WAFFER’S
DARIEN
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MAP
SHOWING PORTIONS OF THE
ISTHMVS OF PANAMA
AND DARIEN.

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GULF OF PANAMA

GULF OF DARIEN
A NEW VOYAGE AND DESCRIPTION OF THE ISTHMUS OF AMERICA

BY LIONEL WAFER

Reprinted from the original edition of 1699

EDITED BY
GEOGE PARKER WINSHIP
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OF all the American inter-oceanic highways, the one which is today least known was at the end of the seventeenth century the most familiar to the readers of popular literature. The pressure of European rivalries and the opportunities for money-getting, combined with the interest which every one feels in the doings of those whose career lies outside the pale of ordinary legalized ways of getting a livelihood, gave to the side-door entrance to the Pacific—the Darien route of Wafer and his fellow-buccaneers—a prominence greater than it enjoyed ever before or since. During the twenty years which ended in 1700, there was an intermittent stream of travelers along this route, occasionally interrupted for a season or two, and then started afresh by new rumors of Spanish unpreparedness or by some too vigorous investigation into the doings of chance sailing vessels on the Caribbean waters. English and French and New-Englanders, with Dutch and Moors and native Americans, the pick of the ne’er-do-wells of all the world, climbed the mountain-paths and floated down stream into the South Seas, to fight or to drown,
to gamble and gorge or perish of thirst, for the sake of winning the gold demanded by the harlots and winesellers of Kingstown and Petit Guaves.

Great as are the gains of piracy, they must always be less than the ultimate profits of legitimate trade, and so the unyielding laws of human affairs decreed that the buccaneers must disappear, and with them went their favorite pathways to the hunting-grounds across the Isthmus. The country through which they passed remains today much as they left it two hundred years ago, as it has been preserved for us on the pages of Lionel Wafer's entertaining account of what he saw and did in the spring months of the year 1681. The candle-snuffers have been displaced by sometimes-white cotton breeches, and the sellers of print-cloths have introduced the gaiety of their fabrics into the scenes of merry-making. The missionary priests have taken the place of the pawaws, and by the service of the mass and the jollifications of holy days are gradually leading their widely scattered flocks toward European ways of living and thinking. But the mountain-passes remain as steep as of old, the torrents flood the valleys with the same overwhelming unexpectedness, the plantain-walks are as delightsome and the savannahs as fruitful, as when Wafer saw them.

For more than a hundred years Spain persisted in the refusal to allow her heretical British rivals to have any lawful commercial intercourse with her possessions in the West Indies. But
prohibitions and interdicts could not keep the English sailors and traders away from the wealth of the Islands and the Main. The Spaniards indulged in the pleasures of retaliation, despite the fact that each year found them further and further behind in the account against the free-handed British rovers. There was "no peace beyond the line" of the tropics, and so the plundering of ships and stealing of crops went on, to the demoralizing prosperity of Jamaica and of some high in official station at home. But the end had to come at last, and the Treaty of Madrid was agreed to in the summer of 1671, just too late to save Spain from the crowning aggravation of Morgan's sack of Panama.

Peace was more easily proclaimed than enforced. The habits of more than a century — habits of reckless daring and riotous debauchery, of a steady flow of Spanish treasure through Jamaica toward London, where the complaints of those who felt the decrease in rents and perquisites were not the least of the troubles of the Lords of Trade and Plantations — were not readily overcome. Some of the buccaneers who, like Henry Morgan, were in funds at the time, settled down and became most respectable members of the community. More spent their money as they had spent it before, and then looked about for a fresh supply. Thus it is easy to understand how it came to pass that every now and then a shipload of jolly lads, with nothing in the world to lose, sailed out by Port Royal to take whatever the high seas had to offer.
With one of these crews Lionel Wafer set out to seek his fortune. He was a young Englishman who had already voyaged to the East Indies, picking up some notions of surgery and physic on the way, and he had traveled in Ireland and Scotland, where he acquired the Highland tongue. He went to Jamaica to visit a brother, who found a place for him, but the tales of the seas soon tempted him away from settled life. The increasing freedom with which the buccaneers came and went during the rule of Governor Modyford encouraged them to make plans for an exploit which should rival Morgan's famous sack of Panama. Recruits were easily gathered, and when Wafer reached the rendezvous at one of the islands off the Darien coast, he found nearly four hundred comrades assembled to discuss the opportunities for successful plunderings. They decided to attack Santa Maria, a gold-washing station on the opposite side of the Isthmus. Leaving a small guard with their seven ships, they began the overland march on April 5, 1680. Nine days of hard marching up and down hills and of harder floating down streams choked with logs over which the heavy tree-trunk canoes had to be dragged, brought the party to their goal, which was promptly carried by assault. Unluckily, most of the Spaniards had fled at the first warning of their approach, carrying off nearly everything of value. This disappointment confirmed the majority of the buccaneers in a desire to pursue their earlier plan of attacking Panama, and the less venturesome minority, who favored going
back to the ships, were induced to go forward by the election of their leader, Coxon, as chief of the expedition. Seven who were too faint-hearted to go on were sent back to notify the guard at the ships, while the rest embarked in canoes procured from the Indians and rowed forth to try the fortunes of the South Seas.

