹⁶ When the Buccaneers first appeared before the new Panama, most of the garrison, consisting of 300 regular troops and a larger number of militia (said to have been 1100), were away; and the few remaining soldiers were put on the fleet. Had the Buccaneers attacked the city at this time, it probably would have fallen. A few cannon on the slope of Ancon Mountain would have commanded the town.

¹⁷ Sometimes confused with Capt. Richard Hawkins (son of Sir John Hawkins), captured by the Spaniards in the South Sea, and who passed through Panama.

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island of *Taboga*,³⁸ more distant, but where they could better observe vessels leaving or approaching Panama. The buccaneers made some captures, securing 1200 packs of flour, 2000 jars of wine, brandy, sugar, merchandise, and between 50,000 and 60,000 dollars. At *Taboga* they were visited by the merchants of Panama, who bought some of the prize goods, and negro slaves at 200 pieces-of-eight a head. The governor of Panama sent a message demanding "why, during a time of peace between England and Spain, Englishmen should come into these seas to commit injury, and from whom they had their commissions so to do." Captain Sawkins replied that they had come "to assist their friend the King of Darien, who was the rightful Lord of Panama and all the country thereabouts"; that as yet all his company were not come together, but when they were come up, they would visit him at Panama and bring their "Commissions on the Muzzles of their Guns, at which time he should read them as plain as the Flame of Gunpowder could make them." Sawkins further added that, "as they had come so far, it was reasonable they should receive some satisfaction for their trouble; and if the governor would send to them 500 pieces of eight for each man, and 1000 for each commander, and would promise not any farther to annoy the Darien Indians, their allies, that then the buccaneers would desist from hostilities and go quietly about their business."

By the merchants who traded with them, Captain Sawkins learned that the bishop of Panama, the famous *Piedrahita*, was the person whom he had captured when in the West Indies, and sent him a gift as a token of regard; the bishop sending a gold ring in return. A rich ship was expected from Lima, and Sawkins wished to wait for her, but the men had consumed all the fresh food within reach, and wished to go elsewhere.

On the 15th of May, 1580, the buccaneers departed from *Taboga* and sailed to the island of *Otoque*, where they found hogs and poultry; and the same day, or the next, they left for the large island of *Quibo*; with the intention of attacking *Pueblo Nuevo*, on the mainland. The buccaneers were now in three ships and two small barks, when encountering rough seas and contrary winds, the two little vessels—one with fifteen men, the other with only seven—became separated from the ships.

³⁸"This *Taboga*," says Sharp, "is an exceeding pleasant island, abounding in fruits, such as pine-apples, oranges, lemons, pears, mamees, cocoa-nuts, and others; with a small, but brave, commodious fresh river running in it. The anchorage is also clear and good."

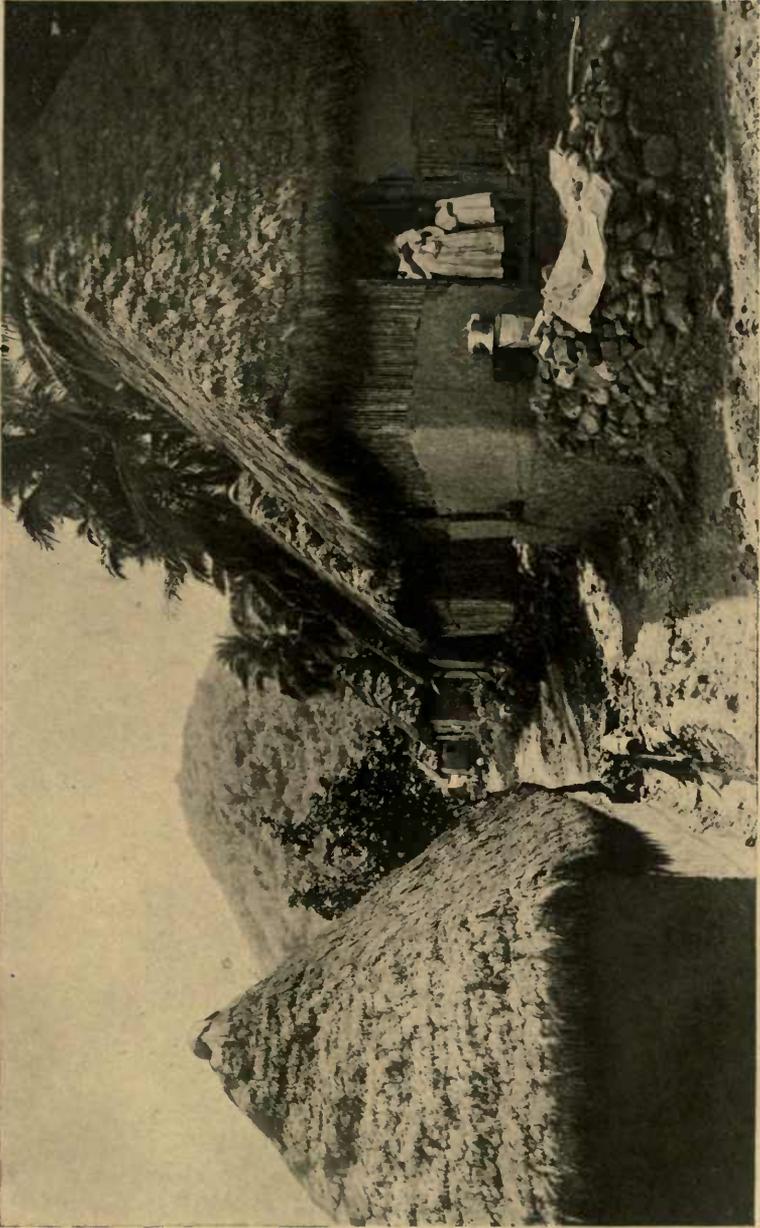


Photo by Isthmian Canal Commission.

STREET IN VILLAGE OF TABOGA.

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The one with seven men was taken by the Spaniards, but the other reached the gulf of San Miguel, and recrossed the Isthmus with Captain Coxon.

Arriving at *Quibo* about the 21st, Captain Sawkins, with sixty men, went in the smallest ship to the entrance of the river which leads to the town.¹⁹ From the north shore of *Quibo* to *Pueblo Nuevo* was reckoned eight leagues. At the mouth of the river, the commander proceeded in canoes, using a negro prisoner for pilot, directing the ship to follow. The ship entered the river keeping close to the east shore, on which there is a round hill. "Within two stones' cast of the shore there was four fathoms' depth; and within the point a very fine and large river opens. But, being strangers to the place, the ship was run aground nigh a rock which lieth by the westward shore; for the true channel of this river is nearer to the east than to the west shore. The island *Quibo* is south south-east from the mouth of this river."²⁰

A Frenchman had deserted the buccaneers at *Taboga* and disclosed their plan to go against *Pueblo Nuevo*. Those in the canoes found the river obstructed with trees which the Spaniards had felled, and the town protected with a "stockado," and well defended. The buccaneers waited in their canoes till daylight, when Sawkins landed and led the charge against a breast-work. The captain²¹ and two others were killed, and four or five wounded, by the fire of the Spaniards, who were on the alert. The death of their commander, who was much loved by the men, discouraged the buccaneers, and Captain Sharp,²² next in command, ordered a retreat. Three more men were wounded during the re-embarkation. Going down the river they took a ship containing indigo, butter, and pitch; and burnt two others.

Returning to *Quibo*, the buccaneers elected Bartholomew Sharp to be their leader, but between sixty and seventy were dissatisfied with the choice, and departed in one of the vessels, to return over the Isthmus by the gulf of San Miguel. All the

¹⁹ *Pueblo Nuevo*, more often called *Remedios*, is on the *Rio Santa Lucia*.

²⁰ Basil Ringrose.

²¹ "Captain Sawkins was a valiant and generous spirited man, and beloved above any other we ever had among us, which he well deserved."
—Ringrose.

²² Ringrose describes him as "that Sea-Artist, and Valiant Commander, Captain Bartholomew Sharp."

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remaining Darien Indians went back with this party, leaving 146 buccaneers with Captain Sharp.

On the 6th of June, 1680, Sharp and his party sailed from Quibo in two ships for the coast of Peru. On the 17th they anchored on the south side of the island of *Gorgona*, then uninhabited, where they lived on rabbits, monkeys, turtle, oysters, and birds. July 25th, they put to sea again, and instead of attacking Guayaquil, as he started out to do, Captain Sharp continued on southward. August 13th, they arrived at the island of *Plata*; where Francis Drake is said to have divided his silver by the bucketful. Here they killed a hundred goats in one day, salting what they did not consume at the time. Leaving here, they continued on south; and on the 25th, when near Cape St. Elena, captured a Spanish ship bound for Panama, in which they found three thousand dollars. This prize was sunk, and soon afterward the buccaneers abandoned one of their vessels, it being a poor sailer, and all went in the "Trinidad."

September 4th, they took a vessel from Guayaquil bound for Lima, and later passed Callao at a distance from land, being apprehensive there might be ships of war in the road. On October 26th, Sharp manned the boats to make an attack on *Arica*; but found the surf high, and all the people up in arms, so abandoned the attempt. Farther south, they succeeded in landing at *Ilo*, securing provisions and fresh water. December 3rd, they took the town of *La Serena*, where was found 500 pounds weight of silver. Here, Sharp released all his prisoners, except a pilot, and stood from the continent for Juan Fernandez, where he arrived on Christmas Day. Sharp and the more thrifty buccaneers were now for going home by way of the Strait of Magellan; but the majority had gambled away their shares, and wished to try their fortune longer in the South Sea.

While at *Juan Fernandez*, the buccaneers settled their disagreement by deposing Sharp, and giving the command to John Watling, "an old privateer, and esteemed a stout seaman." Articles were drawn up in writing, and signed by Watling and the crew. Captain Watling's first order was for the observance of the Sabbath. "This day, the 9th January, was the first Sunday that ever we kept by command since the loss and death of our valiant commander Captain Sawkins, who once threw the dice overboard, finding them in use on the said day."

On the 11th day of January, 1681, two boats were sent to a

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distant part of the island to catch goats,²³ but returned in great haste on the following morning, firing muskets to give alarm. They reported three ships, believed to be Spanish war vessels, heading for the island; so the men getting water and hunting on shore were hurriedly called aboard, the cable was slipped, and the "Trinidad" put to sea. One of the Mosquito Indians, called William, was absent in the woods hunting goats, and did not hear the alarm, and in the haste to get away poor Will was left behind.

The three Spanish cruisers and the buccaneer ship remained in sight of each other for two days; but neither side attempted battle. The English had no cannon, and must have trusted to their small arms and to boarding. On the night of the 13th, the buccaneers steered eastward, returning to the coast of Peru, and on the 26th, arrived at the small island of Yqueque, where the Indians ate certain leaves "which were in taste much like to the bay leaves in England, by the continual use of which their teeth were dyed of a green colour."

Captain Watling, on the 30th, landed with ninety-two men on the mainland, and gained the town of Arica. The affair was managed badly, and the Spaniards recovered from their surprise, and bravely drove the intruders back to their boats. The buccaneers lost twenty-eight men, killed or captured; among the former being Captain Watling. Those taken prisoners by the Spaniards were all knocked on the head, except two surgeons, "they being able to do them good service in that country."

On the 17th of April, 1681, when near the Isle of Plata, a division again occurred among the buccaneers, the majority reinstating Captain Sharp in the command; while the minority, forty-seven in all, departed in the long-boat and canoes for the gulf of San Miguel, to return over the Isthmus to the Caribbean Sea.

From the island of Plata, Captain Sharp went north again, passing Panama without stopping, and entered the gulf of Nicoya. In Caldera Bay, he careened and repaired the ship, pressing some local carpenters into service. After sacking *Esparza*, the buccaneers sailed back again to the island Plata, taking three prizes on the way. The first was the "*San Pedro*," with 37,000 pesos aboard; the second, a packet from

²³ Introduced by Juan Fernandez, who discovered these islands in 1574. The group is 350 miles west of Valparaiso, Chile.

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Panama bound for Callao, from which they learned that the people of Panama believed all the Englishmen had returned overland to the West Indies. The third ship was the *San Rosario*,²⁴ which resisted until her captain was killed. Besides brandy, wine, oil, and fruit, she yielded to each buccaneer ninety-four dollars; 700 pigs of plate, supposed to be tin, were left in the Rosario.²⁴ She also had a great number of charts and maps of the navigations performed by the Spaniards in the Pacific Ocean, which were taken along, and afterwards turned over to the British government.

"August the 12th they anchored at the island Plata, whence they departed on the 16th, bound southward, intending to return by the Strait of Magelhanes or *Strait le Maire*²⁵ to the West Indies." Meeting with stormy weather, generally found at the Pacific entrance of Magellan's Strait, Captain Sharp went around Cape Horn, stealing on the way an Indian boy, whom they named Orson. December 5th, when in the Atlantic Ocean, and steering for the West Indies, the balance of the plunder was divided; each man receiving 328 pieces-of-eight. On the 15th of January, died William Stephens, a seaman, whose death was attributed to his having eaten three manchineal apples six months before, when on the coast of New Spain; "from which time he wasted away till he became a perfect skeleton."

On the 28th of January, 1682, Captain Sharp and his party of buccaneers arrived at the island of *Barbadoes*, but on learning that the "*Richmond*," a British frigate, was lying at Bridgetown, they were afraid to stop. "We, having acted in all our voyage without a commission, dared not be so bold as to put in, lest the said frigate should seize us for pirateering and strip us of all we had got in the whole voyage." They then sailed to *Antigua*, which they reached February 1st; where the governor, Colonel Codrington, would not let them enter the harbor;

²⁴ "We took only one pig of the 700 into our ship, thinking to make bullets of it; and to this effect, or what else our seamen pleased, the greatest part of it was melted and squandered away. Afterwards, when we arrived at Antigua, we gave the remaining part (which was about one-third thereof) to a Bristol man, who knew presently what it was, who brought it to England, and sold it there for £75 sterling. Thus we parted with the richest booty we got in the whole voyage through our own ignorance and laziness."—Exquemelin.

²⁵ Le Maire and Van Schouten, two Dutch navigators, doubled Cape Horn (Hoon) in January, 1616, giving it the name of the birth-place of Van Schouten. The discovery of this route rendered worthless the Spanish defences in Magellan's Strait. Francis Drake probably sighted Cape Horn in 1578.

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though they sent some jewels to his lady, which, however, were not accepted. Some of the men got ashore here, while Sharp and others went on to the island of *Nevis*, whence they got passage to England. Their ship, the *Santissima Trinidad*, which they had found burning at Perico in Panama Bay, was left to seven of the company who had gambled away their shares.

Three of Sharp's crew were tried at Jamaica, and one simple fellow was wheedled into a confession, and hanged. The other two stood it out, and escaped for want of witnesses to prove the fact against them. When Captain Bartholomew Sharp arrived in England, he and a few others were apprehended at the instance of the Spanish ambassador, and tried for piracy before a court of admiralty, held at the Marshalsea in Southwark. They claimed to have acted under authority from the chiefs of Darien, who were independent princes, and not subject to Spain; but chiefly for want of evidence, they escaped conviction.

Shortly after this, Captain Sharp, and Basil Ringrose, a member of his party, each wrote an account of the voyages and adventures of the buccaneers.

Not caring to serve under Captain Sharp, the minority separated from the main body of the buccaneers at the island of Plata, or Drake's Island, on the 17th of April, 1681. The party consisted of 44 Europeans, 2 Mosquito Indians, 1 Spanish Indian, and 5 Negro slaves (usually not counted); making 52 in all. Among the number were John Cook, afterwards a buccaneer captain; William Dampier, the ablest of them all; and Lionel Wafer, now the ranking surgeon, who lived four months with the Darien Indians.

This party started off in the long-boat of the "*Trinidad*" and two canoes; being nearly swamped before reaching the shore of the mainland. The next day they were lucky enough to capture a small vessel under the lee of Cape Pasado, in which they embarked. Sailing northward, they stopped at the isle of Gorgona, and escaped in a rainstorm from a couple of Spanish cruisers out looking for them. At Point Garachina, south of the gulf of San Miguel, they stopped and dried their powder, anticipating a fight on landing. April 30th, they entered the gulf of *San Miguel*, and anchored outside an island, four miles from the mouth of the Santa Maria river. Sending a canoe to investigate, a warship was found at the mouth

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of the river, and on the bank an encampment of soldiers. Dampier urged his companions to ascend the Rio Congo, three leagues off, but could not persuade them of its existence.

May 1st, 1681, the buccaneers effected a landing in a small creek, a league beyond Cape San Lorenzo. They sank their bark, and started in a northeast direction to cross the Isthmus; making the desperate resolve to shoot all stragglers to prevent information being extracted from them by torture, in case of capture by Spaniards. They soon struck a trail which led to some Indian shacks, where they were well received, and secured a guide. The next day they reached the Congo, and came to the hut of an old Indian. For several days they journeyed through the rain, wading the streams; with no fires, and scarcely any food.

On the fifth day—being also the 5th of May—Doctor Wafer was sitting on the ground near one of the men who was drying gunpowder in a silver plate. From the spark of a pipe, according to Dampier's narrative, the powder blew up, and burned the doctor's knee and thigh so badly that the flesh was torn away, and the bone exposed. He applied such remedies as he had in his knapsack, and made shift to jog along for a few days. The company assigned him one of the slaves to carry his medicines; but on the night of the seventh day, the negroes, all but one, ran away, taking Wafer's medicines, gun, and all his money.

On the 8th, the guide said the river would have to be crossed again, but was too swollen to ford. George Gayny started across with a line about his neck, but the man paying it out suddenly stopped, pulling Gayny on his back. The rope-man then threw the line in the stream, when the swift torrent bore him away; and having 300 pesos at his back, Gayny was drowned. They then felled a tall tree across the river and got over, and reached an Indian village, where they fared well.

The 10th day the doctor was suffering so much with his wound that he decided to take his chances with the Darien Indians. Two others of the company, who were played out, staid with him; John Hingson, a mariner; and Mr. Richard Gopson, who had with him a Greek Testament, which he frequently read, and translated *extempore*, into English for his comrades. The buccaneers did not execute their order about executing stragglers, but took a very kind leave of these men. Indeed, two men, Robert Spratlin and William Bowman, hesi-

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tated to attempt to pass the Congo, on the 6th of May, and had not been seen since.

“Being now forced to stay among them, and having no means to alleviate the Anguish of my Wound, the Indians undertook to cure me; and apply’d to my Knee some Herbs, which they first chew’d in their Mouths to the consistency of a Paste, and putting it on a Plantain-Leaf, laid it upon the Sore. This prov’d so effectual, that in about 20 Days use of this Poultice, which they applied fresh every Day, I was perfectly cured; except only a Weakness in that Knee, which remain’d long after, and a Benumbedness which I sometimes find in it to this Day.”²⁸

In three or four days, Spratlin and Bowman dragged themselves into the settlement, very much fatigued with rambling through the woods. They told of seeing the corpse of Gayny lying on the bank of the river, where the floods had left it. The money was still at his back, but they were so exhausted, they cared not to meddle with it. Notwithstanding the Indians still dressed the wounded knee, they were not very generous to the five white men in their midst. They seemed to be concerned about the fate of the two guides who went ahead with the main party, and threw green plantains to the Englishmen, as they sat cringing and shivering, like you would bones to a dog. There was one exception to this stern treatment. The young Indian at whose house they stopped would often give them food on the sly, even rising at night to go by stealth to the Plantain-walk to fetch them a bundle of ripe plantains, which he would distribute unknown to his countrymen. This kind Indian had formerly been a prisoner among the Spaniards, serving under the bishop of Panama till finding a chance to escape. He had learned considerable Spanish, and with the additional use of signs, was able to converse with the buccaneers.

The guides not returning when expected, the Indians resolved to be revenged on the five Englishmen in their power. Some were for turning them over to the Spaniards, but the greater part hating those people, decided to burn the buccaneers, and prepared a great pile of wood for that purpose. Their principal chief, *Lacenta* happened along, and directed two Indians to conduct them to the north side of the Isthmus, and find out what had become of the guides of the main company. The next day, they started out and marched joyfully for three days through the mud and rain, lodging at night under the dripping

²⁸ Lionel Wafer.