A trading-boat, unsuspicous of danger, soon fell in their way, and became the nucleus of their fleet. Approaching Panama, they learned that the city had been forewarned by the fugitives from Santa Maria, and three little war-ships confirmed this news by coming out to attack them. There was a sharp fight, which ended by two of the Spanish ships being added to the buccaneer force. The new-comers spent the next fortnight in looking about among the islands of the Gulf of Panama, picking up a few stray provision boats, searching for fresh-water supply, planning schemes for the future, and talking about their exploits in the recent battles. Some of the stories told about the fight off Panama described the backwardness of Coxon in closing with the enemy, and when this gossip reached his ears, he took such offense that he forthwith abandoned the expedition and started back across the Isthmus to the North Sea. About seventy of his immediate followers went with him, leaving behind the wounded men of their company. The bad feeling caused thereby was aggravated by the fact that Coxon took away the principal surgeon and most of the medicines. This doubtless contributed to Wafer's professional advancement,
although he seems still to have been far from holding a recognized place as a practitioner. A merchant craft from Truxillo in Peru, loaded with gunpowder, two thousand jars of wine and brandy, and fifty-one thousand pieces-of-eight (the Spanish colonial dollar), relieved the monotony of gossip and fault-finding, and then it was decided to take Puebla Nueva, north of Panama. Here a careless beginning led to rashness, for which Sawkins, Coxon's successor as chief, paid with his life, and the attack failed completely. Sawkins was probably the ablest of the captains, and his definite schemes for a campaign down the Peruvian coast and home-ward through the Strait of Magellan had held together many who felt little sympathy with the more reckless of the freebooters. After his death, sixty-three of his followers withdrew from the expedition and went back by way of the Darien route. Some time before this, two of the smaller boats, with seven and fifteen men in them, had slipped away from the fleet to try their luck by themselves, with what results is not known. Despite the departure of the more discordant partisans, there was still a pronounced difference of opinion among those who remained regarding future plans, and this was increased by the election of Bartholomew Sharp as Sawkins's successor. Sharp was in all probability the best man for the chief command, although a large party, including Wafer and Dampier, had no confidence in his courage or skill as a leader.

A cruise to the southward was decided upon,
and for six months, beginning June 6, 1680, the buccaneers followed the South American coast. The trip yielded little except to the luckier gamesters, in whose money-bags the bulk of the plunder gradually accumulated. A well-planned attack on Guayaquil had to be given up because of information secured by the enemy from a stray party which had gone off in a small boat to look for women and wine, and who were quickly enticed into an ambuscade. The tedious voyage, with vanishing water supply, continued down the coast to Arica, where armed horsemen awaited their arrival at every landing-place. Thence they bore up for Ilo, where fortune changed and the town was captured. They found little booty, everything of value having been removed excepting the much-needed water and fruit-trees. From here they sailed to the island of Juan Fernandez, where the labors of gathering wood, water, and goat meat were enlivened by the festivities of Christmas and New Year's.

The disputes over Sharp's leadership continued and, while at Juan Fernandez, he was outwitted and put in irons until after an old-time buccaneer, John Watling, had been agreed upon to be his successor as chief. The appearance of three armed vessels approaching the island forced the buccaneers to put to sea, and Watling easily persuaded his fellows, who were no more eager than the Spaniards to close in an engagement, to sail away for the mainland. A spirited attack was made on Arica, and the city should have been taken, but Watling, unable
to control his men, misdirected the assault. He was killed, and the whole force came very near to the same end. Sharp, who had been fighting in the ranks, at last yielded to entreaties and took command, successfully drawing off his comrades to their boats. In the confusion the surgeons, although aware of the retreat, were left behind—a result of their having found a well-stocked wine-room in the church which they had occupied to use as a hospital. Luckily their profession was in demand thereabouts, and after they had sobered off, their lives were granted on condition that they settled down to practice in the city. Wafer, who was one of the guard stationed at the boats during the engagement and thus escaped the fate of his professional superiors, seems by their loss to have risen to the post of chief surgeon to what was left of the expedition.

The disaster at Arica aroused fresh dissensions, which were not quieted by a lucky descent upon Ilo a few days later. Continuing the voyage northward, when off the Isle of Plate or Drake's Island, made famous by the tales of how Sir Francis divided his booty by the bucketfuls of coined silver, the factions finally agreed to separate. The minority, numbering fifty-two, of whom three were Indians and five negro slaves, started off in two canoes and the ship's launch or long-boat, to make their way back to the North Sea by way of Darien. One of this party was Wafer, whose account of his experiences during the ensuing six months forms the main portion of the present volume. Wafer
and his companions in the small open boats were nearly swamped before they reached the mainland shore, where they found a bark for which they exchanged their craft, and in this continued their voyage more comfortably. At the mouth of the Santa Maria River, a Spanish cruiser was watching for buccaneers going or coming by the Isthmus route, and so they sailed by, to a creek where they landed May 1, 1681. Twenty-three days later, after a series of mishaps, one of which disabled Wafer so badly that he had to be left in the care of some friendly Indians, thirty-nine of the party reached the north coast, where they were taken aboard a buccaneer vessel which chanced to be anchored there. One of Wafer's companions who completed the journey with the main party was William Dampier, who afterward published an account of his voyages. He gave a detailed account of this march, which supplements the narrative of Wafer with so little duplication that it seems certain that the two authors were closely associated while writing their respective books. The circumstances under which they wrote will be explained toward the end of this Introduction.