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trees. The two conductors now departed, and the helpless white men wandered about for days, with only a few macaw berries to eat. They came to a river over which a tree had been felled, and judged, rightly, that their comrades had passed over. The tree was so wet and slippery that Bowman²⁷ fell off, but was washed ashore alive a quarter of a mile below. On the evening of the sixth day after leaving the Indians they came to where another river²⁸ joined the one they were following; both of which ran in a northerly direction, as shown by a pocket compass. This confirmed them in the belief that they were on the north side of the divide, so they made two "Bark-logs," or rafts, on which to float to the North Sea.

That night, Wafer and his companions camped in the fork of the rivers, when "it fell a Raining as if Heaven and Earth would meet, which Storm was accompanied with horrid Claps of Thunder, and such flashes of Lightning, of a Sulphurous smell, that we were almost stifled in the open air." The flood covered the hillock on which they were located, and forced them to take to the trees to save their lives, each thinking the others drowned. With thanksgiving they found each other in the morning, and discovered their Bark-logs sunk and full of water, though made of "Bamboes." This was a god-send, for had they gone down this river, which empties into the Chepo, or Bayano, they would have run into the Spaniards.

Not being able to pass either river, the party turned back to hunt the Indian village from which they had departed. This was the eighth day of their wanderings, with nothing to eat but a handful of Maiz, some Macaw-berries, "and the Pith of a Bibby-Tree we met with, which we split and eat very favourably." When nearly dead with hunger, they espied a deer fast asleep. "But one of our Men putting the Muzzle of his gun close to him, and the Shot not being wadded, tumbled out, just before the Gun went off, and did the Deer no hurt; but starting up at the noise, he took the River and swam over." The Doctor's party now took leave of the river, and "After a little Consideration what course to steer next, we concluded it best to follow the Track of a Pecary or Wild-Hog, hoping it might bring us to

²⁷ "This Man had at this time 400 pieces of eight at his Back: He was a weakly Man, a Taylor by Trade."—Wafer.

²⁸ "This last River was as wide and deep as the former; so that here we were put to a *Non-plus*, not being able to find means to ford either of them, and they being here too wide for a Tree to go across, unless a greater Tree than we were able to cut down; having no Tool with us but a Macheat or long Knife."—Wafer.

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some old Plantain Walk or Potato Piece, which these Creatures often resort to, to look for Food." The trail of the peccary brought them, according to expectation, to a banana plantation, near which was an Indian settlement. In fear, the Doctor went forward alone, and found himself in the same village they had left eight days before. The Indians crowded about and began to ask questions, which Wafer cut short by falling into a swoon, occasioned by the heat of the house, and the scent of meat boiling over the fire.

The long-expected guides, who had gone with Mr. Dampier²² and the main body, had returned from the north coast, loaded down with presents; so the Indians now were very kind and generous. After resting seven days, the five white men set out again for the North Sea, conducted by four willing and lusty natives. When they came to the river over which the tree was felled, they turned up stream instead of down; and soon afterwards pursued their journey in a canoe, the Indians paddling stoutly against the current. In six days they came to the palace of Lacenta, prince over the south side of Darien, who had before saved their lives. His house was situated on a fine little hill, in a grove of stately "Cotton Trees," from six to eleven feet in diameter.

"The Circumference of this pleafant little Hill, contains at least 100 Acres of Land; and is a Peninsula of an Oval form, almost furrounded with two great Rivers, one coming from the East, the other from the West, which approaching within 40 foot of each other, at the front of the Peninsula, separate again, embracing the Hill, and meet on the other side, making there one pretty large River, which runs very swift. There is therefore but one way to come in toward this Seat; which, as I before observed, is not above 40 foot wide, between the Rivers on each side; and 'tis fenced with hollow Bamboes, Popes-heads

²² Dampier tells us that after leaving Wafer and his companions, on May 10th, the main body crossed one river thirty-two times that same day. The first night, the last of the five negroes ran away. The buccaneers struggled on through rain and mud; living on plantains, with an occasional monkey or bird. May 20th, they came to the river Cheapo, the last that ran into the South Sea. On the 21st, the party ascended a high mountain; and on the 22nd, they went up another high mountain, and to their great comfort saw the North Sea. The 23rd day they passed in canoes down the river Conception, spending the night in the Indian settlement at the mouth of the river. The next day, May 24th, the buccaneers went on board a "Barcolongo," a French privateer commanded by Captain Tristian, lying out at La Sound's Key.

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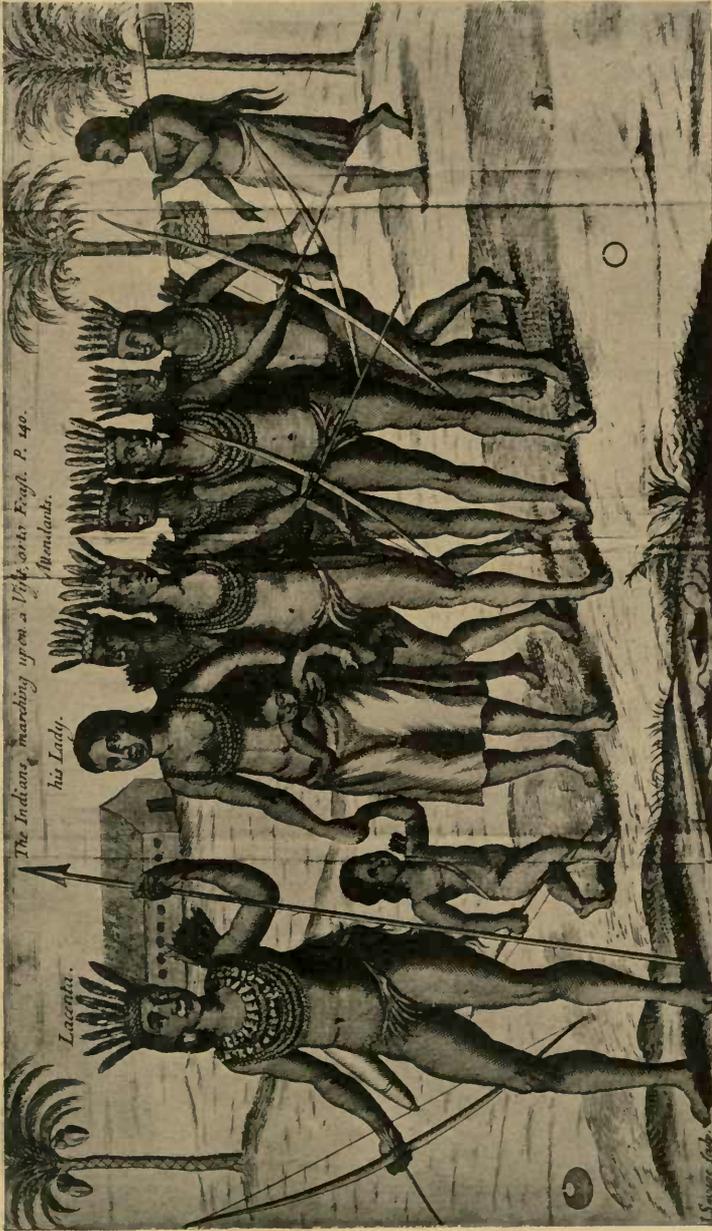
and Prickle-pears, fo thick fet from one side the Neck of Land to the other, that 'tis impoffible for an Enemy to approach it." ³⁰

The chieftain sent back the guides, and told the Englifhmen that they would have to stop with him, becaufe the rainy feafon was now at its height, and it was not poffible to travel to the north coaft. They had not been there long before an incident occurred which brought Doctor Wafer into great efteem, and benefitted his comrades as well.

"It fo happen'd that one of Lacenta's Wives being indifpofed, was to be let Blood; which the Indians perform in this manner: The Patient is feated on a Stone in the River and one with a fmall bow fhoots little Arrows into the naked Body of the Patient, up and down; fhooting them as faft as he can, and not miffing any part. But the Arrows are gaged, fo that they penetrate no farther than we generally thruft our Lances: And if by chance they hit a Vein which is full of Wind, and the Blood fpurts out a little, they will leap and fkip about, fhewing many Antick Geftures, by way of rejoycing and triumph.

I was by while this was performing on Lacenta's Lady: And perceiving their Ignorance, told Lacenta, That if he pleafed, I would fhew him a better way, without putting the Patient to fo much Torment. Let me fee, fays he; and at his command, I bound up her Arm with a piece of Bark, and with my Lancet breathed a Vein: But this rafh attempt had like to have coft me my Life. For Lacenta feeing the Blood iffue out in a Stream, which us'd to come only drop by drop, got hold of his Lance, and fwore by his Tooth, that if fhe did otherwife than well, he would have my Heart's Blood. I was not moved, but defired him to be patient, and I drew off about 12 Ounces and bound up her Arm, and defired fhe might reft till the next Day: By which means the Fever abated, and fhe had not another Fit. This gained me fo much Reputation, that Lacenta came to me, and before all his Attendants, bowed, and kifs'd my Hand. Then the reft came thick about me, and fome kiffed my Hand, others my Knee, and fome my Foot: After which I was taken up into a Hammock, and carried on Men's Shoulders, Lacenta himfelf making a Speech in my Praife, and commending me as much Superior to any of their Doctors. Thus I was carried

³⁰ Señor Don Vicente Restrepo, of Bogotá, who has translated Wafer's narrative into Spanish, thinks Lacenta's stronghold may have been fited at the junction of the Sábalo with the Cañaza. The Mandingas tribe had its headquarters in this region.



The Indians marching upon a Visit, to the Engl. P. 140.
Attendants.
his Lady.

Lacenta.

From copper-plate in Wafer, *Isthmus of America*, 1699.
LACENTA, CHIEF OF THE DARIENS, AND RETINUE.

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from Plantation to Plantation, and lived in great Splendor and Repute, adminiftring both Phyfick and Phlebotomy to thofe that wanted. For tho' I loft my Salves and Plaifters, when the Negro ran away with my Knapfack, yet I preferv'd a Box of Infruments, and a few Medicaments wrapt up in an Oil Cloth, by having them in my Pocket, where I generally carried them."

Dr. Wafer became a great favorite among the natives, not only from his knowledge of medicine, but also because he readily adapted himself to their mode of life. He allowed himself to be painted, went naked, and wore a golden nose-plate,²¹ like the chiefs. He accompanied Lacenta on his hunting trips; and one time, when toward the southeast part of the country, he secretly watched the Spaniards washing out gold from the sands of a river, perhaps the Rio Balsas. It became so that the chief would go nowhere without the Doctor, and the latter perceived that Lacenta intended to keep him alway. One day they started a peccary, which held the Indians and their dogs in play the greater part of the day, till the chief was weary, and impatiently wished for some better way of chasing the game. Wafer, who now understood a great deal of the Darien language,²² took this opportunity to commend the English dogs, and offered to bring him a few from England, if he would suffer him to go thither for a short time.

Lacenta demurred at this for a while, but at length he swore by his tooth, laying his fingers on it, that Wafer and his companions should have their liberty; provided the Doctor promised, and swore by his tooth, to come back, marry the chief's daughter, and settle among them. Doctor Wafer promised to do so; and the next day parted from Lacenta in the hunting grounds, and with a convoy of natives returned to the Chief's palace; where he arrived in about fifteen days, and was joyfully greeted by his friends.

After resting a few days, the five white men started for the north coast, having a strong retinue of armed Indians. They travelled over many high mountains, and at last came to one far surpassing the rest in height, they being four days gradually

²¹ Described in Chapter XIX.

²² "My Knowledge of the High-Land Language made me the more capable of learning the Darien Indians Language; when I was among them. For there is fome Affinity, not in the Signification of the Words of each Language, but in the Pronunciation, which I could eafily imitate; both being fpoken pretty much in the Throat with frequent Afpirates, and much the fame fharp or circumflex Tang or Cant."

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ascending it, though with some descents between whiles. This mountain was so high that both Europeans and natives experienced giddiness in the head, and the other mountains they had passed seemed far beneath them. The Doctor looked over a perpendicular part, while two men sat on his legs, but could see nothing but clouds below. At one place they all had to straddle over a narrow ridge.

At the foot of the mountain, on the other side, they came to a river that ran into the North Sea. Here were some houses, where they stopped for the night, "my Lodging, by the way, being in a Hammock made fast to two Trees, and my Covering a Plantain-Leaf." The following morning they set forward, and in two days time arrived at the seaside; where they were welcomed by forty chief Indians,³³ dressed in long white gowns, with fringes at the bottom. The Englishmen asked when they expected any ships, and the Indians said they would inquire: sending for their conjurers or *Pawawvers*, "who immediately went to work to raise the Devil, to inquire of him at what time a Ship would arrive here, for they are very expert and skilful in their sort of Diabolical Conjurations." They went into a house by themselves, beating drums, sounding conch-shells, imitating the cries of all kinds of birds and beasts, and uttering the most hideous yells and shrieks.

After a considerable time the oracle declared, "That the 10th Day from that time there would arrive two Ships; and that in the Morning of the 10th Day we should hear first one Gun, and sometime after that another: That one of us should die soon after, and that going aboard we should lose one of our Guns: All of which fell out exactly according to the Prediction."

On the morning of the tenth day thereafter was heard first one gun, and then another; which was the buccaneers' signal for the Indians to come aboard. Wafer and his companions, with three natives, started out in a canoe; but as they crossed the bar of the river, it overturned, whereby the gun of Mr. Gopson³⁴ was lost; though the buccaneers never went in a canoe without lashing their guns to the sides or seats. The party got ashore, and set out again, standing over to *La Sound's Key*, where the two ships lay. Wafer relates that they went aboard one of the ships, where his four companions were greeted by

³³ Confer their reception of the Scotch visitors, in 1698.

³⁴ Dampier calls him Richard Cobson. He died three days later, and was buried in *La Sound's Key*.

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their friends; "but I fat a while cringing upon my Hams among the Indians, after their Fafhion, painted as they were, and all naked but only about the Waift, and with my Nose-piece hanging over my Mouth. I was willing to try if they would know me in this Difguife; and 'twas the better part of an Hour before one of the Crew, looking more narrowly upon me, cry'd out, Here's our Doctor, and immediately they all congratulated my Arrival among them."

The return of these men by the Isthmus to the North Sea, with the arrival of Captain Sharp's party at Barbadoes in the following January, terminated what may be called the first expedition of the Buccaneers in the South Sea; the boat excursion by Morgan's men in the Bay of Panama being of too little consequence to be so reckoned. They had now made successful experiment of the route both by sea and land, and the Spaniards in the South Sea had reason to apprehend a speedy renewal of their visit.

The success of the first venture, with the restrictions and prohibitions unwisely imposed upon the French and English in the West Indies by their home governments, soon led to other incursions into the Pacific; either overland across the Isthmus, or by sea around South America. During the next few years piratical and privateering expeditions, both from the West India islands and from Europe, invaded the South Sea; harassing Spanish commerce, and plundering the towns near the coast. These outfits generally acted independent of each other, especially the French and English; but occasionally they united in some large undertaking.

It is not our intention to write further of the buccaneers, excepting certain transactions in the Bay of Panama in the year 1685. Early in 1684, William Dampier, Lionel Wafer, Edward Davis, Ambrose Cowley, and other experienced buccaneers, were again in the South Sea, having sailed around the Horn in the "*Batchelor's Delight*," a thirty-six gun ship, commanded by Captain John Cook. They soon fell in with the "*Nicholas*," John Eaton commander, which had left the Thames a pretended trading voyage. They sailed up the coast together, passed Panama without stopping, and entered the gulf of Nicoya; where Captain Cook died, and was buried on the shore. Edward Davis, the quarter-master, was then unanimously elected

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to the command of the "Bachelor's Delight"; and the two ships separated, though each sailed for Peru.

At the island Plata, Capt. Davis fell in with the "Cygnet," Captain Swan, fitted out from London as a genuine trading vessel. Peter Harris, nephew of the Peter Harris killed before Panama in 1680, also joined in a small bark. They made some unimportant captures, and attempted to surprise *Guayaquil*, but the plan miscarried, though four ships were taken in the bay, three of them containing 1000 negroes.³⁵ The little fleet then steered northward towards the *Gulf of Panama*, picking up a packet-boat bound for Lima, which the president of Panama had despatched to hasten the sailing of the plate fleet from Callao. They put some of their prisoners on shore at Gorgona³⁶ Island, and January 21st, 1685, arrived at the Pearl Islands³⁷, where they lay the ships aground to clean them. The buccaneer force, consisting of about 250 men, then anchored near Panama; exchanging prisoners, but making no demonstration against the city.

Shortly afterwards, when lying at *Taboga*, Davis was visited by a merchant, who proposed to come off privately at night with such goods as the buccaneers desired to buy. They agreed to this; but instead of merchandise, his vessel was fitted up

³⁵ Captains Davis and Swan chose each fifteen slaves, and let the vessels go. William Dampier, then with Davis, entertained different views of what should have been done; and anticipated William Paterson in his scheme to displace the Spaniards in Darien. Dampier writes—"Never was put into the hands of men a greater opportunity to enrich themselves. We had 1000 negroes, all lusty young men and women, and we had 200 tons of flour stored up at the Galapagos Islands. With these negroes we might have gone and settled at Santa Maria on the Isthmus of Darien, and have employed them in getting gold out of the mines there. All the Indians living in that neighborhood were mortal enemies to the Spaniards; were flushed by successes against them, and for several years had been the fast friends of the privateers. Add to which, we should have had the North Sea open to us, and in a short time should have received assistance from all parts of the West Indies. Many thousands of buccaneers from Jamaica and the French islands would have flocked to us; and we should have been an overmatch for all the force the Spaniards could have brought out of Peru against us."

³⁶ At Gorgona, the Buccaneers observed how the small black monkeys secured shell-fish when the tide was out. "Their way was to take up an Oyster and lay it upon a Stone, and with another Stone to keep beating of it till they had broke the shell to pieces."—Wafer.

³⁷ Of these islands, Dampier writes—"Why they are called the Pearl Islands I cannot imagine, for I did never see one pearl oyster about them, but of other oysters many."

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with combustibles as a fire-ship.³⁸ The buccaneers, suspecting treachery, cut from their anchors, and escaped the danger. The next morning the ships returned, and while striving to recover the anchors, were alarmed at the sight of many canoes, filled with men, coming from another island toward Taboga. The buccaneers weighed, and stood towards them; when they were discovered to be 200 Frenchmen and 80 Englishmen, commanded by Captains Grognet and L'Escuyer, who had just come over the Isthmus by the Darien route. They told of another outfit which had crossed over, composed of 180 buccaneers under an Englishman named Townley, who were now building canoes in the gulf of San Miguel. Townley's party was soon discovered, already in possession of two ships they had taken; and soon afterwards they picked up six more Englishmen under William Knight.

In April, 1685, while at the Pearl Islands, the buccaneers were joined by 264 filibusters, commanded by Jean Rose, Des-Marais, and Le Picard; the last being a veteran who had served under L'Olonois and Morgan. With this party came Raveneau de Lussan, probably the only Frenchman to leave an account of the filibusters in the South Sea. In addition to the writers already mentioned, Ambrose Cowley also kept a journal of his adventures.

The combined English and French forces in the *Bay of Panama* now numbered nearly 1000 men, and they thought seriously of assaulting the city; but learning that a rich treasure had been despatched from Lima, they agreed to postpone the attempt on Panama, and lay in wait for the plate-fleet. In the meantime, they took several prizes, and captured the town of *Chepo*, where was found neither opposition nor plunder.

The Viceroy of Peru believed his *flota* strong enough to risk an encounter with the buccaneers; but ordered the commander to try and avoid a meeting until after the treasure should be landed. Accordingly, the Spanish admiral, Don Antonio de Beas, sailed more westerly until he fell in with the coast of Veragua, west of Punta Mala. Afterwards, he entered the gulf, keeping close to the west shore, and safely landed the treasure at *Lavelia*.³⁹ When the buccaneers discovered the Spanish fleet, it was laying at anchor before Panama, where it was soon reinforced with more seamen hurried over from

³⁸ Dampier states that this fire-ship was prepared by Captain Bond, a deserter from the privateers, then an honored guest in Panama.

³⁹ Meaning La Villa; as Los Santos was called in colonial days.

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Porto Bello. Thus strengthened, the Spanish fleet, numbering fourteen sail, and much superior in guns and men, started out to hunt the buccaneers, whom they found on the 28th of May, 1685, near the island of Pacheca, the northernmost of the Pearl Islands.

The buccaneer fleet, consisting of ten vessels of different sizes was deficient in men and cannon, but sufficient in musketry, so it was the policy of Edward Davis to avoid long range fighting, and close in quickly for musket fire and boarding. About three o'clock in the afternoon, he got the weather-gage of the Spaniards, and gave the order to bear down upon them. This was the high-water mark of the Buccaneers in the South Sea. A voluntary and heterogeneous band of adventurers, without a national support, and with only such supplies and pay as they themselves could secure, now threatened Spanish dominion in these waters; with a likelihood of controlling the Isthmus, and severing Spain's possessions in America. Captain Davis had the largest number of trained seamen and fighters ever brought together under the Buccaneer flag in the Pacific, and had the wind of the enemy.

He directed Grognet to board the Spanish vice-admiral, while he went against the main division of their fleet. Grognet refused to engage the enemy, and even Swan shortened sail; so that lacking the support of his principal ships, Davis had to retire, exchanging a few shots with the vice-admiral. At night, the Spanish admiral anchored; but showed a light on a small vessel, which he sent to leeward. This the buccaneers followed, and in the morning found themselves to leeward of the *flota*, which now bore down upon them. Deeming it imprudent to fight under these disadvantages, the buccaneers did not wait for them. Townley, being hard pressed, escaped through a narrow passage between some islets on the south side of Pacheca. Davis and Swan, who had the fastest sailers, held back to delay the Spaniards; who declined to board, but held off and used their big guns.⁴⁰ There was some fine seamanship displayed, but very little fighting; for after a circuitous chase, lasting all day, the buccaneers anchored by Pacheca, nearly in the same spot from which they had started in the morning. The next day, the Spanish fleet was seen at anchor three leagues to leeward. When the wind freshened a little at ten o'clock, the Spaniards took up their anchors; but instead of making towards the buccaneers, they sailed away to Panama. Davis knew by the Spanish fleet coming from Panama that the trea-

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sure must have been landed, and he could have little motive for urging the fight; but it was the duty of the Spanish admiral, at all hazards, to at least attempt to destroy the enemies of his country, and strike such terror into them as would discourage others from invading the South Sea.

On the 1st of June, 1685, the buccaneer fleet sailed from the Bay of Panama for the island Quibo.⁴¹ Dissatisfaction at the outcome of their operations at Panama led to dissensions, and the short-lived confederacy resolved into its elements. During July, 341 French filibustiers (or privateers, as war then existed between France and Spain) separated from the English under Davis, and went off under Captain Francois Grognet. They took *Pueblo Nuevo*, *Ria Lexa*, *Nicoya* and other places; and in January, 1686, ascended a river between Quibo and Point Burica, and surprised *Chiriquita* [David]. Later, they united with Captain Townley; and on April 10th, 1686, captured *Granada*, firing the houses.

On the 20th of July, 1685, Edward Davis, with all the English, and fourteen French under Jean Rose, departed from Quibo and sailed to the northwest. In August they possessed the city of *Leon* without resistance, which they plundered; and on the 14th set fire to the place and returned to the coast. No expedition of magnitude being in view, the English divided; Captain Swan saluting Davis with 15 guns, and Captain Davis saluting Swan with 11 guns.

Captain Swan, in the "*Cygnet*," sailed up towards the gulf of California. On February 19th, 1686, at *Santa Pecaque*,⁴² Mexico, he lost a lot of men, Basil Ringrose among the number.

⁴¹ Dampier, who was in Davis' ship, says—"The Spanish admiral and the rest of his squadron began to play at us and we at them as fast as we could: yet they kept at distant cannonading. They might have laid us aboard if they would, but they came not within Small-arms' shot, intending to maul us in pieces with their great guns."

⁴² Two buccaneers were killed by serpents at Quibo. Lussan writes: "Here are serpents whose bite is so venomous that speedy death inevitably ensues, unless the patient can have immediate recourse to a certain fruit, which must be chewed and applied to the part bitten. The tree which bears this fruit grows here and in other parts of America. It resembles the almond-tree in France in height and in its leaves. The fruit is like the sea-chestnut (*Chataines de Mer*) but is of a grey colour, rather bitter in taste, and contains in its middle a whitish almond. The whole is to be chewed together before it is applied. It is called *Graine à Serpent*, the serpent berry."

⁴³ Swan lost 54 Englishmen, and 9 negroes; the greatest calamity suffered by the Buccaneers in the South Sea, excepting the 100 killed under Morgan at Old Panama.

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March 31st, 1686, Captain Swan started across the Pacific, having on board William Dampier. The first land they touched was *Guahan* (Guam), and afterwards they went to *Mindanao* in the Philippine group.

Captain Townley returned to the Bay of Panama, and took and burnt *Lavelia* [La Villa], securing some of the treasure landed there by the Spanish *flota* more than a year before. August 22nd, 1686, Townley, in command of English and French buccaneers, was lying at *Taboga*, when they were attacked by three Spanish vessels armed with cannon. One of the Spanish ships blew up, when the other two were taken, as well as a fourth which arrived from Panama as a reinforcement. The buccaneer loss was only one killed, and twenty-two wounded, including Captain Townley. Townley sent a messenger to the President of Panama, Don Pedro Ponte y Llerena, Count of Palmar, demanding supplies, the release of five buccaneers held prisoners, and ransom for his numerous captives. The President sent only some medicines; when the buccaneer chief dispatched a second message, threatening to send the President the heads of all his Spanish prisoners if his demands were not acceded to. The President paid little attention to this threat; but on receiving the heads⁴³ of twenty Spaniards, he hastened to release the five buccaneers, and pay a ransom for the remaining men. On September 9th, Captain Townley died of the wound he received in the battle at *Taboga*.

August 27th, 1685, Captain Davis parted from Swan at *Ria Lexa* [Realejo]; sailing with the vessels of Knight, and Harris, and a tender which with his own ship, the "Bachelor's Delight," made four in all. Above 130 of the men fell ill of a spotted fever, attributed to the unwholesome air or bad water at *Ria Lexa*⁴⁴; in consequence of which Davis sailed to *Amapalla Bay*; where they built huts on one of the islands for the sick, who were attended by the surgeon, Lionel Wafer. While here, they went to the mainland to seek food at a "Beef-Eftantion" (*estancia*); where the Doctor investigated a river of hot water which issued out from under a hill. After many had died of the fever, the disease abated; and the fleet sailed south to *Cocos*

⁴³ "Ce moyen etoit a la verité un peu violent, mais c'etoit l'unique pour mettre les Espagnols a la raison."—*Journal du Voyage au Mer du Sud*," par Raveneau de Lussan.

⁴⁴ The rarity of disease among the Buccaneers has already been remarked.

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Island, where were plenty of coconuts,⁴⁵ as the name would indicate. Peter Harris departed from here for the East Indies.

Davis cruised off the coast of Peru for some time, taking prizes and raiding the towns. When in possession of *Payta* he intercepted a courier with a message from the governor of Guayaquil to the viceroy at Lima, informing him that *Guayaquil* was in the hands of the buccaneers, and that he should hasten warships to the place. Captain Davis immediately hurried to the aid of his brethren, and on May 14th, 1687, arrived in the Bay of Guayaquil; finding the French under Grognet, and the English under George Hout (who had succeeded Townley) masters of the town. Captain Grognet was mortally wounded in the fight, and Le Picard was chosen chief of the filibustiers. A large amount of money was included in the booty, besides jewels, church-plate, and merchandise. Davis came up just in time to help fight the Spanish frigates, and save the plunder, so shared in the distribution of the spoils.

All hands now had sufficient wealth to think of returning to the West Indies. While the Spaniards had failed to suppress the buccaneers in the South Sea, they had succeeded in making a treaty with the Darien Indians; in consequence of which the Isthmian route was no longer open to the buccaneers. Davis had a stout ship, and proposed to go back by sea; being joined by most of the English. No other vessel in their possession was strong enough for this undertaking; so all the French, with many of the English, sailed north to the *Bay of Amapalla*. Here the party destroyed their vessels, and on the 1st of January, 1688, landed on the mainland, dividing into four companies of seventy men each. After stealing sixty-eight horses, they "said their Prayers," and started across the continent on the 2nd, loaded down with silver and plunder. The people offered but little opposition, and on January 11th the buccaneers entered *Segovia*, finding it deserted and cleared of provisions.

January 17th, they came to Wank river, which they descended

⁴⁵After telling of the excellent fresh water, and a delightful water-fall, at Cocos Island, Wafer writes,—“One day, some of our men being minded to make themselves merry went ashore and cut down a great many cocoa-nut trees, from which they gathered the fruit, and drew about twenty gallons of the milk. They then sat down and drank healths to the king and queen, and drank an excessive quantity; yet it did not end in drunkenness: but this liquor so chilled and benumb'd their nerves that they could neither go nor stand. Nor could they return on board without the help of those who had not been partakers of the frolic, nor did they recover under four or five days' time.”

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on rafts to the Caribbean Sea, which they entered to the south of *Cape Gracias á Dios*. The English remained for a time with their friends, the Mosquito Indians; but the French dispersed. About seventy-five went to Jamaica, and were imprisoned by the governor, the Duke of Albermarle. The following year, on the death of the duke, they were released; but neither their arms nor plunder were restored to them.

From Guayaquil, Captain Davis sailed again to the Galapagos, and Juan Fernandez; refitting and careening his ship for the homeward voyage. Sailing southward, he passed around the Horn without seeing land, but encountered so many ice islands that Davis ran far to the east before steering northward. The party reached the West Indies in the spring of 1688; at a time when the king of England had issued a pardon to all buccaneers who would abandon their calling.

The English governors refused longer to countenance the buccaneers, and piracy became unprofitable as well as illegal. Following the accession of William III. to the crown of Great Britain, England joined Spain in war against the French. This divided the French and English buccaneers, who united with the regular troops on either side, and they never afterwards confederated in any buccaneer enterprise. In the West Indies, the French attacked the English part of St. Christopher (the site of their original settlements) and drove the inhabitants over to Nevis. The next year, the English returned and took St. Christopher from the French. At this time, the French fibustiers stole so many negroes from the English in Jamaica, that in derision they called that island "Little Guinea."

The French became alarmed at the number of *habitans*, or settlers, leaving Saint Domingue and other colonies in the West Indies, and relaxed in her prohibitions, and in severity towards the fibustiers.

The last large buccaneering undertaking was the capture and sack of *Cartagena*, in 1697, by a force of French regulars, under the Baron de Pointis; effectively aided by about 1200 fibustiers, settlers, and negroes, headed by M. du Casse, governor of the French colonies in Hispaniola. On May 3rd. the city capitulated, when M. de Pointis stationed the French buccaneers outside the walls, while he and his officers gathered in the treasure, amounting to from 20,000,000 to 40,000,000 livres. The last of the month, he sailed away with his regular armament; leaving a paltry 40,000 crowns to the fibustiers. The

Four hundred sixty-eight

latter, who had already embarked, returned to the unfortunate city, and extracted nearly 5,000,000 livres more from the miserable inhabitants. On the way back towards Hispaniola, the filibustiers encountered the combined English and Dutch fleets, from which De Pointis had just escaped by superior sailing. Two of the buccaneer ships were taken; two driven on shore, the crew of one being captured by the Spaniards; while the five others managed to reach *Isle à Vache* in safety.

In September, 1697, the treaty signed at Ryswick put an end, for a time, to war between the rival nations in the West Indies, With no headquarters, and no ports open to them wherein to riot and dispose of their plunder, the loose association of sea-rovers known as "Buccaneers" ceased to exist. "Their distinctive mark, which they undeviatingly preserved for nearly two centuries, was their waging constant war against the Spaniards, and against them only."⁴⁶ Many followed the sea as legitimate mariners, or settled down as honest planters among the islands. Some still sailed about the world for booty; a few going to the Bahamas, making Providence Island⁴⁷ their home, there to propagate a breed of common pirates to scourge the seas during the next century. Several of the old filibustiers located among the Darien Indians, who had resumed their hostility to the Spaniards on the Isthmus. We read that in 1702 a party of Englishmen, having commissions from the governor of Jamaica, landed in Darien; where they were joined by the old buccaneers who had married natives, and also by three hundred Indians. They drove the Spaniards from some mines, and captured seventy negroes; whom they kept at work twenty-one days, and obtained about eighty pounds of gold.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Captain Burney.

⁴⁷ Called New Providence to distinguish it from the island of Old Providence (Santa Catarina). A saying arose in the West Indies that "shipwrecks and pirates were the only hopes of the island of Providence."

⁴⁸ In the account of this expedition by Nathaniel Davis, he relates that, in the year 1702, Col. Peter Beckford, Lieut-Governor of Jamaica, granted commissions to the captains of four sloops "to go a Privateering" against the French and Spaniards. On the 24th July, they sailed from Jamaica, and soon came to the "Sambaloes-Keys," off Darien, where they were joined by other ships. Don Pedro, King of the Indians, treated with the privateers, and promised to furnish 300 Indians, and guide them through the woods up to the Mines. The 482 Englishmen disembarked up a river at the Barkadeers, or landing-place, on the 19th of August. The usual hard hiking followed, and some Spanish scouts were killed.

"This day" [August 29th] "we marched over the highest of all the

THE BUCCANEERS IN PANAMA BAY

"In the history of so much robbery and outrage the rapacity shown in some instance by the European governments in their West-India transactions, and by governors of their appointment, appears in a worse light than that of the buccaneers, from whom, they being professed ruffians, nothing better was expected. The superior attainments of Europeans, though they have done much towards their own civilization, chiefly in humanising their institutions, have, in their dealings with the inhabitants of the rest of the globe, with few exceptions, been made the instruments of usurpation and extortion."⁴⁰

Mountains, and such a one as I thought Man could not be able to get up: I do really believe it could not be less than seven or eight miles high. Some of our Men imagined it to be within a Stone's cast of Heaven, and would willingly have tarry'd there, especially being much wearied with the Fatigue they underwent, and supposing they should never come again so near the blissful Region."

On the 30th, the English and Dariens took Cana, a town of 900 houses, with one church. Most of the Spaniards had fled with their wealth. The privateers worked the mines for a week with the negro captives and departed on September 7th, after firing the town. Chief Pedro killed the old *padre* with a stone before leaving. The native allies were not so attentive on the way back, and the white men suffered much from lack of food and from sleeping in the rain. September 18th, the privateers were back at the Barkadeers [*embarcadero*, doubtless].

⁴⁰ Captain Burney.

When in Golfo Dulce, in June, 1681, a prisoner taken in the Gulf of Nicoya told the Buccaneers of the Stratagem of War by means of which the Spaniards had forced a Peace upon the Indians of the Province of Darien.

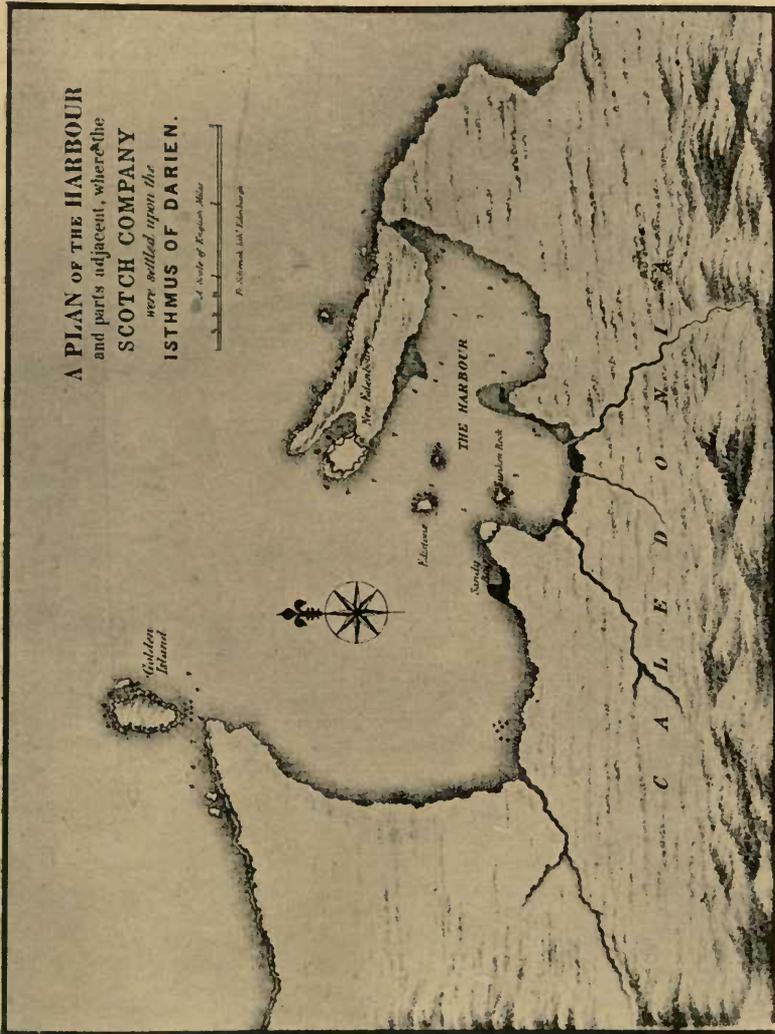
"The Manner was as follows. A certain *Frenchman*, who ran from us, at the Island of *Taboga*, to the *Spaniards*, was sent by them in a Ship to the River's Mouth, which emptieth itself from that Province into the *South Sea*. Being arrived there, he went ashore by himself in a Canoe, and told the *Indians*, that the *English* who had passed that Way, were come back from their Adventures in the *South Sea*. Withal he asked them, if they would not be so kind and friendly to the *Englishmen*, as to come aboard and conduct them on Shore? The poor deceived *Indians* were very joyful to understand this good News; and thus forty of the Chiefest of them went on board the *Spanish Vessel*, and were immediately carried Prisoners of War to *Panama*. Here they were forced to conclude a Peace, though upon Terms very disadvantageous to them, before they could obtain their Liberty."

Boucaniers of America—vol 2, p. 56.

Four hundred seventy

A PLAN OF THE HARBOUR
 and parts adjacent, where the
SCOTCH COMPANY
 were settled upon the
ISTHMUS OF DARIEN.

A Scale of English Miles
 P. Situated bet. Latitude 8



From *The Darien Papers*.

CALEDONIA BAY AND NEW EDINBURGH.

The old town of Acla, where Balboa was beheaded, probably was located near the mouth of the Algasniqua river, represented on the left.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE DARIEN COLONY.

"You are going to have the fever,
Yellow eyes!
In about ten days from now
Iron bands will clamp your brow;
Your tongue resemble curdled cream,
A rusty streak the centre seam;
Your mouth will taste of untold things,
With claws and horns and fins and wings;
Your head will weigh a ton or more,
And forty gales within it roar!

In about ten days from now,
Make to health a parting bow;
For you're going to have the fever,
Yellow eyes!"

James Stanley Gilbert.



THE many attempts by white men to settle within the tropics, none has been more quickly fatal, nor attended with greater disasters, than the project of the people of Scotland to establish a colony in Darien.

Soon after Spain acquired most of the Americas, other nations endeavored to secure for themselves either the trade, or a part of her possessions, in the New World. When foreign ships succeeded in penetrating the exclusiveness with which Spain surrounded her American colonies, and returned to Europe with the rich spoils of the West Indies, commercial companies sprang up to exploit the trade of those regions. It remained for William Paterson, a Scotchman, to formulate a plan for traffic and conquest that, for audacity and comprehensiveness, outshines any other scheme that has ever been projected by a private individual. Under the guise of planting a colony on the lands of the Darien Indians, it was no less than a filibustering expedition, and religious crusade,¹ into the Ameri-

¹ The intentions of the Darien Company are well expressed by Philo-Caledonius (Archibald Foyer) on the title-page of his brochure—"Scotland's present duty; or a call to the nobility, gentry, ministry, and commonalty of this land, to be duely affected with, and vigorously to act for, our common concern in Caledonia, as a means to enlarge Christ's kingdom, to benefit our selves, and to do good to all Protestant churches." Printed in 1700.