After the departure of the party of Dampier and Wafer from Drake's Island in April, 1681, the main body under Captain Sharp continued their voyage, meeting with various prizes. Aboard one of these, taken in August, they found letters which stated that the Spaniards had captured one of Wafer's companions, a fellow who tired of walking and dropped behind
during the third day's march, and that the rest
of the party had been forced to fight its way
against both Spaniards and Indians entirely
across the Isthmus, a detail which does not
agree with the accounts of either Dampier or
Wafer. Sharp and his fellow-voyagers, about
the first of September, decided to leave the
Pacific. Missing the Strait of Magellan, they
were blown southward into the region of ice-
bergs, through which they passed safely, and
celebrated Christmas while northward bound
in the Atlantic. Barbados was sighted January
28, 1682, but the appearance of a British
cruiser in the harbor led them to keep on to
Antigua, where they sent ashore for tobacco
and permission to enter the port. The latter
was flatly refused, and so they agreed to give
the vessel to those of the company who had
gambled away all their gains, while the others
were set quietly ashore.

One of Sharp's companions, Basil Ringrose,
took passage on a ship from Antigua to London,
where he arrived in March, 1682. He found
the town full of gossip about the buccaneers.
Exquemeling's account of Henry Morgan's
exploits, originally published in Dutch in 1678,
had become more widely known after the ap-
pearance of the Spanish edition in 1681. An
English version was in demand, and soon
appeared with the title: Bucaniers of America:
Or, a true Account of the Most remarkable Assaults
Committed of late years upon the Coasts of The West-
Indies. . . . Written originally in Dutch,
thence translated into Spanish, Now faithfully ren-
dred into English. (London: printed for William Crooke, 1684.)* Some of the buccaneers who were living respectfully in London took offense at statements which appeared in Crooke's edition, and they were perhaps responsible for another version of Exquemeling's book which was entitled: The History of the Bucaniers... Made English from the Dutch Copy, very much Corrected, from the Errors of the Original, by the Relations of some English Gentlemen, that then resided in those Parts. Den Engelseman is een Duyvil voor een Mensch. (London, Printed for Tho. Malthus, 1684.)† The corrections in this version, as a comparison of the collations suggests, consisted principally in omissions. Another book which came out this year to supply the popular demand was edited by Philip Ayres with the title: The Voyages and Adventures of Capt. Barth. Sharp And others. Published by P. A. Esq. (London, 1684.)‡ This volume contained a diary of Sharp's voyage, probably abstracted from the captain's log-book, which was printed more fully on pages 1-55 of A Collection of Original Voyages... Published by Capt. William Hacke. (London, printed for James Knapton, 1699.)** Crooke meanwhile had secured from Ringrose a much more detailed account of his voyage with Sharp, and pub-

* Small quarto. Title; 5 ll. "To the Reader;" text, pp. 1-115, 1-151, 1-124; 6 ll. "Table;" and 9 plates.
† Small octavo. Title; 11 ll. "To the Reader," poetical dedication to Morgan, etc.; text, pp. 1-192; and 2 plates.
‡ Small octavo. Title; 11 ll. "Preface;" text, pp. 1-172.
** Small octavo. Title; 7 ll. "Index," etc.; text, pp. 1-45, 1-100, 1-53; 1 l. advertisement; and 6 plates.
lished this as the second volume, or Part IV., of the *Bucaniers of America,* early in 1685. About the same time, Crooke issued a second and cheaper edition of the first volume.† Extracts from all of these books will be found in the notes to Wafer's narrative in the present volume.

Wafer, having completed the sojourn in the Darien country which he describes in the narrative reprinted herewith, rejoined Dampier and the rest of the party with whom he had started to cross the Isthmus. During the autumn of 1681, he cruised about the Caribbean with one division of the party, until the approach of the season for hurricanes led him to go north to Virginia, where he found Dampier and others of the South Sea men who had preceded him. A few months of plantation life, even with such enlivenment as was afforded by petty piracy along the Carolina coast, turned the thoughts of the buccaneers toward the scenes of their distant adventures. In August, 1683, Captain John Cook appeared in Chesapeake Bay, where he gathered fifty-two congenial spirits, among them Dampier and Wafer, aboard his ship *The Revenge,* and then set sail for the southward. Off the Guinea coast they forcibly exchanged craft with the crew of a new forty-gun vessel, which they declared very fit for their purposes, being "well stored with good Brandy, Water,

* Small quarto. Title; 7 ll. "Preface;" text, pp. 1-212; 12 ll. "Table;" 2 plates.
† Small quarto, as the first edition. Title; 5 ll. "To the Reader;" text, pp. 1-(55), 1-80, 1-84; 6 ll. "Table;" and 9 plates.
Provisions, and other necessaries.” Equipped to their liking, they went around the Horn into the Pacific. After a series of profitable adventures, the party divided in August, 1685, the majority, one of whom was Dampier, crossing to the East Indies, while the rest, including Wafer, remained in American waters. For two years longer they wandered up and down the coast, taking a living as they could find it. Late in 1687, they decided to return to the Atlantic, and after a trying voyage were once more in the West Indies. Piracy was now an unprofitable risk thereabouts, and so the crew split up, Wafer getting passage to Philadelphia. After a short visit in Virginia, he returned home to London. There he was soon rejoined by Dampier, who had completed the circumnavigation of the globe by way of the Cape of Good Hope.