Four hundred seventy-one

THE DARIEN COLONY

can provinces of Catholic Spain; with the intention to secure possession of the Isthmus of America, fortify the ports, hold the passes over the cordillera, and control commerce between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.

William Paterson, founder of the Bank of England, and instigator of the Darien Colony, was born about April, 1658, in Scotland. He was the son of farmer John Paterson and Elizabeth his wife, of Skipmyre, in Dumfriesshire. At an early age, William Paterson left home and went to Bristol, where he resided with a kinswoman of his mother. After visiting Amsterdam, in Holland, Paterson sailed to the West Indies; where he became, they say, a merchant, a missionary, and a buccaneer. He may have been all of these, as, in those days, there was nothing inconsistent in being a Protestant missionary and robbing Spain at the same time. Either as a trader, or from personal² observation, or from William Dampier, Lionel Wafer, and other buccaneers, Paterson acquired some information about the Isthmus, and the richness and possibilities of commerce in the South Sea.

Having accumulated a moderate fortune, Paterson returned to Europe with a brilliant and dazzling Scheme simmering in his head. The recent exploits of the Buccaneers were on every tongue, and the gifted financier³ appreciated fully the wealth of the New World, and was quick to grasp the advantages held by Spain in her possession of the only passes across the continent of America, and of the ports on both seas leading thereto. As expressed later, in his Memorial⁴ to the King, Paterson resented the arbitrary division of the world between Portugal and Spain, and their monopoly of the trade of the East and West Indies. In the treaty of Ryswick, just made between the Bourbon kings of France and Spain, he saw additional reasons for Great Britain to secure the command of the seas, and of the American ports and passes; which would give her the umpirage of the world.

² It is stated that Paterson made excursions over the Isthmus, but he could not have traveled very far, if what Dalrymple makes him say is true:—"The hills are clothed with tall trees without any underwood, so that one may gallop conveniently among them many miles, free from sun and rain, unless of a great continuance."

³ "He was a great authority upon trade and upon finance; an eminent political economist; a practical statesman; and a sagacious colonial projector:—a powerful writer, a true patriot, and a thoroughly honest man."—S. Bannister.

⁴ Generally called Paterson's "*Central America*."—"On free trade it anticipates the logic of Adam Smith and the legislation of our day:

THE DARIEN COLONY

"Thus these *doors* of the seas, and the keys of the universe, would, of course, be capable of enabling their possessors to give laws to both oceans, and to become the arbitrators of the commercial world, without being liable to the fatigues, expenses, and dangers, or of contracting such guilt and blood as Alexander and Cæsar."

England would be the centre country, and London the centre city. "Trade will increase trade, and money will beget money, and the trading world shall need no more to want work for their hands, but will rather want hands for their work," Pater-son then describes the interoceanic routes, or passes, over the American continent, which I tabulate as follows :

Pass of Magellan, or Cape Horn.

" " La Plata.

" " Uraba, "usually called by the natives Cacarico or Paya."

" " Tubugantee.

" " Conception, "near forty leagues to the eastward of Chagre."

" " Chagre.

" " Nicaragua.

" " Vera Cruz—Acapulco.

"These ports and passes, being possessed and fortified may be easily secured and defended by eight or ten thousand men against any force, not only there already, but that can possibly be found in those places which are not only the most convenient *doors* and *inlets* into, but likewise the readiest and securest means, first of gaining, and afterwards for ever keeping, the command of the spacious South Sea, which, as hath been already said, as it is the greatest, so even, by what thereof we already know, it is by far the richest side of the world.

in policy it advises what Milton effected with the pen,—Cromwell and Chatham with the sword,—Canning and Lord Palmerston with peaceful diplomacy,—to defend in America the liberties of Europe, still looking westward in our day, in a new and perilous crisis of social progress. It even foreshadows for Central America, as a great highway of commerce, the neutrality provided by our late treaty⁹ with the United States; and the information it contains from actual inspection of a country little known even now, will assist in carrying out the greatest work of our time, *a ship passage to the Pacific.*"

S. Bannister, 1857.

⁹The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, of 1850; an inexcusable and humiliating blunder in our diplomacy.

Four hundred seventy-three

THE DARIEN COLONY

Those ports, so settled with passes open, through them will flow at least two-thirds of what both Indies yield to Christiandom, the sum whereof in gold, silver, copper, spices, saltpetre, pearls, emeralds, stones of value, and such like, will hardly amount to less than 30 millions of pounds sterling yearly. The time and expense of the voyage to China, Japan, and the richest part of the East Indies, will be lessened more than a half, and the consumption of European commodities soon be more than doubled, and afterwards yearly increased.”* * * * *

“First, That after having possessed ourselves of these doors of what the Spanish use to proudly call their king’s summer chambers, or more properly speaking, the keys of the Indies and doors of the world, the passes between the seas and of the Gulf of Florida,¹ we endeavour to secure the same to posterity by breaking to pieces those unheard of prohibitions and exclusions in all those places of the world.”

The most important region, in Paterson’s opinion, was the Isthmus of America, which he reckoned to extend from the Gulf of Urabá on the east to the river of Chagre on the west. Paterson proposed to fortify the Isthmus, and Havannah; replace the old, decrepid, and decayed government of Spain; free the Indians from the Spaniards, and the Spaniards from their priests; establish free trade; and permit liberty of conscience—according to the Scotch idea of what constituted liberty.

Paterson believed the best pass across the Isthmus was the one he calls Tubugantee, through the lands of the friendly Darien Indians; from Caledonia Bay on the Caribbean, south to the Gulf of San Miguel (which he calls “Gulf of Ballona”).

“From this harbor on the north, which is very convenient and defensible, they have but seven short French leagues of good, or at least easily capable of being made good, way to a place called *Swattee*; and from Swattee to the navigable part of the river of *Tubugantee* there is about two leagues more, the which, by reason of a steep hill and the frequent occasion there is of passing and repassing a river, is at present troublesome enough; but that two leagues might likewise easily be made good and passable by an industrious hand.”

Arrived in Europe, Paterson offered his plan to Frederick

* Paterson outdid the Pope—the latter donated unknown lands to Portugal and Spain; the former wanted the entire earth and the fulness thereof for his company.

¹ Gulf of Mexico.

THE DARIEN COLONY

William, Elector of Brandenburg; and to the cities of Embden, and Bremen; but with no result. He favored the Revolution of 1688, and frequented the coffee-houses of Amsterdam. Paterson returned to England, and settled in London as a merchant; becoming prominent in financial circles. In 1691, with Michael Godfrey and others, he was the chief projector of the Bank of England. In 1695, owing to differences with his colleagues, Paterson voluntarily withdrew from the bank, selling his qualification of 2000 pounds. He then went to Scotland, and was introduced by Andrew Fletcher, of Saltoun, to the leaders of the government, whom he told of his scheme.

At this time, Scotland was recovering from the political and religious disturbances incident to the Revolution of 1688, and seeking an opportunity for commercial expansion. The Scottish Parliament, in 1693, had passed an Act for Encouraging Trade "with any country not at war with their majesties"—to the East and West Indies, the Straits and Mediterranean, Africa and the northern parts. This paved the way for Paterson, and he found the people eager for speculation, and receptive to his scheme.

On the 26th of June, 1695, Scotland enacted an act creating "The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies"⁸—occasionally referred to as the African Company; but generally known as the '*Darien Company*.' The same day, it was approved by the King's commissioner, the Marquis of Tweeddale, and became a law. The Company was given monopoly in Scotland of the trade with Asia, Africa, or America, for 31 years; and freedom from taxation for 21 years. The Company was authorized to take possession of uninhabited territories in any part of Asia, Africa, or America; or in any other place by consent of the natives, if not possessed by any European sovereign; and there to plant colonies, found towns, build ships of war, make reprisals, and defend her trade by force of arms. The Company could make and conclude treaties, and, indeed, perform all the functions of a sovereign state; more, in fact, than Scotland herself possessed. In token of allegiance, the Company was to pay yearly to his Majesty, if required, "a Hogshhead of Tobacco, in Name of Blench Duty."

⁸ Paterson framed the first draft of the Act establishing the Company. The Company agreed to give him 12,000 pounds, and 3 per cent. of the profits for 21 years; or an additional 12,000 pounds. After the union of England and Scotland, Parliament, in 1715, voted Paterson 18,000 pounds to reimburse him for his losses, and in appreciation of his services to the state.

THE DARIEN COLONY

The Scotch were envious of England's lucrative Colonial trade, resented the monopoly exercised by the East India Company of London, and gave up their money freely. The scheme appealed particularly to the ladies, and doctors of medicine—probably because they have less financial sense than other members of society. Anne, Duchess of Hamilton and Chastlerault, headed the Edinburg list; Provost Anderson the Glasgow subscribers, and Paterson, himself, the London subscriptions; each for the maximum amount of 3000 pounds. In addition to the large number of individual subscribers,⁹ nearly every town and borough in Scotland took shares, so that it was a thoroughly national enterprise.¹⁰

Very soon after the formation of the "Darien Company," the East India Company bitterly opposed it; London and Holland withdrew their subscriptions; Spain saw danger in it, and protested; and William III. weakened and announced that he had been ill-advised in the matter. The English parliament even impeached some of its members for joining in a scheme so injurious to English trade. The Company started to do a banking business, and issued banknotes¹¹; which excited the hostility of the Bank of Scotland, which held a monopoly under the law.

In spite of all this opposition, the Scots, who at this time were separate from England, went ahead with their project. One of the first moves of the Company, August 22nd, 1696, was

⁹ "The people of Scotland," says Bishop Burnett, "lost almost 200,000 pounds sterling upon the project, besides all the imaginary treasure they had promised themselves from it."

The stock of the Company was unlimited. The amount subscribed was never all paid in, and many persons who eagerly put down their names, had to be sued for the money. J. S. Barbour states that the actual cash paid up by subscribers in respect of calls was £153,448, 5s, 4 2-3d., along with £65,646, 3s, 2 2-3d. of overdue interest. The loss in principal and interest amounted to £219,094, 8s 7½d.

However, one of the last acts of the Scottish Parliament, March 25, 1707, was to appropriate funds to reimburse the Darien subscribers for their losses.

¹⁰ "From the Pentland Firth to the Solway, every one who had a hundred pounds was impatient to put down his name"—Macaulay, "*History of England*."

¹¹ They also issued coins bearing the Company's crest, "the sun rising out of the sea," under the bust of King William. These were minted from gold-dust brought back by the "African Merchant," Captain Bell, which the Company sent to the gold coast of Africa, in 1699. The coins, called pistoles and half-pistoles, bear the date of 1701; and were the last gold coins made by the Scotch mint.

THE DARIEN COLONY

to instruct John Munro, Doctor of Medicine, along with four Chirurgeon—Apothecaries, to prepare “Proper Medicaments” sufficient to last 1500 men for two years. He employed gunsmiths at making pistols at 17 or 18 shillings a pair, and bought “a bargain of Bibles and Catechisms” from the widow of Andrew Anderson, printer. From Jeromie Robertson, he secured “Campaign Wigs and Bobb Wigs”; and also ascertained the cheapest price of beef and cod-fish. Beef, pork, biscuit, vinegar, brandy, and other stores were accumulated in the Company’s warehouse in Miln Square, Edinburgh.

The English were forbidden to supply ships or sailors, so the Company was forced to go to Amsterdam and Hamburg for vessels and stores. The business of the Company was badly managed, and one of the agents absconded with 8000 pounds. November 20th, 1697, three ships arrived in Leith Roads from Holland, and wintered up the Firth. On the 12th of March, 1698, the Directors announced that they were ready, and called for volunteers, to be indentured for three years, and maintained by the Company. “Everyone who goes on the first Equipage shall Receive and Possess Fifty Acres of Plantable Land and 50 Foot Square of ground at least in the Chief City or Town, and an ordinary House built thereupon by the Colony at the end of 3 years.” Modern land-boomers have nothing over the old seventeenth century promoters.

The people were wild for the scheme, and a famine in Scotland helped to swell the number of volunteers. Fully 1200 colonists were selected; 300 of whom were designated as Gentlemen-Volunteers. Among the colonists were many soldiers, just returned from the war in Flanders, thrown out of employment by the Peace of Ryswick; 60 ex-officers enlisted as “Overseers,” and “Sub-Overseers;” and the soldiers who had served under them, as “Planters.”

On July 8th, 1698, the Directors of the Company appointed a Council for the proposed Colony, consisting of seven men; viz.—Major James Cunningham of Eickett, Mr. James Montgomery, Mr. Daniel Mackay, Capt. Robert Jolly, Capt. Robert Pennicuik, Capt. William Vetch, Capt. Robert Pinkarton. Some of these were also captains of the ships; and “not one fit for government,” so Paterson wrote.

The first expedition of the Darien Colony sailed from Leith

Four hundred seventy-seven

THE DARIEN COLONY

on the 26th of July, 1698. "Twelve hundred men sailed in five stout ships," says Sir John Dalrymple.

1. The *St. Andrew*—Captain Robert Pennicuik.
2. The *Unicorn*—Captain Robert Pinkerton.
3. The *Caledonia*—Captain Robert Drummond.
4. The *Endeavour* (Pink) } Tenders and supply ships.
5. The *Dolphin* (Snow) }

The first three vessels¹² were heavily armed. It was a day of rejoicing and celebration in Scotland, and guards were required to keep unauthorized persons from going on the expedition. A number succeeded in stowing themselves away on the ships.¹³

Strange to say, Paterson had not been made a councillor or other official, nevertheless he took an active part in the preparations, and went along with the colonists. Mrs. Paterson, her maid, and a few more women, accompanied the party. Trouble beset the colony from the start. The supplies had not been inspected before sailing, as urged by Paterson, and the bread was found to be made of "damnified" wheat. Other provisions were also spoiled and defective; and, in a few days, all hands were put on short rations.

The fleet was directed to sail to Madeira, and there open the sailing orders. They landed at this place on August 29th, where the Council purchased 27 pipes of wine, and the officers and gentlemen-volunteers exchanged their scarlet coats, swords, and finery for something to eat. The Council now assumed authority to make Paterson a councillor, in place of Captain William Veitch, who was prevented from sailing with the colony. Here the first sailing orders were opened; which directed the fleet to go to Crab Island, east of Porto Rico. September 2nd, the Scots weighed anchor from Madeira roads, exchanging salutes with the shore. On the 10th, they crossed

¹² "St. Andrew, our first Tutelar was he,
The Unicorn must next supporter be,
The Caledonia doth bring up the rear
Fraught with brave hardy lads devoid of fear;
All splendidly equipt, and to the three
The Endeavour and the Dolphin handmaids be."
(Caledonia Triumphans).

¹³ History is but a repetition of the acts of men under different names and amid new scenes. The departure of the Caledonians from Leith reminds one of the sailing of Columbus on his second voyage. A crowd of ignorant people, hungry for death, seeking they knew not what; but hoping to better their condition, even though it be at the expense of their fellow creatures. The bait, too, was the same—gold.

Four hundred seventy-eight

THE DARIEN COLONY

the Tropic of Cancer, with the usual ceremony of ducking some of the crew three times from the main yard, "which was pretty good sport." On the 29th died Walter Johnson, Chirurgion's Mate. "He contracted a fever, and got his hands on *laudanum liquidum*, and took too large a dose, and so he slept till death."

October 2nd, Captain Pinkertoun¹⁵ in the Unicorn, with the Snow, and Mr. Paterson, went to the Island of St. Thomas, a free port of the Danes, to secure pilots for the Main. They returned with Captain Aletson (Allison), one of the oldest Privateers then living. He was with the Buccaneers when they crossed the Isthmus in 1680 for the South Sea; and along with Captain Macket and 33 men, was left behind at Golden Island to guard the seven vessels. On the 3rd, they went ashore on Crab Island, and took possession in the name of the Company. The Danes protested, as a matter of form, really wishing they would settle there. Here the ships took in water, which caused a flux among the colonists. They washed the vessels with vinegar, and used smoke, to stop the spread of the disease.

At Crab Island the second sailing orders were opened, and found to contain instructions to proceed to Golden Island in the Bay of Acla, near the Gulf of Darien. Oct. 23rd, one of the ministers, Mr. Thomas James, "a very good man," died of a fever, and had four dropping guns fired at his throwing over. Forty-four of the colonists died on the voyage to Darien. On the 30th, the fleet arrived at the Isthmus, and anchored in a fine sandy bay, about two leagues westward of the Gulf of Darien. The next day some went in boats to Carret Bay,¹⁶ two leagues to the west, looking for their destination. On the 1st of November, the ships sailed westward, and anchored within half a mile of Golden Island. "On the main and all the bay round full of mangroves and swampy ground, which is very unwholesome." The next day, Captain Andreas (Chief Andrés), with about a dozen Indians, came off from the shore, and asked why they came, and if the Scots were friends to the Spaniards. The colonists replied that they came to settle and

¹⁴ For this part of the narrative, we are indebted to the Journal of Mr. Hugh Rose, perhaps, Secretary to the Council. His record was sent home, December 28th, 1698, with the first report of the colony. Given in "*The Darien Papers*."

¹⁵ Captain Pinkerton has the distinction of having his name spelled in more different ways than any other official of the colony.

¹⁶ Puerto Carreto (Caretta).

THE DARIEN COLONY

trade. Andreas praised the Buccaneer Captains, Swan and Davis.

In the afternoon of the 2nd, the Scots went in boats to examine the bay four miles east of Golden Island, and found it to be an excellent harbor, capable of containing 1000 of the best ships in the world. This bay was about a league in length, and about a mile wide, with wet marshy ground about. In the middle of the entry to this bay (afterwards called Caledonia Bay), and showing three feet above the water, was a rock; doubtless the same called Black Rock by Mr. Paterson in his report.¹⁷ Not far away was a small rock under water. The port was formed, and sheltered from the sea, by a peninsula three miles in length, and half a mile broad. Facing the Caribbean, the shore of the peninsula was rocky and steep. The peninsula was not inhabited by Indians, and was covered with cedars, mahogany, Brazil-wood, lignum vitae, fustic, manchineel, and other trees. Several springs were found on this tongue of land.

November 3rd, 1698—"This day we landed and took possession," writes Mr. Rose. Captain Andreas again visited the ships; this time with his traveling wife, "having in all four." He carried a stave tipt with silver, and pumped the Scots as to their intentions.

The point of the peninsula presented a flat, sandy surface, and was selected as the site of their settlement, which was named New Edinburgh. A battery of 16 guns, erected to command the harbor, was called Fort St. Andrew. The narrowest part of the peninsula, only 180 paces in width, was cut through to let in the sea, thus converting New Edinburgh into an island, and furnishing additional defence for the town and fort. Pursuant to orders from the Directors, the region was called *Caledonia*, and the port became known as *Caledonia Bay*.

When the *Unicorn* entered the harbor, on Nov. 4th, she struck that sunken rock, and tore off some of her sheathing. Men were landed from each ship to clear away the brush, fell trees, and build huts.¹⁸ The sick were put ashore as soon as shelters were constructed. In a few days, Mrs. Paterson died, and dropping guns were fired at her burial. Paterson's clerk, Thomas Fenner, was already dead.

On the 15th of November, the young colony was visited by Captain Richard Long, of the English warship *Rupert Prize*.

¹⁷ "The Darien Papers."

¹⁸ A look-out was erected on a hill, "about a mile high," from which ships could be seen ten leagues at sea.