The tales of these returning voyagers reawakened interest in their doings and, to meet the demand of public and publishers, Dampier wrote his *New Voyage around the World*. The volume appeared in 1697, and ran through four editions before the end of the century. This success led him to write two other volumes, which together form the basis for a set of his *Voyages*. Dampier's first volume was illustrated with five maps, one of which represented the Isthmus of Darien, with a dotted line showing his route across in 1681 and the different stopping-places during that journey. This map was afterwards used to illustrate Wafer's narrative, and it is reproduced in the present volume. In examin-
ing it, the reader should recollect that the route marked on it is that of Dampier and the main body of his companions, and not that traversed a few months later by Wafer.

While Dampier was writing his first book, a scheme was being promoted for establishing a Scotch colony on the northern Darien coast. Wide-spread public curiosity, rivaling that of the South Sea and Mississippi bubbles, was stirred up throughout Britain. Wafer, than whom no one was more familiar with the country about which every one was talking, took advantage of the opportunity and, in 1699, published an account of his observations and experiences in Darien.* This was the first edition of the work which is reprinted in the present volume. Wafer's book was by no means dependent upon the mischances of the Scotch settlement for success. A second edition† appeared in 1704, the special occasion being the interest aroused by reports of a lucky raid on the gold mines on the south side of the Isthmus, of which it contains an account written by one of the raiders named Davis. This edition also included "An Additional Account of several Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Reptiles, &c. and particularly many Trees, Shrubs, and Herbs, with their Names, Use, Vertues, &c. as has been observ'd in those Parts. Communicated by a Member of the Royal Society." This fills pages

*Octavo. Title, as on page 27; 3 ll. dedication, etc.; text, pp. 1-224; 7 ll. "Index;" 1 l. "Books printed for James Knapton;" map and 3 plates.

†Title; 7 ll. dedication and preface; text, pp. 1-283; 6 ll. "Index;" map and 3 plates.
INTRODUCTION

180–262, and its value may be guessed from the quotations which are given among the notes to Wafer’s text. Wafer’s narrative was printed again in 1729, as pages 263–463 of the third volume of Dampier’s Voyages.

The Dutch were quick to appreciate the value of Wafer’s narrative, as well as its proper relation to Dampier’s Voyages, for it forms a part of Sewel’s translation of Dampier, the second volume of which has the title: Tweede Deel van William Dampiers Reystogt. . . . Midsgaders een Naauwkeurige beschrywing van Darien Of de Land-engte van Amerika, . . . beschreeven door Lionel Wafer. Alles uyt het Engelsch vertaald door W. Sewel. (In’s Gravenhage. By Abraham de Hond, 1700.) Wafer has also a separate title, a close translation from the first English title, with the addition of two lines, “Uyt het Engelsche vertaald door W. Sewel,” and the imprint, “Gravenhage, 1700;” so that this part of the volume, which has its own pagination,* may have been sold separately. Sewel’s translation was reprinted at Amsterdam in 1716–17.


†Small octavo. Title; 3 preliminary ll.; text, pp. 1–398; 2 ll. “Privilege du Roy;” 2 maps.
translation follows the first edition of Wafer, with some slight condensation, including the elimination of the Scotch vocabulary, and ends on page 253. The remainder of the volume contains a narrative of the adventures of the captain of a Spanish vessel, the Tartan mentioned in the note on page 64, who had been captured and taken to London, where Wafer is said to have met him while he was awaiting the arrival of money from Peru with which to pay his ransom. This Spanish captain’s narrative follows Wafer’s account without any break in the text or any explanation of the fact that it is not translated from the same English volume as the preceding account.

Another French edition, *Voyage de M. Wafer, Où l’on trouve la description de l’Isthme de l’Amérique*, was published “Chez la Veuve de Paul Marret,” Amsterdam, 1714.* This is a different translation of Wafer, including the Scotch vocabulary, and also containing the Spanish captain’s narrative.

In 1707 a German translation appeared as a part of the *Dritter Theil Der Reisen Herrn Wilhelm Dampier*. . . . Welchem beygefüget worden: Herrn Leonel Wafers, eines Englischen Chirurgi, Reise und Beschreibung des Istimi oder Erd-Enge Darien in America. Aus der Englischen in die Frantzösische, und aus dieser in die Hoch-Teutsche Sprache übersetzet. (Franckfurt und Leipzig, Bey Michael Rohrlachs seel. Wittib und Erben, 1707.) Wafer occupies pages 200–421, with a map and the three plates. The Scotch vocabu-

*Small octavo. Title; text, pp. 3–262; 7 ll. "Table."
lary is given, but not the Spanish captain's narrative.