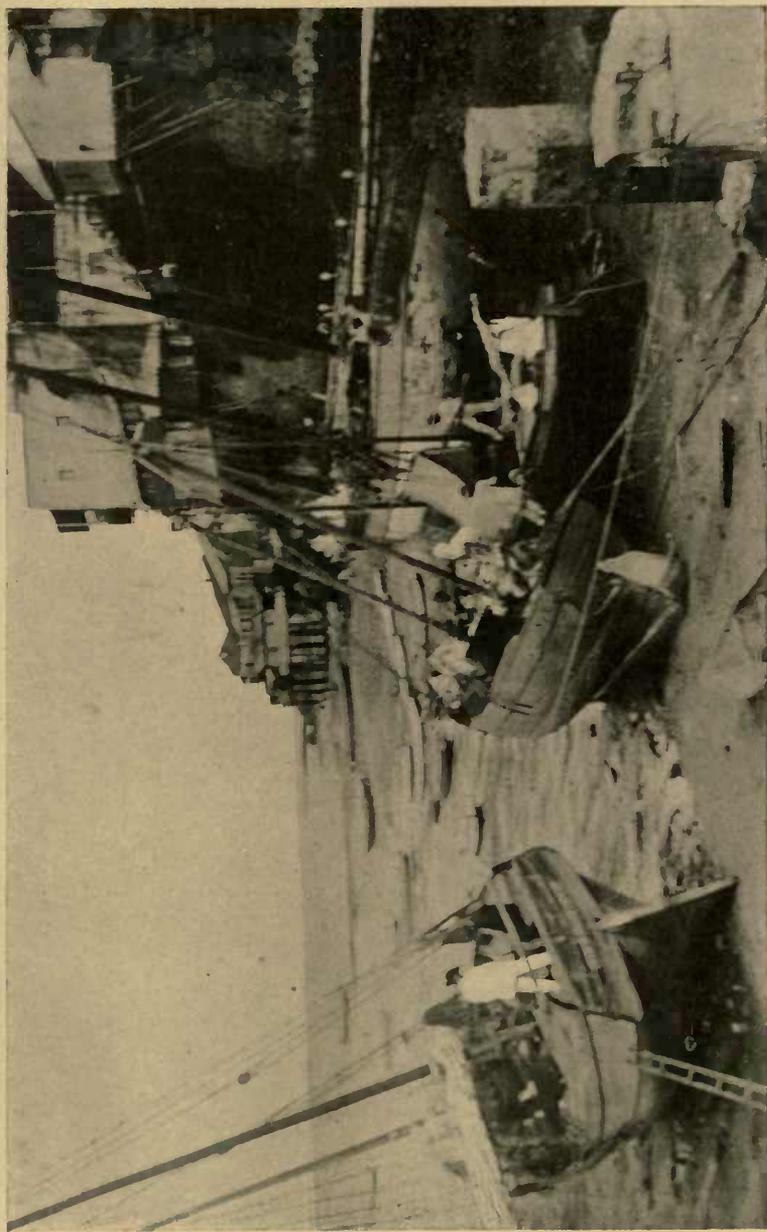


Photo by the Author.

SEA-WALL OF PANAMA AT LOW TIDE.

THE DARIEN COLONY

Captain Long (Lang, as they spelled it) was a spy sent out by King William to discover the location of the Scots. On the 19th, several of the Councillors set out towards the west to explore the coast; and in a few days entered an excellent harbor, where the Buccaneers used to careen their vessels. They then landed at the river Coco, and visited Chief Ambrosio,¹⁹ and his son-in-law Pedro, "a brisk little fellow," who could speak Spanish and French, and who lived with him.

Nov. 21st, Mr. Adam Scott, the last preacher, died of a flux. Under date of the 28th, Mr. Rose writes: "These 24 houres ther has fallen a prodigious quantity of rain."

On the 3rd of December, Andreas was commissioned one of the Company's Captains, and given a basket-hilted sword, and a pair of good pistols. His commission was written on parchment, with the Colony's seal and a very broad "gold stript and flour'd ribbon appended." Seven guns were discharged in honor of the new Captain and the Company. Andreas immediately qualified by drinking freely with the Council, on board the *St. Andrew*, and getting drunk like an officer and a gentleman. On the 13th, a French ship, the *Maurepas*, came in the harbor and saluted the Commodore (the *St. Andrew*, Captain Pennicuik). Her commander, Captain Duvivier Thomas, reported that he had come out with those that returned the church plate²⁰ to Cartagena. When the Frenchman sailed, on the 24th, the Captain was drunk, and the *Maurepas* was wrecked on the rocks on the west side of the bay, with the loss of a number of lives.²¹

On the 28th of December, 1698, Mr. Alexander Hamilton sailed on a turtling sloop (Capt. Edward Sands) with the first dispatch of the Colony, and Mr. Rose's Journal, for the Directors in Scotland. The first report of the Colony had few disasters to relate, and gave general satisfaction at home. Major Cunningham, one of the Council, suddenly severed his con-

¹⁹ "When they came near, Ambrosio advanced about 50 pace with 20 followers, all cloathed in white loose frocks with fringes round the bottoms, and lances in their hands. He saluted them very kindly, and gave them a calabash of liquor almost like lambswool, which they call Mischlew, being made of Indian corn and potatoes; this they get drunk with all often"—Rose's *Journal*.

²⁰ Stolen by the French under De Pointis, in 1697. Louis XIV of France, as well as William of England, was now courting the friendship of Spain.

²¹ Caledonia Harbor is described as a safe port, easy for ships to get in, but hard for sailing vessels to get out of; because in the dry time, the wind from the north blows directly into the mouth of the harbor.

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nection with Caledonia, and left on the sloop with Mr. Hamilton.

Spain was much alarmed at the invasion and settlement by other Europeans of her American possessions; and that, too, in the "very Heart" of her domains, as the Spanish Ambassador asserted. The Spaniards well remembered how a few hundred Buccaneers had crossed and recrossed the Isthmus at will, sacked and burnt the towns, and captured Spanish galleons on both oceans. Captain Long, from Jamaica, reported to his government: "The Spaniards in this Country are in a great consternation about it and challenge it for their Country."

The Scotch invasion of Darien encouraged the liberals and progressives in the Spanish provinces to agitate for independence of the mother country. The slaves and *cimarrones* became troublesome. At Portobello, a body of 700 slaves, soon increased to 1,500, compelled the Governor to give them their freedom; when they went about "strutting and taking the right hand of their Masters, who dared not to say it was ill done."²² At London, the Ambassador Extraordinary from Spain presented the following Memorial to the King:—

"The Under Subscriber, Ambaffador Extraordinary of his Catholick Majefty, finds himself obliged by Expreffs Orders, to repretent to your Majefty, that the King his Master having received Information from different places, and laft of all from the Governor of *Havana*, of the Infult and Attempt of fome Scots Ships, equipp'd with Men and other things requifit, who defign to fettle themfelves in his Majefty's Sovereign Demains in *America*, and particularly the Province of *Darien*. His Majefty receiv'd those Advices with very much difcontent, and looks upon the fame as a Token of fmall Friendship, and as a Rupture of the Alliance betwixt the two Crowns (which his Majefty hath obferved hitherto, and always obferves very religioufly, and from which fo many Advantages and Profits have refulted both to your Majefty and your Subjects) as a Confequence of which good Correſpondence his Majefty did not expect ſuch sudden Infults and Attempts by your Majefty's Subjects, and that too in a time of Peace, without pretext (or any caufe) in the very Heart of his Demains.

All that the King defires, is, That this may be repretented to your Majefty, and that your Majefty may be acquainted, that

²² Rose' Journal.

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he is very fenible of fuch Hoftilities and unjuft Procedures, againft which his Majefty will take fuch Meafures as he thinks convenient. Given at London May 13-3, 1699."

The Governors of Panama and Cartagena gathered land and sea forces to go againft the invaders. As early as December 15th, Andreas reported the Spaniards passing over from Panama to Portobello, preparatory to attacking New Edinburgh. On the 23rd of the same month, Captain Ambrosio gave warning of 600 Spaniards, with 200 South Sea Indians, marching overland from Santa Maria. Captain Pincartone (Pinkerton), with 30 men and a boy, sailed in the Dolphin Snow for Barbadoes, to barter stores for provisions. February 5th, 1699, the vessel ran on a rock, and leaked fo badly that they were compelled to run her afhore under the walls of Cartagena; where the Spaniards held them on the charge of piracy.²³ On the 6th of February, a Spanish outpost in the lands of Captain Pedro, was driven back by Captain James Montgomery and a party of 100 men.

On the 24th of February, 1699, the Council made a Treaty²⁴ with Pedro, the principal chieftain of Darien, who could put 3000 warriors in the field. There fhould be peace between the Indians and Caledonians "as long as rivers ran, and gold was found in Darien."²⁵

April 24th, the Council and Deputies afsembled in a Parliament at New Edinburgh, and paffed 34 rules and ordinances for the government of the Colony. The firft regulation, at leaft, was a good one:

I. "In the firft place, it is hereby provided and declared, that the precepts, instructions, examples, comands, and prohibitions exprest and contained in the holy Scriptures, as of right they ought, fhall not only be binding and obliging, and have the full force and effect of lawes within this Colony, but are, were, and of right ought to be, the standart, rule, and meafure to all, the further and other constitutions, rules, and ordinances thereof."²⁶

²³ Capt. Pinkerton was fent to Spain for trial, and ultimately fet free. His men were difpersed among the Spanifh fhips in the Weft Indies. Andrew Livingfton, Chirurgion, efcaped from Cartagena to New Edinburgh early in 1700, for which the Council allowed him an extra fhare of brandy.

²⁴ Given in the Appendix.

²⁵ See the novel "*Darien*," by Eliot Warburton.

²⁶ "*The Darien Papers*, p. 113.

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The Colony was already in disorder, and these laws tended to hasten its dissolution.

In May, a French sloop, commanded by Captain Tristian, came to Darien from Petit Guavis, with a letter from Gov. Du Casse about the French wreck.

Captain Long reached London late in December, 1698, and reported to William all he had learned about the Darien Colony. Almost immediately, the King²⁷ issued secret orders to the English Colonial Governors in America, forbidding them to give food or any other assistance to the Scotch colonists, and directing that the Governors issue proclamations, strictly enjoining their people from holding any communication with the said persons. The order to Governor Nicholson of Virginia, found in the Va. State Library, runs as follows:

Whitehall, 2d Janry, 1698-9.

Sir,

His Maj.^{ty} having received Advice from the Island of Jamaica that severall Ships of force fitted out in Scotland were arrived at the Island of St. Thomas, (with an Inteficon as they Declared) to settle themselves in some part of America their design being unknown to his Ma.^{ty}, least the same should derogate from the treaties his Maj.^{ty} have entered into with the Crown of Spain or be otherwise prejudicial to any of his Maj.^{ts} Colonyes in the West Indies! his Maj.^{ty} Commands me to signify his Pleasure to you that you strictly enjoyn all his Maj.^{ty} Subjects or others inhabiting within the districts of your Governm't that they forbear holding any correspondence with, or giving any assistance to any of the said psons while they are engaged in the fores.^d enterprize, and that no provisions, arms, ammunitiion, or other necessarys whatsoever be carryed to them from thence, or be pmitted to be carryed either in their own Vessells or other Ships or Vessells for their use; his Maj.^{ty} requires that you do not fail herein; but take particular care that the above mentioned direcons be fully observed, and that

²⁷ Under the Act creating the Company, the King was required to interpose and obtain reparation should any foreign state injure the Company. Instead of which, William did all in his power to kill the enterprise. The Company and people of Scotland, very properly, blamed the King and English people for the failure of the Darien settlement. The bitterness thus engendered almost excited rebellion, and delayed the union of the two countries; which was not consummated until the year 1707.

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you send hither an account of your proceedings in the execucon of these his Commands.²⁸

I am Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

JA: VERNON.

Similar directions were sent to Lord Bellomont, Gov. of New York and New England; Gov. Beeston,²⁹ of Jamaica; Gov. Gray of Barbados; etc.

About this time, there appeared at Paris a pamphlet directed against the Darien Company. The anonymous writer affirmed that the Province of Darien belonged in entire sovereignty to the Catholic King, and that the irruption of the Scots was odious in all its circumstances; as a simple exposition of the facts would make clear.³⁰ He recounted the "Bulles" of Pope Alexander VI., and the donation of America to Spain. The author reviewed the history of the discovery of the Isthmus, the settlement of Santa Maria la Antigua in Darien, the regime of the Spanish governors, and the raids of Francis Drake and Oxenham; claiming that Spain forced Queen Elizabeth to surrender to Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador, the booty taken by Drake. This brochure held that Darien was as much settled as the western part of Ireland—from Sligo to Limerick—and asserted that the Spaniards were then in actual possession of Santa Maria de las Minas (Cana). "Que qui prouve pour le tout prouve pour le Partie," exclaimed the writer, at the completion of his argument.

²⁸ Hiram Bingham—"Virginia Letters on the Scots Darien Colony." American Historical Review, Vol X, No. 4, July, 1905. William knew at this time that the Scots had located on the Isthmus; but did not care to commit himself, lest he should be called to account by Spain, and enrage the Jacobites in Scotland. On June 18th, 1699, the King sent a second order to the Gov. of Virginia, in which he announces that the Company had taken possession of Caerat (or Carrat) Bay. Gov. Nicholson never proclaimed this order.

²⁹ Gov. Beeston was the first to issue a proclamation, April 8, 1699; and only three governors complied with the order.

³⁰ "Il est si notoire que le Province de Darien appartient en toute Souveraineté au Roi Catholique, & l'Irruption que les Ecoffois y ont faire cette année est si odieuse en toutes ses circonftances que la fimple exposition du fait devoit fufire en cette affaire pour tout eclarciffement.

"Le Darien au refte n'est pas feulement une Province dependante de la Couronne d'Éfpagne en America. C'est de plus la Porte de toutes les autres, c'en est le centre & le feul lieu que fa Majesté ait par terre pour la Communication de fes autres Etats Americains tant du Midi que du Septentrion."—*L'Affaire de Darien.*

Four hundred eighty-five

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As an off-set to this, we have the answer to the Memorial presented by the Spanish Ambassador; issued by Philo-Caledon, at Edinburgh, in the year 1699 ("MDC, XC, IX"). The author (Archibald Foyer), challenged the right of the Spaniards to hold Darien either by *Inheritance, Marriage, Donation, Purchase, Reversion, Surrender, Possession, or Conquest*. He claimed, truly, that the Darien Indians were never conquered; nor did they ever receive a Spanish governor or garrison. The writer quotes Dampier, Wafer, Sharp, and Ringrose, to show that the *Dariens* invited the English and French to come in, and joined in fighting the Spaniards. He further states that Captain Sharp was tried for robbery and piracy in England, and acquitted because of his commission from the Darien Princes.

Spain's only title to Darien lay in the general donation of America by the Pope. "To urge the Pope's Grant amongst Protestants is ridiculous, and among Papists themselves but precarious," affirms Philo-Caledon. He smashes the title by donation by showing that Rome did not make the gift for Conquest, but to propagate the Faith; which right the Spaniards had forfeited by acquitting themselves so ill; in proof of which he cites their Bishop of Chiapa, Las Casas, who asserted that instead of converting the souls of the Indians, the Spaniards destroyed their bodies, murdering above forty millions of them.

As an instance of their failure to convert the natives, the writer narrates the story of Prince Hathwey,³¹ who, while burning at the stake, preferred going to hell, when told that heaven was full of Spaniards. As a clincher to his argument, the writer claimed that the occupation of Darien by the Scots would promote closer union between England and Scotland, help the trade of England and the West Indies, and make money easy.

Partly as a result of the opposition of the King, and the proclamations against them—but more from their own unfitness for the climate, and the incompetence of their Councilors—the Caledonians did not last long in Darien. These pink-skinned northmen³² were as helpless among the tropical jungles

³¹ Cacique Hatuey, who dwelt in the eastern part of Cuba, whence he had fled from Haiti, to escape the atrocities of the white man.

³² "It was folly to suppose," says Macaulay, "that men born and bred within ten degrees of the Arctic Circle would enjoy excellent health within ten degrees of the Equator."

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as fish out of water. They scorned to learn of the Indians, and made no effort at planting or self-sustenance. The Scots brought out articles for trade, but the proclamations kept others away, and they were not able to secure enough food to keep themselves alive. The officials quarrelled and did nothing; and the colonists slowly starved, or quickly sickened and died. The Indians³³ kept the colony in constant alarm by reports of the Spaniards coming, and vainly urged the Scots to go against Santa Maria or Portobello.

The Darien Scheme was useless without a route across the Isthmus, and a port on each side. The Scots never attempted to reach the South Sea, or establish a post on the Gulf of San Miguel. If their leaders thought to accomplish this in time without fighting the Spaniards, they were simply fools, and deserved their fate. The mass of the colonists were innocent sufferers from the stupidity and incompetence of their officials.

The Carreto- Acla- Caledonia Pass³⁴ is the oldest route across the Isthmus known to the whites. From this region, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, in 1513, started out on his quest for the South Sea; and from Acla he established communication with the Gulf of San Miguel by way of the Rio Balsas. Acla (Agla) was the town founded in 1515 by Pedrarias, and was located probably at the mouth of the Rio Aglaseniqua, which empties into the western part of Caledonia Bay, opposite Golden Island.

Gil Gonzalez Dávila, like Balboa, transported his vessels from Acla across the mountains to the Rio Balsas, and so to the South Sea. The Buccaneers who congregated at Golden Island (the north-western headland of Caledonia Bay), landed on the mainland opposite, near the site of Acla; and thence they passed over the divide, and followed the Chucunaque river down to its junction with the Taira, near the town of Santa Maria.

The delusion, held by many, that an easy pass existed

³³Knowing what Francis Drake and the Buccaneers had achieved on the Isthmus, with what contempt the Indians must have looked upon this helpless and sorry lot of white men.

³⁴It is singular, says a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* (vol. xvi—p. 96) that the Scots selected the only point where a communication between the two seas seems practicable. "Had the settlement founded by our countrymen been maintained for a few years only, the Succession War, which almost immediately followed, would have secured to us intercourse with the South Sea, which the House of Bourbon, our inveterate enemies, would never have been able to have shut against us."

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between Caledonia Bay and the Gulf of San Miguel, persisted until 1854, when it was dispelled by the expedition of Lieut. Strain, U. S. N. Had the Caledonians attempted to open communication across the Isthmus, and secure a port on the Gulf of San Miguel, their fate would have been more pitiable, if possible, than it was. The Spaniards, who had been on the Isthmus for two hundred years, had naturally come to settle on the most desirable pass—the Portobello-Chagres River—Panama route.

Upon receipt of the first report of the Colony, at the hands of Mr. Hamilton, the Directors at Edinburgh, under date of 22nd April, 1699, wrote to the Right Hon^{ble} the Council of Caledonia, of the great satisfaction it gave throughout the Kingdom. Thanksgivings were held in the churches, and the public rejoicings consisted of "bone-fires, illuminations, ringing of bells, and all other demonstrations of joy."

While the shareholders in Scotland were still rejoicing over the good news from the Colony—and their own prospects of gain—the Caledonians were preparing to vacate Darien. Sickness continued among the colonists, aggravated by want of food, until about 300 of their number had already died of fever and fluxes; and the remainder lived in constant fear of the Spaniards.

On the 20th of June, 1699, about eight months after landing, the 900 enfeebled survivors hurriedly evacuated New Edinburgh. England and her colonies had proclaimed against them; and since their arrival, the Caledonians had heard nothing from the home company.³⁵ This opposition, however, had only made the Company more determined to persist in their scheme. The Directors in Scotland were more capable than were the Council in the wilds of America. In January, 1699, they started out the *Dispatch* with supplies for the colony; but the vessel was wrecked before getting away from the shores of Scotland. The Company then fitted out two ships, which at this very time were on the way to the relief of the colonists.

The Caledonians embarked in the ships they came in, with the exception of the *Dolphin Snow*, seized at Cartagena. The *Endeavour Pink* leaked badly, and was abandoned at sea, her passengers being transferred to the other vessels. Each ship selected her own course to hasten away from the fatal spot.

³⁵ "All the time of their abode here, which was upwards of seven months, they say they had never so much as one Letter or Vessel from Scotland, which was a great discouragement to them, and no good policy in our Directors at home."—Rev. Mr. Francis Borland.

Four hundred eighty-eight

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After a hard passage, the *St. Andrew* reached Blewfields, Jamaica, losing 100 men by sickness. So few of her crew were left, that seamen were hired at this port to sail the ship to Port Royal, where her people continued to die, and the vessel was deserted. The Captain, Robert Pennicuik, one of the Council, died on the sea. When the *Unicorn* left Caledonia Bay, Mr. Patterson was carried on board, suffering from a fever; and for a time was out of his head. This ship steered for New York, losing about 150 persons, including their Chief Surgeon, Mr. Hector Mackenzie, who died off Cape Antonio, Cuba. The *Unicorn* reached New York,⁸⁶ August 14th, 1699, after a tempestuous voyage; Captain John Anderson saving the ship by his skilful seamanship. Here they found the *Caledonia*, which had arrived about ten days before them; having lost about the same number from disease. The Company sent Archibald Stewart, Chyrurgeon, from Scotland to look after the sick and the affairs of the colonists in New York.

During this "middle passage," as it is called, from Darien to Jamaica and New York, more than 400 dead were thrown overboard. Those who lived to reach New York, rapidly recovered their health in that temperate climate, and some remained there. The *Unicorn* was finally abandoned at East Jersey, New York harbor. On October 12th, Mr. Paterson, with a few survivors, sailed in the *Caledonia* for Scotland. The furies still followed the unfortunate Scots, and gave them a rough passage home. Paterson reached Edinburgh on December 5th, and on the 19th wrote a report to the directors.

⁸⁶ When the Directors heard of the desertion of Caledonia, they wrote Oct. 10th, to the original Council at New York: "The surprising and unaccountable news of your shamefull and dishonourable abandonment of Caledonia the 29th⁸⁷ of June last, without any the least hint thereof from yourselves, affords us but too much matter of reflection on your unfatuated proceedings for some time past."—"The Darien Papers."

⁸⁷ Probably the 20th.

THE DARIEN COLONY

THE SECOND EXPEDITION.

After the loss of the *Dispatch*, the Company sent to Darien two vessels, the *Olive Branch*, Captain William Jameson; and the *Hopeful Binning of Bo'ness*, Captain Alexander Stark. These two ships, usually called the second expedition, sailed from Leith, May 12th, 1699, with 300 more recruits, and supplies for the Caledonians. By the middle of August, two months after the departure of the first expedition, the two ships arrived safely at Darien, having but one death on the voyage out. To their surprise, they found New Edinburgh deserted, and were in suspense what to do; but resolved to remain and await the arrival of a larger party, which they knew was fitting out. But the inexorable fate which accompanied every attempt of the Scots in this enterprise, again determined their movements.

In a few days, a careless steward aboard the *Olive Branch*, while drawing brandy,⁸⁸ set fire to the ship, and it was entirely consumed. As most of the stores had been carried by the *Olive Branch*, the party now decided not to wait for the next expedition, but to abandon the place. About 12 persons,⁸⁹ including three lieutenants, and a carpenter and his wife, elected to remain and await the coming of the expected reinforcements. Those who had come out on the burnt ship, about 100 in number, were taken on the *Hopeful Binning*, and Captain Stark sailed for Jamaica. There the Scots rapidly sickened, and most of them died.

⁸⁸ The Scots carried enormous quantities of liquor among the supplies, and there was altogether too much drinking by the colonists. One of the councillors is described as not caring what became of the colony so long as he had his pipe and dram.

⁸⁹ The Rev. Mr. Borland says, "about six men of them so resolute and bold."

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THE THIRD EXPEDITION.

The third expedition, often called the Rising Sun party, was the largest body of Colonists sent to Darien by the Company of Scotland. It consisted of 1300 persons, who sailed from the Clyde, September 24th, 1699, in four ships; the *Rising Sun*, Captain Gibson; the *Company's Hope*, Captain Miller; the *Duke of Hamilton*, Captain Duncan; and the *Hope of Boroughstomen*, Captain Dalling. The fleet stopped at Montserrat, and sent the boats ashore for fresh water; but the English Governor, in compliance with his orders, inhumanely refused the request. Here they heard rumors of the desertion of Darien by the first colony.

The Rising Sun party reached Caledonia Bay, November 30th, 1699. On the way out, 160 persons perished, including one of their four preachers,⁴⁰ Alexander Dalgliesh, who died betwixt Montserrat and Darien. The new arrivals found two sloops at anchor in the harbor, and saw the burnt hull of Captain Jamieson's ship. One of the sloops belonged to Mr. Fulton, a trader from New England; the other was commanded by Captain Thomas Drummond, a member of the first Council, who sailed from New York, September 18th, to try and resettle Darien, if men and supplies would arrive from Scotland. The heroic little band who remained behind when the *Hopeful Binning* left, were found living with the Indians.

The best account of the third expedition is that by Francis Borland, one of the preachers. Borland's narrative, in addition to its great historic value, possesses a delicious humor, which is all the richer because the writer is so completely unconscious of it. He describes the scene at New Edinburgh as like the coming of David with his little army to Ziklag of old, where expecting to meet with their friends and relatives, they found the town burnt and laid waste, and the colonists gone they knew not whither; so that the people lift up their

⁴⁰ The Company looked after the spiritual as well as the temporal welfare of the Colony. After the death of the two ministers sent with the first expedition, the Council requested more preachers. The directors appealed to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, which appointed a Commission to promote so Christian and noble a design. At a meeting held at Glasgow, July 19th, 1699, Mr. Meldrum preached a fervid and suitable sermon; choosing as his text, Hebrews XI-8,—*"By Faith Abraham being called of God, obeyed and went out, not knowing whither he went."* They arranged to supply preachers, and drew up a letter of instructions for the colony.

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voice and wept sore. The Scots held council what to do, and someone proposed that one of the ministers pray for direction; but the motion was lost. As they had brought out only provisions, and nothing with which to start a colony, it was decided to send 400 landsmen and 100 seamen to Jamaica. The men were not sent away, however, as the ships could not get out of the harbor on account of the north wind.

The new colonists landed, and cleared the ground again.⁴¹ They built huts for the planters, 12 feet long, and 10 wide; and for the officers, 30 feet long, and 16 wide; also several store-houses; which they covered with plantain leaves. The preachers, compelled to stay on the ships, complained of having no houses erected for them; and it never occurred to the ministers that they might construct huts for themselves. The fort was repaired, and guns again mounted for defence.

The Company had appointed a new council for Caledonia, consisting of Captain Gibson, Captain Veitch, Major Lindsay, and James Byars.⁴² The last was the boss of the colony, and is accused by the Rev. Alexander Shields⁴³ of hindering the settlement of Darien. Councillor Byres told the people there was food for only six weeks, whereas there was plenty for six months. Accordingly, he cut down the daily allowance of provisions, "so it might last the longer," which caused much grumbling among the colonists. Another cause of discontent was a rumor that those persons detailed to be transported to Jamaica were there to be sold into servitude.

Instead of diminishing, disease and death increased on landing in Darien. Fourteen days after their arrival, nine sailors deserted from the *Rising Sun*, going away in the ship's boat,

⁴¹ "For things in this fouthern climate are of a speedy growth."—Borland.

⁴² Like the other names, spelled in various ways.

⁴³ The Rev. Shields, author of the "Hynd Let Loose," who had served with the army in Flanders, said he had never been concerned with such a company as this was. He affirms, in a letter home, that Mr. Byres hindered planting and opposed all motions for making any attempt upon the Spaniards—"yea, asserted and contended, that not only we were unable to make any such attempt, but that it was unlawful for Christians, under the New Testament Dispensation, to make any war; and not only so, but that justice would require that we should make reparation to the Spaniards for the injuries done to them; and because I mentioned the lawfulness of war, he upbraided me to my face with nonsense, contradicting the Gospell, and tempting men to Atheism."—

"*The Darien Papers.*"

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perhaps to join the Spaniards at Portobel. About the middle of December, there was hatched and discovered a plot to seize the councillors and ships, and escape from the fatal spot. Alexander Campbell was adjudged the ringleader, condemned by court-martial, and on December 20th, executed within the fort. From a letter of Rev. Shields, it is probable that this man was the carpenter who remained in Caledonia when the second expedition departed.

Like with the previous parties, affairs rapidly went from bad to worse. A few men, like Captain Thomas Drummond, and Lieutenant Turnbull, seemed to possess a true knowledge of their situation. The Spaniards, of course, were preparing to drive out the Scots, and the latter heard dreadful tales of the fate awaiting them. On December 15th, 1699, Captain Drummond, aboard his sloop, the *Anna* of Caledonia, wrote a letter to the Council, offering to lead 150 volunteers, with Indians, against Portobello, and thus forestall the Spaniards. The Council not only rejected the proposal, but, through the influence of Byres, arrested Captain Drummond "on suspicion of his having a hand in the plot to seize on the ships and councillors, and confined him aboard the *Duke of Hamilton*."

Under date of 23 December, 1699, the Council, on board the *Rising Sun*, Caledonia Bay, wrote to the Directors: "The place, by its situation in this part of the world, is fitt for commerce; and, if money be bestowed, honest men employed, and good measures followed, a firme settlement may be made, so that strangers may promise themselves safety here; but on planting and improvement no great stress can be laid for reimburseing the adventurers unless negroes be procured, white men being unfitt for that work, more costly in their maintenance, and so only fitt for defending the settlem't and overseeing the work." * * * *

"That which was called gold dust is indeed very thick here, particularly at our watering-place, in and about the water; but it proves really nothing att all but slimy stuff, verifying the

"Later, Captain Drummond was fully exonerated by the Company, and Byres correspondingly condemned for his "arbitrary, illegal, and inhumane actings." Among the 25 queries prepared by Drummond to be addressed to Mr. Byres was the following,—16. "What reason had you to vilepend the Indians, and to make them appear little, still saying they were no better than a parcle of mounckies, and that their friendship was not worth, altho' I had begged several times they should carry fair with the Indians, knowing very well we could not secure our settlement without their friendship."

"*The Darien Papers.*"

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proverb, 'tis not all Gold that glisters. Among the natives wee find nothing of gold or silver save a few nose jewells, such as you have seen; and scarcely amongst them all wee have found so much as one ounce of gold in mass or lignet, which they gett from ye Spaniards; but of the dust or ore, not one grain. And whereas there were ample accounts given of the natives being at warr with the Spaniards, and that they were our fast friends, we find two of their Captains, viz. Pedro and Augustine, with silver headed staves, as Spanish Captains, willing notwithstanding, to goe with us and plunder the Spaniards, as noe doubt they would doe us, if the Spaniards would help them." Signed by James Gibsone—J. Lindsay—Ja. Byres—Wm. Veitch.

On the 16th of January, 1700, Rev. Borland, Rev. Shiels, and others, started out under the guidance of Lieut. Turnbull to visit the Indians on the greater and lesser rivers of Acla, about eight miles to the westward of New Edinburgh. "Ebenezer!" exclaims preacher Borland; "The Lord leading the blind by a way they knew not." The first night they lodged at the house of Captain Pedro, who gave them meat and fruit to eat, and hammocks to sleep in. Next day, the party followed the river down to Prandies Bay, over against Golden Island, then farther west to little Acla, where they passed the night at the house of an Indian named John (Juan). The following day, they returned to New Edinburgh. The hike was a terrible experience, and Mr. Borland was so grateful on coming to a spring of cool water, that he called it "*Beer-la-hai-roi*—the well of him that liveth and did see us." Preacher Shiels, who was faint and sore spent, did drink of the well, and was refreshed.

February 2nd, the three ministers⁴⁵ met and wrote a letter to the moderators of the commission of the General Assembly, in Scotland.—"The source and fountain cause of all our miseries we brought from our own country with us, arising from the inconsiderate choice that was made there of the worst of men to go along with us, that ever were sent to command or serve in a colony."

The miseries of the colonists continued to increase; and February 7th, councillor Byres sailed for Jamaica to seek help,

⁴⁵ Revs. Borland, Shields, and Archibald Stobo .

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"but came no speed there." The preachers now had plenty of occupation in visiting the sick on shore."

On the 10th of October, 1699, the Directors had appointed Captain Alexander Campbell of Fonabb (Finab) to be commander of Caledonia by land and sea, and on February 11th, 1700, he reached New Edinburgh from Barbadoes with a sloop loaded with provisions. His arrival caused all the *Rising Sun* party to remain on the Isthmus. Campbell's first act was to release from arrest Captain Drummond, who had been a fellow officer in Lorn's regiment in Flanders.

February 13th, the Indians again gave the alarm that the Spaniards were coming; and Captain Campbell with 200 Scots, and 40 Indians under Lieut. Turnbull, started out to give them battle. On the 15th, about twenty miles southwest of New Edinburgh, they came upon the Spaniards barricaded upon a hillside. According to the Rev. Borland, the site of the fight was known as Yoratuba. Rev. Shields calls the place Topocante, and says that the enemy consisted of three or four hundred Spaniards, Mulattos, Creolles, and Negroes; commanded by their "Muestre de Campo, Michael de Cordonez, who run with the first." The Scots tore down the palisades, and had a short, sharp engagement with the Spaniards; when the latter fled, leaving their dead on the field. The Indians bore themselves bravely. The Scots had nine men killed, and fourteen wounded. Five Spaniards were taken prisoners. Captain Campbell, Lieut. Turnbull, and Chief Pedro were among the wounded. A poor Indian, who had distinguished himself in the fight, was made Captain, and named Alexander, probably taking the name of the Scottish commander. He was given a scarlet coat, and hat with lacing. Chief Diego's son, now called Captain Steven, was given the same; and Chief Pedro was suitably rewarded.

The Scots were much elated over their successful encounter with the Spaniards, but their joy proved to be short-lived. In a few days several of their boats were run into the harbor by

"Our settlement in Darien, was in a very fickly and unwholesome climate as is marked above; therefore the Spaniards deferted it long ago; and could our people of a far more northerly latitude than Spain is, expect here long to thrive and prosper? This consideration alone, would soon have made our people weary of it, as a place too hot for them, too costly and chargeable to maintain."

"The History of Darien," Francis Borland, p. 96.

"Upon returning to Scotland, Capt. Campbell received a grant of arms for his victory; as also a medal from the Company.

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Spanish vessels, which pressed them so hard that the long-boat of the *Rising Sun* was run ashore in Caret Bay, and abandoned. February 23rd and 25th, eleven Spanish sail anchored within Golden Island, in plain view of the settlement. The enemy had landed troops at Caret Bay; and Spaniards, Indians, and Negroes, were reported coming by land from Panama and Santa Maria; all under command of their General, Don Juan Pimienta, Governor of Cartagena and Panama. February 28th, the casual firing of some gun-powder burnt up several rows of huts, and added to the miseries of the Scots, both sick and well. The next day, they had a skirmish with the Spaniards near the neck of the peninsula, in which Captain McIntosh was wounded, dying a few days later.

The hand of the Lord was now very heavy on the Scots; sickness and mortality increasing. Major Lindsay, a councillor, died; and one day there were sixteen burials. "Some in tolerable health today, and cut off by sudden violent fevers and fluxes in a few days." The preachers wanted to set a day of prayer, but the Council pretended they had no time for it.⁴⁵

The Caledonians strengthened the defences of their fort, and prepared fireships to combat the Spanish fleet. Provisions and ammunition were running low, and pewter utensils were melted into shot. On the 17th of March, there was another engagement with the enemy, when the Scots were driven in from the neck of land. The Spanish General sent a drummer, and a demand, which the Council did not understand, having no interpreter.

March 18th, the Council, with the land and sea Captains, voted, *nemine contradicente, capitulate*; all except Captain Campbell, who was for fight. When Captain Kerr went to the Spaniards, on the 22nd, their General⁴⁶ was so "high and lofty"

⁴⁵ "The people that our Company of Scotland sent over hither to their New Colony, were moft of them, both Seamen and Landmen, Gentlemen and Officers, as well as the meaner sort, none of the best of men. And therefore the Ministers sent along with them had but small comfort in their company; their instructions and admonitions were but little regarded by them; many of them seldom, and some of them never attending the public worship of God. Whence we may see what sort of a Church they could set up in this place, when there was such bad stuff to make it of."—Borland.

⁴⁶ "This Pimienta was a little thin man in stature, but mighty proud, passionate, stiff, and wilful."—Borland.

Don Juan Diaz Pimienta, the Governor of Cartagena belonged to the noble house of Villareal, and was a Knight of the Order of Calatrava, and Maestre de Campo, who had won credit for his military behaviour at the battle of Buda, where he received a wound. No doubt, he could

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in his demands, that they could come to no terms. The 24th, the Spaniards advanced their line on the peninsula to within a mile of the fort, which gave them the opportunity to communicate by boats with their ships. Guns were brought ashore, and a battery mounted on a hillside, opposite the weakest point of the fort. The Spaniards also took possession of a rivulet, about half a mile from the settlement, where the colonists obtained drinking water. This forced the Scots to dig a well within the confines of the fort, described as a brackish puddle. During the 28th and 29th, Spanish musketeers advanced and fired upon the fort.

March 30th, to the surprise of the Caledonians, General Pimienta offered to treat with them. This change in his attitude is said to have been due to an intercepted letter, which spoke of reinforcements coming to New Edinburgh. Mr. James Mayne drew up the articles in Latin; and on the 31st, the capitulation was signed by Don Juan Pimienta, and councillors Gibson and Veitch. The terms were remarkably favorable to the Scots. They were given fourteen days in which to get ready and depart from Darien, and were allowed to retain their arms, and leave with drums beating and colors flying.⁵⁰

Two days after the surrender, the sloop *Speedy Return*, commanded by Captain Bailie, with Captain Drummond aboard, came into port by night. Councillor Mackay had sailed on the same vessel, but fell from the poop while fishing for sharks, and was instantly devoured by those voracious animals. Councillor Byres, returning from Jamaica on another sloop, failed to get into the harbor.

April 11th, 1700, the third expedition departed from New Edinburgh in seven ships, and anchored at Golden Island.⁵¹ The *Rising Sun*, a sixty-gun ship, was hard to get out of port,

have exterminated the fever-stricken Scotchmen. When Don Pedro Luis Henriquez de Guzmán, Count of Canillas, the President of Panama, reported the rout of the Caledonians, he gave no credit to Pimienta, and himself was rewarded with the vicereignty of Peru; which, however, he did not live to enjoy.

⁵⁰ During the negotiations, Rev. Shields ventured to request Pimienta not to be severe toward the Indians for their alliance with the Scots. The General told Mr. Shields, in Latin, to attend to his own business; to which the Reverend replied, *Curabo* (I will attend to it.)

⁵¹ March 9th, 1700, the Company's vessel, *Margaret of Dundee*, Captain Patrick Macdowall, sailed from Scotland, and on June 16th, arrived in Caledonia Bay. Finding the Spaniards in possession, the Scottish commander "fired two small shot among them in token of defiance," displayed his colors, and sailed away to Port Morant, in Jamaica.

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and the Spaniards generously lent a hand to help the sickly and weakened Scots. The next day, April 12th, the colonists sailed from Golden Island, each vessel steering a separate course for Blewfields. Captain Campbell and Captain Drummond, in their sloops, reached New York, and arrived safely in Scotland. All four of the ships met with disaster. The *Hope of Bo'ness* leaked so badly that Captain Dalling ran into Cartagena, where he sold the ship. The *Company's Hope* missed Blewfields, and was wrecked on the rocks called Coloredos, off the west end of Cuba. The *Rising Sun* got to Blewfields, and the rest also reached Jamaica.

July 21st, 1700, the *Rising Sun* sailed from Blewfields, and off Florida encountered stormy weather. August 24th, she put into Charles-Town in Carolina, but could not cross the bar. A dreadful hurricane now came up, and completely wrecked the ship, destroying the lives of the 112 persons aboard, including Captain Gibson. The *Duke of Hamilton*, which was in Charleston at the same time, was also destroyed; but all her people were saved.

It is thus seen that the 1300 members of the third expedition fared no better than the former colonists. On the outward voyage, 160 perished; 300 died during the brief stay in Darien; 250 on the "middle passage," after evacuating New Edinburgh; about 100 died in Jamaica; and 112 were lost in the wreck of the *Rising Sun*. About 360 survivors became dispersed among the English settlements, a few finally returning to Scotland.