There are references to a Swedish edition, by S. Oedmann, Upsala, 1789, in octavo, but no copy of this has as yet been located by the editor of this reprint.

A Spanish translation, made from one of the French texts, by Sr. D. Vicente Restrepo, was published in the Bogotá (Colombia) Reportorio Colombiano in 1880-81. Sr. Restrepo afterwards secured a copy of the original English edition, with which he carefully compared his translation. The revised text was published with the title: Viajes de Lionel Wafer al Istmo del Darien (cuatro meses entre los indios) traducidos y anotados por Vicente Restrepo. (Bogotá, 1888.)*

The translation gives the descriptive portions of Wafer's volume in full, the narrative of travel being much condensed. Sr. Restrepo annotated the text with many extremely valuable notes, which have been freely used in the present edition. Those marked with his initials (V. R.), are taken directly from his pages. In addition to these notes, his volume contains an account of a trip through the country described by Wafer, made in 1887 by the son of the translator, D. Ernesto Restrepo. This description of the country as it now is, affords the most convincing evidence of the accuracy and reliability of Wafer's observations.

The present volume contains an exact reprint of the first edition of Wafer's New Voyage, as it

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INTRODUCTION

appeared in London in 1699, with the exception of some obvious typographical errors, most of which were desired to be corrected in the "Errata" at the end of the preface in the original edition. The notes at the bottom of the pages and those within brackets at the sides have been added by the editor of the present reprint. They are for the most part extracts from the writings of Wafer's companions, which explain or add to the information given in the text. The illustrations are photographic reproductions of those in the 1699 edition, excepting the frontispiece map, which is a copy from the British Admiralty chart of the Darien country. This map provides a better commentary than any notes upon the geographical statements made by Wafer.

George Parker Winship.
Wafer's Darien

London: James Knapton, 1699

Reprinted from a copy of the original edition in the possession of the Publishers.
A NEW VOYAGE AND DESCRIPTION OF THE Isthmus of America,

Giving an Account of the Author's Abode there,


The Indian Inhabitants, their Features, Complexion, &c. their Manners, Customs, Employments, Marriages, Feasts, Hunting, Computation, Language, &c.

With Remarkable Occurrences in the South Sea, and elsewhere.

By LIONEL WAFER.

Illustrated with several Copper-Plates.

LONDON:
Printed for James Knapton, at the Crown in St. Paul's Church yard, 1699.
[iii] To his Excellency, the Right Honourable Henry Earl of Romney,

Viscount Sidney of Sheppey, and Baron of Milton in the County of Kent, Lord Lieutenant of the same, and of the City of Canterbury, Vice-Admiral of the same, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Constable of Dover Castle, Master of the Ordinance, Lieutenant-General of His Majesty's Forces, Collonel of His Majesty's own Regiment of Foot Guards, One of the Lords of His Majesty's Bed-Chamber, One of the Lords of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council; and One of the Lords Justices of England, during the Absence of His Majesty.

This Relation of his Travels, [iv] And Description of the Isthmus of America, is humbly Dedicated by

His Excellency's

Most Devoted

Humble Servant,

Lionel Wafer.
To the Reader.

This Book bears partly the Name of Voyages, yet I shall here acquaint you before-hand, as I have hinted in the Book itself, that you are not to expect any Thing like a Compleat Journal, or Historical Account of all Occurrences in the Scene of my Travels. My principal Design was to give what Description I could of the Isthmus of Darien, where I was left among the wild Indians: And as for the preceding and subsequent Relations, I have, in them, only briefly represented the Course of my Voyages; without particularizing, any further, than to speak of a few Things I thought more especially remarkable. I cannot pretend to so great an Exactness, but that I may have failed in some Circumstances, especially in the Descriptive Part; which I leave to be made up by the longer Experience, and more accurate Observations of Others. But I have been as careful as I could: And tho' there are some Matters of Fact that will seem strange, yet I have been more especially careful in these, to say nothing but what, according to the best of my Knowledge, is the very Truth. I was but Young when I was abroad, and I kept no Journal; so that I may be
dispenc'd with as to Defects and Failings of least moment. Yet I have not trusted altogether to my own Memory; but some Things I committed to Writing, long before I return'd to England; and have since been frequently comparing and rectifying my Notices, by Discoursing such of my Fellow-Travellers as I have met with in London. And 'tis even my Desire that the Reader, as he has Opportunity, would consult any of them, as to these Particulars; being not fond of having him take them upon my single Word. He will do both himself and me a Kindness in it; if he will be so Candid, withal, as to make me such Allowance [viii] as the Premises call for: He will ease me of the Odium of Singularity; and himself of Doubt, or a Knowledge, it may be, too defective.
Mr. Wafer's Voyages; and Description of the Isthmus of America.

My first going abroad was in the Great Ann of London, Capt. Zachary Browne Commander, bound for Bantam in the Isle of Java, in the East-Indies, in the Year 1677. I was in the Service of the Surgeon of the Ship; but being then very young, I made no great Observations in that Voyage. My Stay at Bantam was not above a Month, we being sent from thence to Jamby in the Isle of Sumatra. At that time there was a War between the Malayans of Iihor on the Promontory of Malacca, and those of Jamby; and a Fleet of Proe's from Iihore block'd up the Mouth of the River of Jamby. The Town of Jamby is about 100 Mile up the River: [2] But within 4 or 5 Mile of the Sea, it hath a Port Town on the River, consisting of about 15 or 20 Houses, built on Posts, as the Fashion of that Country is: The Name of this Port is Quolla; though this seems rather an Appellative than a proper Name, for they generally call a Port Quolla: And 'tis usual with our English Seamen in those Parts, when they have been at a Landing-place, to say they have been at the Quolla, calling it so in imitation of the
Natives; as the Portuguese call their Landing-places, Barcadero's. This War was some hindrance to our Trade there; and we were forc'd to stay about 4 Months in the Road, before we could get in our Lading of Pepper: And thence we return'd to Bantam, to take in the rest of our Lading. While I was a'shore there, the Ship fail'd for England: So I got a Passage home in another Ship, The Bombay, Capt. White Commander; who being Chief Mate, succeeded Capt. Bennet, who dy'd in the Voyage.

I arrived in England again in the Year 1679. and after about a Months stay, I entred my self on a Second [3] Voyage, in a Vessel commanded by Capt. Buckenham, bound for the West-Indies. I was there also in the Service of the Surgeon of the Ship: But when we came to Jamaica, the Season of Sugars being not yet come, the Captain was willing to make a short Voyage, in the mean while, to the Bay of Campeachy, to fetch Log-wood: But having no mind to go further with him, I staid in Jamaica. It proved well for me that I did so; for in that Expedition, the Captain was taken by the Spaniards, and carried Prisoner to Mexico: Where one Ruffel saw him, who was then also a Prisoner there, and after made his Escape. He told me he saw Capt. Buckenham, with a Log chain'd to his Leg, and a Basket at his Back, crying Bread about the Streets for a Baker his Master. The Spaniards would never consent to the Ransoming him, tho' he was a Gentleman who had Friends of a considerable Fortune, and would have given them a very large Sum of Mony.
I had a Brother in Jamaica, who was employed under Sir Thomas Modyford,* in his Plantation at the Angels: [4] And my chief Inducement in undertaking this Voyage was to see him. I stayed some time with him, and he settled me in a House at Port-Royal, where I followed my Business of Surgery for some Months. But in a while I met with Capt. Cook, and Capt. Linch,† two Privateers, who were going out from Port-Royal, toward the Coast of Cartagena, and took me along with them. We met other Privateers on that Coast; but being parted from them by stress of Weather about Golden-Island, in the Samballoes, we stood away to the Bastimento's, where we met them again, and several others, who had been at the taking of Portobelo, and were Rendezvous'd there. Here I first met with Mr. Dampier, and was with him in the Expedition into the S. Seas. For in short, having muster'd up our Forces at Golden-Island, and landed on the Isthmus, we march'd over Land, and took Santa Maria; and made those Excursions into the S. Seas, which Mr. Ringrose relates in the 4th part of the History of the Buccaneers.

*Sir Thomas Modyford emigrated in 1647, to Barbados where he was appointed governor in 1660. In 1664 he was made governor of Jamaica, a post which he held until 1667, when he was displaced and sent home under arrest, charged with "making war and committing depredations and acts of hostility upon the subjects and territories of the king of Spain"—in other words, of having had too much to do with the buccaneers. He was committed to the Tower for a season, but was released and, in 1675, probably in company with Sir Henry Morgan, returned to Jamaica, where he died in 1679.

† Probably John Cooke and Stephen Lynch.
Mr. Dampier has told, in his Introduction to his Voyage round the World, [5] in what manner the Company divided with reference to Capt. Sharp. I was of Mr. Dampier's side in that Matter, and of the number of those who chose rather to return in Boats to the Isthmus, and go back again a toilful Journey over Land, than stay under a Captain in whom we experienc'd neither Courage nor Conduct. He hath given also an Account of what befel us in that Return, till such time as by the Carlefnies of our Company, my Knee was so scorched with Gunpowder, that after a few Days further March, I was left behind among the Wild-Indians, in the Isthmus of Darien.

It was the 5th Day of our Journey when this Accident befel me; being also the 5th of May, in the Year 1681. I was sitting on the Ground near one of our Men, who was drying of Gunpowder in a Silver Plate: But not managing it as he should, it blew up, and scorched my Knee to that degree, that the Bone was left bare, the Flesh being torn away, and my Thigh burnt for a great way above it. I applied to it immediately such Remedies as I had in my Knapfack: And being unwilling to be left behind my [6] Companions, I made hard shift to jog on, and

* Dampier, p. 15, says: "Our Chyrurgeon, Mr Wafer, came to a sad disaster here: being drying his Powder, a careless fellow passed by with his Pipe lighted, and set fire to his Powder, which blew up and scorched his Knee; and reduced him to that condition that he was not able to march; wherefore we allowed him a Slave to carry his things, being all of us the more concerned at the accident, because likely ourselves every moment to misfortune, and none to look after us but him."
bear them Company for a few Days; during which our Slaves ran away from us, and among them a Negro whom the Company had allow'd me for my particular Attendant, to carry my Medicines.* He took them away with him, together with the rest of my Things, and thereby left me depriv'd of wherewithal to dress my Sore; insomuch that my Pain increafing upon me, and being not able to trudge it further through Rivers and Woods, I took leave of my Company, and set up my Rest among the Darien Indians.