After following the adventures of the Spanish discoverers and conquerors, the daring voyages of the Privateers, and the successful feats of the Buccaneers; and then reading of the disasters which overwhelmed every action of the Scots in their attempt to plant a colony in Darien, we are inclined to agree with the Rev. Mr. Borland, that the enterprise was fore-ordained to destruction. Borland well summarizes the history of the different expeditions, when he says:—

"After our company of Scotland had sent forth their first colony in order to settle upon Darien, whatever recruits and supplies of men and provisions were sent out of Scotland afterwards for this place, still the former were gone from the place, before the latter were come up, or else the supplies miscarried by the way, or came too late. For, 1. That ship sent from Clyde with provisions designed for the colony, was cast away, and failed in the undertaking. 2. When the first colony had dislodged and left the place, being upon the sea, some of them met with a New-England ship coming with provisions

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for their colony, but it was now too late. 3. When Jamieson's and Stark's ships arrived upon the place with men and provisions, they found Caledonia deserted, and the colony gone, they knew not whither. 4. When the Rising Sun and her company came up, they found both the first colony, and Jamieson's and Stark's party removed and gone, and they never knew of it, until they got thither. 5. When Captain Bailie with a small vessel arrived there from Scotland, though they found the Rising-Sun's party upon the place, yet the capitulations with the Spaniards was concluded near two days before his arrival. 6. When Captain M'Dowal in a sloop from Dundee had come to Caledonia with provisions, he found the place possessed by the Spaniards, our men being removed to Jamaica. From such an observable succession of counteracting providences in this design, who cannot but remark, and see a holy and sovereign God, signally appearing and fighting against this undertaking."

The preacher then affirms that the Caledonians were sadly immoral and profane, who did not honor God, and God did not honor them, but made the colonists to fall in the wilderness and in the sea. Rev. Borland concludes his history in these words:

"From all that hath befallen this undertaking and Company, it is sadly evident and plain, that he that runs may read it, how a holy and just God has eminently appeared against, counteracted, and frowned upon all the steps of it, from the first to the last, and upon them that were concerned therein:

Tantae molis erat Darienfem colere terram,
So softly and so dear was this design,
To plant a Colony in Darien."

And so, the Scots colony failed; but this failure was inherent in the political and economic conditions of its creation. Its effect was *nil*. Spain continued to hold the door of the South Sea and the west gate to Asia, until her widely extended empire—reaching out from the little kingdoms of Castile and Leon to both the oriental and occidental worlds—broke asunder at its weakest links, and the different Spanish-American provinces declared for separate and independent statehood. With the new era came new growth and enterprise on the Isthmus, and today we have modern ideas and sanitation prevailing on what was once a white man's graveyard.

The lesson of these efforts to seize and to hold the gateway to the Pacific accentuates the teachings of enlarged history,

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with its ups and downs of states and nations; an unending procession of failures and short-lived successes, with a passing away and a rebuilding, of no interest to society at large except when turning about such a strategic center as is the Panama pivot, where each man's efforts are magnified because of the stage whereon he plays his part.

The future value of this passage from ocean to ocean is enhanced as the power behind the force, operating from interior lines, shows its capacity for avoiding the errors of its precursors, and appreciation of the great importance of the Isthmus of Panama as the world's great highway for migration, trade, and conquest.

"The American Indians suffered much injustice from the Spaniards, but history does not record any conquered nation that did not receive it from their conquerors; but this injustice is in great part compensated by the benefits received, benefits that are not sufficiently appreciated, even if they are not systematically denied, by those who endeavor to discredit the Spaniards, if it be only to excuse their own criminal conduct towards the aborigines. Can, in fact, any European nation that has founded colonies in America, show, like Spain, from statistics, that in what were its colonies two-thirds at least of the present inhabitants are pure-bred Indians? What other European nation can show that the fourth part of the population of its old colonies is composed of half-breeds, resulting from the mixture of conquerors and conquered? Among the states of the old continent which colonised America shall we find any that can, like Spain, assert that it has civilised the Indians, transmitting to them, indeed, all their vices and faults, but also all their virtues and noble qualities? It is precisely those who show the greatest persistence in depreciating Spain, feeding and stirring up, as they go, hatred and rancour, which should be completely extinguished—and which, fortunately for America and Spain, are being extinguished—it is they who exalt to the skies the wisdom, the moderation and the spirit of liberty and equality which characterise the Anglo-Americans. Where, it may be demanded of these, are the half-breeds which testify to the love of the Anglo-Americans for the native women? Where are the Indians whom they have civilized? In the United States of North America there are no half-breeds; and if some few, very few, Indians have escaped destruction by hunger and drunkenness, they have been remorsefully swept from the territory of the Union, watered by them with the sweat of their brows, and have been obliged to take refuge in the wildernesses of Arkansas. We must admit, to do them strict justice, that the Spaniards have treated the Indians best, with whom they have ended by mixing, and that neither the English of North America nor the Portuguese of South America can show the titles that the former have to the consideration of the aborigines."

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Bull of Donation and Line of Demarcation by Pope Alexandre VI., being the bull of May 4th, 1493, as Englished and published by R. Eden, in 1577.

“Alexander Bishop, the Servant of the Servants of God, to our most deare beloved Sonne in Christ, King Ferdinando, and to our deare beloved Daughter in Christ, Elizabeth, Queene of Castile, Legion, Arragon, Sicilie, and Granata, most Noble Princes, greeting, and Apostolicall Benediction.

Among other Workes acceptable to the Divine Majestie, and according to our hearts desire, this certainly is the chiefe, that the Catholike Faith and Christain Religion, specially in this our time, may in all places be exalted, amplified, and enlarged, whereby the health of Soules may bee procured, and the barbarous Nations subdued and brought to the Faith. And therefore, whereas by the favour of Gods Clemencie (although not without equall deserts) we are called to this holy Seat of Peter, and understanding you to be true Catholike Princes, as we have even knowne you, and as your noble and worthy Facts have declared in manner to the whole World, in that with all your studie, diligence, and industry, you have spared no Travails, Charges, or Perils, adventuring even the shedding of your owne Bloud, with applying your whole Mindes and Endeavours hereunto, as your Noble Expeditions atchieved in recovering the Kingdome of Granata from the Tyrannie of the Sarracens in these our dayes, doe plainely declare your Facts, with so great Glory of the Divine Name. For the which, as wee thinke you worthy, so ought wee of our owne free will favourably to graunt you all things, whereby you may dayly, with more fervent mindes, to the honour of God, and enlarging the Christian Empire, prosecute your devout and laudable Purpose, most acceptable to the Immortall God. Wee are credibly informed, that whereas of late you were determined to seeke and finde certaine Ilands and firm Lands, farre remote and unknowne (and not heretofore found by any other) to the intent to bring the Inhabitants of the same to honour our Redeemer, and to professe the Catholic Faith, you have hitherto bene much occupied in the expugnation and recoverie of the Kingdome of Granata, by reason whereof you could not bring your said laudable Purpose to the end desired. Nevertheless,

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as it hath pleased Almighty God, the foresaid Kingdom being recovered, willing to accomplish your said Desire, you have, not without great Labour, Perils, and Charges appointed our wel beloved Sonne Christopher Colonus (a man certes well commended, as most worthy and apt for so great a Matter) well furnished with Men and Ships, and other Necessaries, to seeke (by the Sea, where hitherto no man hath sayled) such firme Lands and Ilands farre remote and hitherto unknowne, who (by Gods helpe) making diligent search in the Ocean Sea, have found certaine remote Ilands and firme Lands, which were not heretofore found by any other; in the which (as is said) many Nations inhabite, living peaceably, and going naked, not accustomed to eate Flesh; and as farre as your Messengers can conjecture; the Nations inhabiting the foresaid Lands and Ilands, beleeve that there is one God, Creator in Heaven, and seeme apt to bee brought to the imbracing of the Catholike Faith, and to be endued with good Manners: by reason whereof, wee may hope, that if they be well instructed, they may easily be induced to receive the Name of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Wee are further advertised, that the fore-named Christopher hath now builded and erected a Fortresse, with good Munition, in one of the foresaid principall Ilands, in the which he hath placed a Garrison of certaine of the Christian men that went thither with him, as well to the intent to defend the same, as also to search other Ilands and firme Lands farre remote, and yet unknowne. Wee also understand, that in these Lands and Ilands lately found, is great plentie of Gold and Spices, with divers and many other precious things, of sundry kinds and qualities. Therefore all things diligently considered (especially the amplifying and enlarging of the Catholike Faith, as it behoveth Catholike Princes, following the examples of your Noble Progenitors, of famous Memorie) you have determined, by the favour of Almighty God, to subject unto you the firme Lands and Ilands aforesaid, and the Dwellers and Inhabitants thereof, and to bring them to the Catholike Faith.

Wee greatly commending this your godly and laudable purpose in our Lord, and desirous to have the same brought to a due end, and the Name of our Saviour to be knowne in those parts, doe exhort you in our Lord, and by the receiving of your holy Baptisme, whereby you are bound to Apostolicall Obedience, and earnestly require you by the Bowels of Mercie of our Lord Jesus Christ, that when you intend, for the zeale of the Catholike Faith, to prosecute the said Expedition, to

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reduce the People of the foresaid Lands and Ilands to the Christian Religion, you shall spare no Labours at any time, or be deterred with any Perils, conceiving firme hope and confidence, that the Omnipotent God will give good success to your godly Attempts. And that being authorized by the Priviledge of the Apostolicall Grace, you may the more freely and boldly take upon you the Enterprize of so great a Matter, wee of our owne motion, and not eyther at your request, or at the instant petition of any other persons, but of our owne meere liberalitie and certaine science, and by the fullnesse of Apostolicall power, doe give, grant, and designe to you, your heires and successors, all the firme Lands and Ilands found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered, toward the West and South, drawing a Line from the Pole Artike to the Pole Antartike (that is) from the North to the South: Contayning in this Donation, whatsoever firme Lands or Ilands are found, or to be found toward India, or toward any other part whatsoever it be, being distant from, or without the foresaid Line, drawne a hundred Leagues toward the West, and South, from any of the Ilands which are commonly called De los Azores and Capo Verde. All the Ilands therefore, and firme Lands, found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered, from the said Line toward the West and South, such as have not actually bene heretofore possessed by any other Christian King or Prince, untill the day of the Nativitie of our Lord Jesus Christ last past, from the which beginneth this present yeere, being the yeere of our Lord a thousand foure hundred ninetie three, when soever any such shall be found by your Messengers and Captaines, we by the Authoritie of Almighty God, graunted unto us in Saint Peter, and by the Vicarship of Jesus Christ which wee beare on the Earth, doe for ever, by the tenour of these presents, give, grant, assigne, unto you, your heires and successors (the Kings of Castile and Legion) all those Lands and Ilands, with their Dominions, Territories, Cities, Castles, Towers, Places, and Villages, with all the Rights and Jurisdictions thereunto pertaining; constituting, assigning, and deputing you, your heires and successors, the Lords thereof, with full and free Power, Authoritie, and Jurisdiction: Decreeing neverthesse by this our Donation, Grant, and Assignation, that from no Christian Prince, which actually hath possessed the foresaid Ilands and firme Lands, unto the day of the Nativitie of our Lord beforesaid, their Right obtained, to be understood hereby to be taken away, or that it ought to be taken away. Furthermore, wee command you in the vertue of holy

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Obedience (as you have promised, and as wee doubt not you will doe, upon meere Devotion and Princely Magnimitie) to send to the said firme Lands and Ilands, honest, vertuous, and learned men, such as feare God, and are able to instruct the Inhabitants in the Catholike Faith and good Manners, applying all their possible diligence in the premisses. Wee furthermore straitly inhibite all manner of persons, of what state, degree, order, or condition soever they be, although of Imperiall and Regall Dignitie, under the paine of the Sentence of Excommunication, which they shall incurre, if they doe, to the contrary, That they in no case presume, without speciall Licence of you, your heires, and successors, to travaile for Marchandizes, or for any other cause, to the said Lands or Ilands, found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered, toward the West and South, drawing a Line from the Pole Artike to the Pole Antartike, whether the firme Lands and Ilands, found and to be found, be situate toward India, or toward any other part, being distant from the Line drawne a hundred Leagues toward the West, from any of the Ilands commonly called De los Azores and Capo Verde: Notwithstanding Constitutions, Decrees, and Apostolicall Ordinances whatsoever they are to the contrary. In him from whom Empires, Dominions, and all good things doe proceed: Trusting, that Almighty God, directing your Enterprises, if you follow your godly and laudable Attempts, your Labours and Travailes herein, shall in short time obtaine a happie end, with felicitie and glorie of all Christian People. But forasmuch as it should be a thing of great difficultie, these Letters to be carried to all such places as should be expedient; wee will, and of like motion and knowledge doe decree, That whither soever the same shall be sent, or wheresoever they shall be received, with the subscription of a common Notarie thereunto required, with the Seale of any person constitute in Ecclesiasticall Court, the same faith and credite to be given thereunto in Judgement, or elsewhere, as should be exhibited to these Presents.

Let no man therefore whatsoever infringe or dare rashly to contrary this Letter of our Commendation, Exhortation, Request, Donation, Grant, Assignation, Constitution, Deputation, Decree, Commandement, Inhibition, and Determination. And if any shall presume to attempt the same. let him know, that hee

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shall thereby incurre the Indignation of Almighty God, and his holy Apostles, Peter and Paul.

Given at Rome at Saint Peters, In the yeere of the Incarnation of our Lord 1493. The fourth day of the Nones of May, the first yeere of our Popedome."

[Copied from Haklytus Posthumus or *Purchas His Pilgrimes*. The original document is in Latin, and preserved in the Archivo de Indias, in Seville. As a matter of fact, three papal bulls were issued on the donation and division of the New World, within two days; two on May 3d, and one on May 4th, 1493. Latin and Spanish texts are found in Navarrete, and in the Col. de Doc. Inéd. Harisse calls the bull of donation the first document in the diplomatic history of America.]

El Requerimiento.

(The Requisition or Requirement).

"On the part of the King, Don Fernando, and of Doña Juana his daughter, Queen of Castile and Leon, subduers of the barbarous nations, we their servants notify and make known to you, as best we can, that the Lord our God, Living and Eternal, created the Heaven and the Earth, and one man and one woman, of whom you and we, and all the men of the world, were and are descendants, and all those who come after us. But, on account of the multitude which has sprung from this man and woman in the five thousand years since the world was created, it was necessary that some men should be divided into many kingdoms and provinces, for in one alone they could not be sustained.

"Of all these nations God our Lord gave charge to one man, called St. Peter, that he should be Lord and Superior of all the men in the world, that all should obey him, and that he should be the head of the whole human race, wherever men should live, and under whatever law, sect, or belief they should be; and he gave him the world for his kingdom and jurisdiction.

"And he commanded him to place his seat in Rome, as the spot most fitting to rule the world from; but also he permitted him to have his seat in any other part of the world, and to judge and govern all Christians, Moors, Jews, Gentiles, and all other sects. This man was called Pope, as if to say, Admirable Great Father and Governor of men. The men who lived in that time obeyed that St. Peter, and took him for Lord, King, and Superior of the universe; so also they have regarded the

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others who after him have been elected to the pontificate, and so has it been continued even till now, and will continue till the end of the world.

“One of these Pontiffs, who succeeded that St. Peter as Lord of the world, in the dignity and seat which I have before mentioned, made donation of these isles and Tierra-firme to the aforesaid King and Queen and to their successors, our lords, with all that there are in these territories, as is contained in certain writings which passed upon the subject as aforesaid, which you can see if you wish.

“So their Highnesses are kings and lords of these islands and land of Tierra-firme by virtue of this donation: and some islands, and indeed almost all those to whom this has been notified, have received and served their Highnesses, as lords and kings, in the way that subjects ought to do, with good will, without any resistance, immediately, without delay, when they were informed of the aforesaid facts. And also they received and obeyed the priests whom their Highnesses sent to preach to them and to teach them our Holy Faith; and all these, of their own free will, without any reward or condition, have become Christians, and are so, and their Highnesses have joyfully and benignantly received them, and also have commanded them to be treated as their subjects and vassals; and you too are held and obliged to do the same. Wherefore, as best we can, we ask and require you that you consider what we have said to you, and that you take the time that shall be necessary to understand and deliberate upon it, and that you acknowledge the Church as the Ruler and Superior of the whole world, and the high priest called Pope, and in his name the King and Queen Doña Juana our lords, in his place, as superiors and lords and kings of these islands and this Tierra-firme by virtue of the said donation, and that you consent and give place that these religious fathers should declare and preach to you the aforesaid.

“If you do so, you will do well, and that which you are obliged to do to their Highnesses, and we in their name shall receive you in all love and charity, and shall leave you your wives, and your children, and your lands, free without servitude, that you may do with them and with yourselves freely that which you like and think best, and they shall not compell you to turn Christians, unless you yourselves, when informed of the truth, should wish to be converted to our Holy Catholic Faith, as almost all the inhabitants of the rest of the islands have done. And, besides this, their Highnesses award you

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many privileges and exemptions, and will grant you many benefits.

“But, if you do not do this, and maliciously make delay in it, I certify to you that, with the help of God, we shall powerfully enter into your country, and shall make war against you in all ways and manners that we can, and shall subject you to the yoke and obedience of the Church and of their Highnesses; we shall take you and your wives and your children, and shall make slaves of them, and as such shall sell and dispose of them as their Highnesses may command; and we shall take away your goods, and shall do you all the mischief and damage that we can, as to vassals who do not obey, and refuse to receive their lord, and resist and contradict him; and we protest that the deaths and losses which shall accrue from this are your fault, and not that of their Highnesses, or ours, nor of these cavaliers who come with us. And that we have said this to you and made this Requisition, we request the notary here present to give us his testimony in writing, and we ask the rest who are present that they should be witnesses of this Requisition.”

Sir Arthur Helps, *Spanish Conquest in America*, vol. I, p. 264.

Treaty between the Council of Caledonia and Chief Diego of Darien.

“Treaty of Friendship, Union, and perpetual Confederation, agreed and entred into between the Right Hon^{ble} the Council of Caledonia, and the excellent Diego Tucupantos and Estrara, Chief and Supreme Leader of the Indians Inhabitants of the lands and possessions in and about the Rivers of Darieno and St. Matolome.

The said Diego having signified his earnest desire to enter into an entire friendship and strict allyance with the said Council and Colony; The same is hereby agreed to and concluded in the termes following, viz.—

1. The said Council of Caledonia and the said Diego, and the people of their respective obedience, shall from henceforward be friends and confederates, and are hereby obliged mutually to defend the persons, lands, territories, dependencies, and properties of each other by land and sea.

2. The aforesaid Council and the said Diego, their people and defendants, may freely pass and repass and shall mutually have the liberty of commerce, correspondence, and manuring,

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possessing, and enjoying lands in the countrys and places of their respective obedience in all time hereafter.

3. If any of the people under the obedience of the said Council, or the said Diego, shall hapen to wrong or injure one another, the person or persons injured shall make their complaint, and in such case the respective partys to this treaty, their Magistrates and people, shall take effectual care that exact and speedy justice be done, and that things of that nature extend not to the weakning of this perpetual confederation.

4. It is hereby likewise agreed that Captain Corbet of Conception River, Cap.ⁿ Ambrosio of Coco, Cap.ⁿ Nicola of Sept, Cap.ⁿ Pansego of Carreta, and Cap.ⁿ Pedro of Golden Island, and their people shall, upon application, be admitted into this treaty.

5. If anything in this treaty shall afterward want explanation or enlargement the same shall be done from time to time by consent of the partys to this confederation.

Which treaty above written having been interpret and explained to the said Diego, the said Council, for Confirmation and the greater solemnity thereof, have ordered their Secretary in their own presence to subscribe his name and afix their seal thereto; and the said Diego hath put his mark to the same, at Fort St. Andrew the 24th Febry, 1699."

"A copy in Spanish was likewise given him."—*The Darien Papers,* page 87.

Comandantes Generales, Presidentes. y Gobernadores del Reyno de Tierra-Firme.

1. Don Pedro Arias Dávila, natural de Segovia, hermano del Conde de Púno-en-rostro, elegido por el Emperador, en virtud de los créditos que tenia, para mandar en el Darien el año de 1514, donde sin embargo de las grandes cosas que hizo obscureció su gloria el haber mandado cortar la cabeza por pasiones á Vasco Nuñez de Balboa en el Darien y á Francisco Fernandez de Cordoba en Nicaragua, gobernó hasta el año 1526 que llegó su sucesor.