This was on the 10th Day; and there staid with me Mr. Richard Gopfon, who had serv'd an Apprenticeship to a Druggift in London. He was an ingenious Man, and a good Scholar; and had with him a Greek Testament which he frequently read, and would translate extempore into English to such of the Company as were dispos'd to hear him. Another who staid behind with me was John Hingfon, Mariner: They were both so fatigued with the Journey, that they could go no further. There had been an Or-[7]der made among us at our first Landing, to kill any who should flag in the Journey: But this was made only to terrify any from loitering, and being taken by the Spaniards; who by

*Dampier, p. 16, says that, during the night following the seventh day, "these hardships and inconveniences made us all careless, and there was no Watch kept, (tho I believe no body did sleep:) So our Slaves taking this opportunity, went away in the night; all but one, who was hid in some hole, and knew nothing of their design, or else fell asleep. Those that went away carried with them our Chyrurgeons Gun and all his Money."
Tortures might extort from them a Discovery of our March.* But this rigorous Order was not executed; but the Company took a very kind Leave both of these, and of me. Before this we had lost the Company of two more of our Men, Robert Spratlin and William Bowman, who parted with us at the River Congo, the Day after my being scorched with Gun-powder. The Passage of that River was very deep, and the Stream violent; by which means I was born down the Current, for several Paces, to an Eddy in the bending of the River. Yet I got over; but these two being the hindmost, and seeing with what difficulty I crossed the River, which was still rising, they were discourag’d from attempting it, and chose rather to stay where they were. These two came to me; and the other two soon after the Company’s departure for the North-Sea, as I shall have occasion to mention; so that there were five of [8] us in all who were left behind among the Indians.

Being now forc’d 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,

* Dampier explains, p. 2, that, before they separated from Sharp, ‘‘because there were some designed to go with us that we knew were not well able to march, we gave out, that if any man faulted in the Journey over Land he must expect to be shot to death; for we knew that the Spaniards would soon be after us, and one man falling into their hands might be the ruin of us all, by giving an account of our strength and condition: yet this would not deter ‘em from going with us.’’
laid it upon the Sore. This prov'd so effectual, that in about 20 Days use of this Poultets, which they applied fresh every Day, I was perfectly cured; except only a Weakness in that Knee, which remain'd long after, and a Benummedness which I sometimes find in it to this Day. Yet they were not altogether so kind in other respects; for some of them look'd on us very scurvily, throwing green Plantains to us, as we fat cringing and shivering, as you would Bones to a Dog. This was but forry Food; yet we were forc'd to be contented with it: But to mend our Commons, the young Indian, at whose House we were left, would often give us some ripe Plantains, unknown to his Neighbours; and these were a great Re-[9]freshment to us. This Indian, in his Childhood, was taken a Prisoner by the Spaniards; and having liv'd some time among them, he had learn'd a pretty deal of their Language, under the Bishop of Panama, whom he serv'd there; till finding means to escape, he was got again among his own Country-men. This was of good use to us; for we having a smattering of Spanish, and a little of the Indian's Tongue also, by passing their Country before, between both these, and with the additional use of Signs, we found it no very difficult Matter to understand one another. He was truly generous and hospitable toward us; and so careful of us, that if in the Day-time we had no other Provision than a few forry green Plantains, he would rise in the Night, and go out by stealth to the Neighbouring Plantain-walk, and fetch a Bundle of ripe Plantain-walk, and fetch a Bundle of ripe
ones from thence, which he would distribute among us unknown to his Country-men. Not that they were naturally inclin’d to use us thus roughly, for they are generally a kind and free-hearted People; but they had taken some particular Offence, upon [10] the account of our Friends who left us, who had in a manner awed the Indian Guides they took with them for the remainder of their Journey, and made them go with them very much against their Wills;* the Severity of the Rainy Seafon being then so great, that even the Indians themselves had no mind for Travelling, tho’ they are little curious either as to the Weather or Ways.

When Gopson, Hingfon, and I had lived 3 or 4 Days in this manner, the other two, Spratlin and Bowman, whom we left behind at the River Congo, on the 6th Day of our Journey, found their way to us; being exceedingly fatigued with rambling so long among the wild Woods and Rivers without Guides, and having no other Sustenance but a few Plantains they found here and there. They told us of George Gainy’s

*R. Spratlin, W. Bowman.