2. Don Pedro de los Rios, natural de Córdoba, nombrado por las quexas y clamores contra el anterior, por muerte del Licenciado Lope de Sosa, tambien de Córdoba, que fué nombrado primero, y murió apenas llegó al Darien; pero siguiendo los

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clamores se envió por Juez de residencia al Licenciado Antonio de la Gama, y por successor en el gobierno del año de 1528 á

3. Francisco de Barrionuevo, natural de Soria, acreditado en las conquistas de la Isla de Puerto-rico, y en la de Santo Domingo, provisto para Gobernador de Tierra-Firme el año de 1532; pero habiendo tenido comision de pasar á la pacificacion del Cazique Enrique en la Isla Española, tomó possession el de 1533.

4. El Licenciado Pedro Vazquez de Acuña, que fué nombrado Gobernador y Juez de residencia del anterior, por cuyas queexas se envió á poco tiempo á

5. El Doctor Francisco Robles con la misma comision que su antecesor, siendo Oidor de aquella Audiencia, y se encargó del gobierno, desempeñándolo con tanta integridad y justificacion que ha tenido pocos exemplares en aquel pais, donde el clima ó algun influxo maligno sembró la semilla de la discordia, como se verá en la serie de la mayor parte de sus Goberndores: este entró á su ejercicio el año de 1539, y sin embargo de sus buenas calidades no se libró de enredos y calumnias.

6. Pedro de Casaos, natural de Sevilla, que con título de Corregidor de Panamá fué nombrado por el Rey para gobernarla, en cuyo tiempo sucedieron las tragedias y robos que hizo Hernando Bachicao, Capitan de Gonzalo Pizarro, para cuyo remedio le nombró la Audiencia y el Cabildo Capitan General.

7. El Licenciado Don Pedro Ramirez de Quiñones, primer Presidente con titulo de tal de aquella Audiencia que pacificó el Reyno de las alteraciones pasadas, hizo la guerra al Negro Bayono que lo tenía hostigado con sus robos y correrias, cuyo castigo en que sirvió el célebre Pedro de Ursua tranquilizó el pais.

8. Juan de Bustos Villegas pasó de Gobernador de la Plaza de Cartagena á Panamá el año de 1551, murió allí arrastrado de una mula.

9. El Licenciado Juan Lopez de Cepeda pasó de Oidor Decano de la Isla de Santo Domingo á la de Santa Fe, de allí á Alcalde del Crimen de la Audiencia de Lima, luego á Presidente de Panamá, y promovido á Charcas el año de 1588.

10. El Licenciado Francisco de Cárdenas, último Presidente Togado que hubo por haberse establecido la Comandancia General del Reyno de Tierra-Firme, y Plaza de Armas la Ciudad de Panamá su Capital, murió el año de 1594.

11. Don Juan del Barrio Sepulveda, Oidor Decano de la Real Audiencia, quedó encargado interinamente del gobierno por muerte del anterior, y lo estaba exerciendo quando llegó.

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12. Don Alonso de Sotomayor y Andia, Marques de Valparaiso, Comendador de Viillamayor en la Orden de Santiago, natural de Truxillo en Estremadura, Oficial de grandes créditos en Flandes y en Chile, donde habia gobernado con sumo acierto y gloria de las armas del Rey, se hallaba en Lima para restituirse á Europa quando le nombró Presidente de Panamá el Virrey Marques de Cañete, para defender el Reyno de un Armamento Inglés que se temia ser para alli, como sucedió, logrando con tan acertada eleccion su defensa, y la derrota total de los enemigos, gobernó hasta el año de 1596 que pasó á España.

13. El referido Juan del Barrio Sepulveda, Oidor Decano de la Audiencia, volvió á encargarse del gobierno interinamente hasta el año de 1601 que volvió

14. El mismo Don Alonso de Sotomayor, nombrado por el Rey en consideracion de su acertada conducta y sobresaliente mérito para fortificar la Plaza de Portobelo, en compañía del famoso Ingeniero Juan Baptista Antoneli, y executado, aunque recibió Real despacho para volver á gobernar el Reyno de Chile, se embarcó para Europa el año de 1605.

15. Don Diego de Orozco, natural de Lima, de quien no tenemos mas noticia que la de haber sido Presidente de Panamá por este tiempo.

16. Don Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco; en cuyo tiempo se empezó la reduccion y conquista espiritual de los Indios Guamies en la Provincia de Veragua por los Religiosos del Orden de Santo Domingo, acabó su gobierno el año de 1624.

17. Don Alvaro de Quiñones Osorio, Cabellero del Orden de Santiago, Marques de Lorenzana, gobernó hasta el año de 1632 que pasó promovido á la Presidencia de Guatemala.

18. Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera pasó promovido de la Presidencia y Capitanía General de las Islas Filipinas el año de 1634, habiendo tenido le de Panamá solo dos años.

19. Don Enrique Enriquez de Sotomayor pasó promovido del gobierno de Puerto-rico á esta Presidencia, que exerció hasta el año de 1638 en que murió, con tanto sentimiento por sus grandes qualidades que se escribió una Oracion en su elogio, que despues se imprimió en esta Corte.

20. Don Iñigo de la Mota Sarmiento, Cabellero del Orden de Santiago, Gentil-Hombre de Cámara del Archiduque Alberto, y del Consejo Supremo y Junta de Guerra, pasó promovido del gobierno de Puerto-rico como su antecesor el año de 1639, y murió en Portobelo asistiendo al despacho de la Armada de

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Galeones del cargo del General Don Francisco Diaz Pimienta el año de 1642.

21. Don Juan de Vega Bazan, General que habia sido de Galeones, nombrado Presidente, Gobernador y Comandante General del Reyno de Tierra-Firme por muerte del anterior el año de 1643.

22. Don Juan de Bitribeante y Navarra, Cabellero del Orden de Calatrava, murió en Portobelo asistiendo al despacho de la Armada de Galeones del cargo del General Don Juan de Echarvarri el año de 1651, como consta de la lápida de marmol que puso en su sepultura en la Iglesia Parroquial de Portobelo su Gobernador y intimo amigo Don Bernardo de Texada.

23. Don Fernando de la Riva Aguero, Caballero del Orden de Santiago, Maestre de Campo, Gobernador de Cartagena de Indias quando fué nombrado Presidente de Panamá, murió tambien en Puertobelo asistiendo al despacho de la Armada de Galeones del Marques de Villarubia el año de 1663.

24. Don Juan Perez de Guzmán, Cabellero del Orden de Santiago, Maestre de Campo, Gobernador de Cartagena, despues de haber seguido los empleos de la Milicia en la Armada de la carrera de Indias, y sido Gobernador de Antioquia y de Puerto-rico, fué promovido á esta Presidencia por muerte del anterior el año de 1665, pasó á recuperar la Isla de Santa Catalina que habia tomado el Pirata Inglés Juan Morgau, y sin embargo fué suspendido del empleo por el Virrey del Perú, Conde de Lemos, en virtud de varios cargos que le hacia Don Bernardo Trillo de Figueróa, Oidor Decano de aquella Audiencia.

25. Don Agustin de Bracamonte nombrado interinamente por el Virrey del Perú para la separacion de Don Juan Perez, y pesquisa de los cargos que se le hacian.

26. El mismo Don Juan Perez, reintegrado en sus empleos por no haberse justificado nada de lo que se le acomulaba, tuvo la desgracia de que en su tiempo sucediese la ruina y pérdida de aquella ciudad tomada por el Pirata Inglés el año de 1670, por lo qual fué depuesto segunda vez por el mismo Virrey Conde de Lemos, que lo hizo conducir preso á Lima, dando cuenta al Rey.

27. Don Antonio Fernandez de Córdoba, Cabellero del Orden de Santiago, nombrado por el Rey luego que se supo la desgracia de Panamá, con orden de trasladar la Ciudad á mejor parage, se embarcó para su destino llevando porción de tropa

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que llamaron allí la Chamberga, y empezó á poner en execucion sus órdenes el año de 1671 que llegó, pero la muerte le impidió concluir las el de 1673.

28. Don Francisco Miguel de Marichalar, Alcalde del Crimen de la Real Audiencia de Lima, enviado interinamente por el Virrey Conde de Lemos, y exerció el gobierno hasta que llegó el propietario nombrado por el Rey el año de 1676.

29. Don Alonso Mercado de Villacorta, Sargento General de Batalla, que se hallaba sirviendo el gobierno de las Provincias del Tucumán, donde habia hecho señalados servicios al Rey, fué promovido á esta Presidencia, y trasladó la Ciudad como estaba mandado al mejor parage en que hoy existe, dando principio á su fortificacion como se ve en la inscripcion que hay sobre la Puerta de Tierra y antes de concluir la obra murió el año de 1681.

30. El Dr. Don Lucas Fernandez de Piedrahita, natural de Santa Fe, Obispo de la Santa Iglesia de Panamá, y Autor célebre de la Historia de la Conquista del Nuevo Reyno de Granada, entró por muerte del anterior, y nombramiento del Virrey del Perú, Conde del Castellar, contenido á prevencion en pliego secreto y cerrado en el Archivo del Acuerdo de la Real Audiencia para que no recayese el gobierno en ninguno de sus Ministros; y aunque el acierto se confirmó con sus virtudes, duro muy poco, porque al año siguiente de 1682 llegó el propietario.

31. Don Pedro Ponte y Llerena, Conde del Palmar, que fué en los Galeones del Marques del Bao, y tomó posesion, siendo el único Presidente que ha cumplido el tiempo de los ocho años de la provision del empleo, sin embargo de cargos con que lo capitularon los Ministros de aquella Audiencia.

32. Don Pedro Joseph Guzmán, Dávalos, Ponce de Leon, Santillan y Mesia, Marques de la Mina, natural de Sevilla, General de la Artilleria, que en premio de sus distinguidos servicios en mar y tierra fué nombrado Presidente de Panamá y Comandante General del Reyno, de que tomó posesion al año de 1690, y gobernó cinco años, hasta el de 1695 que fué separado por comision que se dió al Obispo para justificar los cargos que tres Ministros de aquella Audiencia le hicieron, en cuya execucion se procedió con tanto encono y tropelia, que no hay exemplo de las que sufrió preso en un calabozo del castillo de Chagre, sin permitirle comunicacion por mas de quatro años.

33. El Dr. Don Diego Ladron de Guevara, Obispo de

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aquella Santa Iglesia, encargado del gobierno de órden del Rey hasta la llegada del propietario que fué

34. Don Pedro Luis Henriquez de Guzmán, Conde de Canillas, Cabellero del Orden de Calatrava, Corregidor de Potosí, tomó posesion el ano de 1696 hasta el de 1699, que por los clamores de aquel vecindado, y quejas de las violencias que siguió executando con el Marques de la Mina, se la nombró sucesor á

35. Don Joseph Antonio de la Rocha y Carranza, Mques de Villa-Rocha, Cabellero del Orden de Calatrava, General de la Artilleria, que entró á la posesion de la Presidencia el año de 1699; pero á los seis meses recibió una Cédula Real para que entregase el gobierno al mismo

36. Don Pedro Luis Henriquez de Guzmán, Conde de Canillas, en inteligencia de las grandes cosas que informó falsamente habia hecho para la defensa del Reyno, y por el recelo del establecimiento que habian hecho los Escoceses en el Darien, á cuyo desalojo se le mandaba pasar, como al Gobernador de Cartagena Don Juan Diaz Pimienta, que fué el que lo executó; y sin embargo con el aviso anticipado que envió el Conde del suceso, sin decir quien lo habia hecho, le premiò el Rey con el Virreynato del Perú, que no pudo lograr, pues murió á muy poco tiempo de recibir la noticia el mismo año de 1699.

37. Don Fernando Dávila Bravo de Laguna, Caballero del Orden de Santiago, Sargento General de Batalla, natural de Lima, entró el año de 1702, y gobernó hasta el de 1707 que murió.

38. Don Juan Eustaquio Vincentelo, Tello, Toledo y Leca, Marques de Brenes, Cabellero del Orden de Santiago, natural de Sevilla, nombrado interinamente quando murió el anterior por el Marques de Casteldos-rius, Virrey del Perú, que se hallaba en Panamá de transito para su destino, solo gobernó algo mas de cinco meses por haber entrado.

39. El ya referido Marques de Villa-Rocha, que tuvo Real despacho para verificar la provision de su empleo, y no fué de mas larga duracion, pues á pocos dias se recibió otra Real Cédula separándole del empleo por diferentes cargos que le habian hecho, cometido á la Audiencia, que sin embargo de la cláusula condicional se abrogó la Presidencia el Decano.

40. Don Fernando de Haro Monterroso, y la exerció seis meses, hasta el año de 1709 que el Virrey del Perú envió otro Ministro de la Audiencia de Lima, para procesarle por los

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excesos que habia cometido, remitiéndolo preso en Partida de Registro á España, y murió en la Cárcel de Corte de Madrid.

41. Don Juan Baptista de Orueta y Irusta, Alcalde del Crimen de la Real Audiencia de Lima, comisionado para la deposicion y pesquisa del antecesor, gobernó hasta el año siguiente de 1710 en que llegó el propietario nombrado por el Rey, y él se restituyó á Lima al exercicio de su Plaza.

42. Don Joseph de Larrañeta y Vera, Brigadier de los Reales Exércitos, que se hallaba sirviendo el Gobierno de Portobelo con la calidad de obcion á la Presidencia y Capitanía General del Reyno en caso de vacante de propietario, por Cédula Real de nombramiento en aquel empleo, como teniente de Rey, entró á tomar posesion luego que la recibió á principio del año de 1710, y gobernó hasta mitad del siguiente de 1711 que llegaron dos successores al mismo tiempo :

43. Uno el mencionado ya dos veces Marques de Villa-Rocha, restituido la tercera á titulo de honor en desagravio del exceso con se habia procedido en su segunda separacion por el tiempo que tardase en llegar el propietario nombrado por S. M. y fué tan corto que solo se contó por horas, pues habiendo venido á la Capital desde el fuerte de Chepo, donde se hallaba preso, tomó posesion, y el mismo dia entró á las cinco de la tarde

44. Don Joseph Hurtado de Amezaga, Mariscal de Campo de los Reales Exércitos, que tomó posesion el referido año de 1711, y gobernó hasta el de 1716 que fué depuesto de órden del Rey, cometiendo su separacion al Obispo de aquella Iglesia, y extinguiendo al mismo tiempo el Tribunal de la Audiencia.

45. Don Fr. Juan Joseph de Llamas y Rivas, del Orden de nuestra Señora del Carmen, Obispo de Panamá, que por la comision referida quedó encargado del gobierno desde el citado año de 1716 hasta el de 1718 en que llegó

46. Don Gerónimo Vadillo, Brigadier de los Reales Exércitos, promovido del gobierno de Cartagena que estaba exerciendo, con el nuevo establecimiento de cinco años de provision en los Gobiernos que no hay Audiencia, y cumplió el de 1723.

47. Don Gaspar Perez Buelta, Oidor que habia sido de la extinguida Audiencia, que habiendo mandado el Rey volverla á restablecer el mismo año de 1723, gobernó interinamente como Decano tres meses y medio, hasta que se embarcó para pasar al Perú promovido á la Audiencia de Lima á principios del de 1724.

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48. Don Joseph De Alzamora y Ursino quedó Decano de la Audiencia por el ascenso del anterior, y como tal encargado interinamente del Gobierno, Presidencia y Comandancia General poco mas de un mes hasta la llegada del propietario.

49. Don Manuel de Alderete, Caballero del Orden de Santiago, Mariscal de Campo de los Reales Exércitos, fué promovido de teniente de Rey de la Plaza de Cadiz á esta Presidencia en los galeones del teniente General Marques Grillo, y tomó posesion el año de 1724, gobernó hasta el de 1730 en que fué depuesto, y preso en el castillo de Chepo, y luego remitido en Partida de Registro á la Casa de la Contratacion, en la fragata de guerra la la Ginovesa, que se perdió sobre el baxo de la Vivora, donde se ahogó.

50. Don Juan Joseph de Andia, Vivero y Velasco, Marques de Villahermosa, Mariscal de Campo, que se hallaba sirviendo el Gobierno de Cartagena, fué promovido á la Presidencia de Panamá, con la comision de deponer á su antecesor, el referido año de 1730; y habiendo solicitado licencia para restituirse á España se la concedió S. M. ascendiéndole al grado de teniente General el año de 1735, y á poco tiempo de su llegada la Grandeza, con titula de Marques de Valparaiso.

51. Don Dionisio Martinez de la Vega, Mariscal de Campo de los Reales Exércitos, pasó promovido del Gobierno de la Havana á relevar al anterior el citado año de 1735, y exerció el gobierno hasta el de 1743 en que llegó el successor nombrado por S. M., que en remuneracion de haber hecho la paz con los Indios del Darien le promovió al grado de teniente General, concediéndole llave de entrada de Gentil-Hombre de su Cámara: en su tiempo tomaron los Ingleses mandados por el Almirante Wernon la Ciudad de Portobelo y castillo de Chagre, murió en Panamá el año de 1744 estando disponiendo su viage para España.

52. Don Dionisio de Alcedo y Herrera, que habia servido la Presidencia de Quito y Comandancia General de este Reyno, se hallaba en la Corte quando fué nombrado por el Rey para pasar á servir esta de Panamá, y encargase de la defensa del de Tierra-Firme, objeto de los Ingleses en la guerra que habian declarado desde el año de 1739, con particular encargo de diferentes comisiones del Real servicio, por su notoria inteligencia, conocimiento de la América y zelo del Real servicio, que desempeñó desde el año de 1743 en que tomó posesion hasta el de 1749 que fué separado del empleo por diferentes cargos

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con que la habian calumniado los Oidores de aquella Audiencia, origen siempre de las discordias de esta Provincia. Durante su gobierno castigó los contravandistas de la de Natá, que en numero de mas de doscientos, auxiliados de los Ingleses, se habian sublevado tomando armas contra las de S. M., vino á Madrid, y fué absuelto de los cargos honorificamente.

53. Don Manuel de Montiano, Mariscal de Campo de los Reales Exércitos, pasó promovido del gobierno de la Florida, y entró en Panamá el mismo año de 1749, en cuyo tiempo se extinguió la Audiencia el siguiente en virtud de los informes que hizo su antecesor, como único medio de establecer la paz y harmonia de aquel Reyno turbada por las continuas competencias de este Tribunal sobre todas materias, como acreditó la tranquilidad del gobierno de este hasta el año de 1758 en que llegó su sucesor.

54. Don Antonio Guill, Coronel del Regimiento de Infanteria de Guadalaxara, sugeto de acreditado talento, virtud y pericia militar, cuyas qualidades le hicieron sumamente estimado en su gobierno, con el sentimiento de su corta duracion por haber pasado promovido á la Presidencia y Capitania General de Chile el año de 1761.

55. Don Joseph Raon, Brigadier de los Reales Exércitos, gobernó poco mas de dos años por haber pasado promovido a la Presidencia y Capitania General de las Islas Filipinas el año de 1763.

56. Don Joseph Blasco de Orozco, Cabellero del Orden de San Juan, Coronel del Regimiento de Infanteria de Burgos, pasó á servir este Gobierno el referido año, y murió alli el de 1767.

57. Don Vicente de Olaziregui, Coronel del Regimiento de Infanteria de Granada, destinado á este Gobierno de Panamá el año de 1769, murió el de 1773.

58. Don Pedro Carbonel, Coronel del Regimiento de Infanteria de Aragon, nombrado el año de 1775, gobernó hasta el de 1779, en que le llegó el sucesor.

59. Don Ramon de Carvajal, Coronel de Infanteria, que se hallaba sirviendo el Gobierno de Vique en el Principado de Cataluña quando fué destinado al de Guayaquil en el Reyno de Quito, y antes de tomar posesion promovido á este de Panamá el año de 1780, y lo exerció hasta el de 1785 que nombró el Rey para sucederle á

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60. Don Joseph Domás, Brigadier de la Real Armada, nombrado el referido año de 1785, que actualmente gobierna.

Diccionario Geográfico-Histórico de las Indias Occidentales Ó América, tomo iv. pags. 38-49, por el Coronel Don Antonio de Alcedo. Madrid, 1788.

[This list is copied *verbatim*, and the reader is advised that it contains a few errors.]

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