*Dampier, p. 19, says that the party found two young Indians at this place who could speak a little Spanish, and who offered to act as guides, provided the white men would wait until the second day before starting. "But we thought our selves nearer the North Sea than we were, and proposed to go without a Guide, rather than stay here a whole day: . . . The tenth [i.e., the next] day we got up betimes, resolving to march, but the Indians opposed it as much as they could, but seeing they could not persuade us to stay, they came with us." The Indians were probably anxious to secure the hatchets with which the Englishmen usually rewarded their guides, but they were evidently provoked by the haste of the white men, which no doubt interfered with their plans for this day.
Difafter, whose Drowning Mr. *Dampier* relates p. 17.* They saw him lie dead on the Shore which the Floods were gone off from, with the Rope twisted about him, and his Mony at his Neck; but they were so fatigued, they car’d not to meddle with it. These, after their coming [11] up to us, continued with us for about a Fortnight longer, at the same Plantation where the main Body of our Company had left us; and our Provifion was still at the same Rate, and the Countenances of the Indians as stern towards us as ever, having yet no News of their Friends whom our Men had taken as their Guides. Yet notwithstanding their Disguft, they still took care of my Wound; which by this time was pretty well healed, and I was enabled to walk about. But at length not finding their Men return as they expected, they were out of Patience, and seem’d resolved to revenge on us the Injuries which they suppos’d our Friends had done to theirs. To this end they held frequent Confultations how they should dispose of us: Some were for killing us, others for keeping

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*G. Gayny’s drowning.*

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A Conflunt to destroy the A. and his Com-panions.

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*Dampier says that, the river being much swollen, “at length we concluded to send one man over with a Line, who should hale over all our things first, and then get the men over. . . . George Gayny took the end of a Line and made it fast about his neck, and left the other end ashore, and one man stood by the Line, to clear it away to him. But when Gayny was in the midst of the water, the Line in draw-ing after him chanced to kink, or grow entangled; and he that stood by to clear it away, stopt the Line, which turned Gayny on his back, and he that had the Line in his hand threw it all into the River after him, thinking he might recover himself; but the stream running very swift, and the man having three hundred Dollars at his back, was carried down, and never seen more by us.”*
us among them, and others for carrying us to the Spaniards, thereby to ingratiate themselves with them. But the greatest part of them mortally hating the Spaniards, this last Project was soon laid aside; and they came to this Resolution, To forbear doing any thing to us, till so much Time were expir'd as [12] they thought might reasonably be allow'd for the return of their Friends, whom our Men had taken with them as Guides to the North Sea-Coast; and this, as they computed, would be 10 Days, reckoning it up to us on their Fingers.

The Time was now almost expir'd, and having no News of the Guides, the Indians began to suspect that our Men had either murder'd them, or carried them away with them; and seem'd resolv'd thereupon to destroy us. To this end they prepared a great Pile of Wood to burn us, on the 10th Day; and told us what we must trust to when the Sun went down; for they would not execute us till then.

But it so hapned that Lacenta, their Chief, passing that way, dissuaded them from that Cruelty, and proposed to them to send us down towards the North-side, and two Indians with us, who might inform themselves from the Indians near the Coast, what was become of the Guides. They readily hearken'd to this Proposal, and immediately chose two Men to conduct us to the North-side. One [13] of these had been all along an inveterate Enemy to us; but the other was that kind Indian, who was so much our Friend, as to rise in the Night and get us ripe Plantains.
The next Day therefore we were dismissed with our two Guides, and marched Joyfully for 3 Days; being well affur'd we should not find that our Men had done any hurt to their Guides. The first three Days we march'd thro' nothing but Swamps, having great Rains, with much Thunder and Lightning; and lodg'd every Night under the dropping Trees, upon the cold Ground. The third Night we lodg'd on a small Hill, which by the next Morning was become an Island: For those great Rains had made such a Flood, that all the low Land about it was cover'd deep with Water. All this while we had no Provision, except a handful of dry Maiz our Indian Guides gave us the first two Days: But this being spent, they return'd home again, and left us to shift for our selves.

At this Hill we remained the fourth Day; and on the fifth the Waters being abated, we set forward, [14] steering North by a Pocket Compass,* and marched till 6 a Clock at Night: At which time, we arrived at a River about 40 foot wide, and very deep.† Here we found a Tree fallen across the River, and so we believed our Men had past that way; ‡ therefore here we

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*When the main body started off from the village where Wafer remained, Dampier, p. 19, says that "we often look'd on our Pocket Compasses, and shewed them to the Guides, pointing at the way that we wou'd go, which made them shake their heads, and say, they were pretty things, but not convenient for us." Any one who has tried to follow a compass-line through broken country will appreciate the feelings of the guides who knew the easier route following the lay of the land.

† Cañaza River.—V. R.

‡ Dampier, p. 20, says that, on the fourth day after leaving Wafer at the Indian settlement, the guides "carry'd us to a
fat down, and consulted what course we should take.

And having debated the Matter, it was concluded upon to cross the River, and seek the Path in which they had travelled: For this River running somewhat Northward in this place, we persuaded our selves we were past the main Ridge of Land that divided the North part of the Isthmus from the South; and consequently that we were not very far from the North Sea. Besides, we did not consider that the great Rains were the only cause of the sudden rising and falling of the River; but thought the Tide might contribute to it, and that we were not very far from the Sea. We went therefore over the River by the help of the Tree: But the Rain had made it so slippery, that 'twas with great difficulty that we could get over it astride, for there was no [15] walking on it: And tho' four of us got pretty well over, yet Bowman, who was the last, flipt off, and the Stream hurried him out of sight in a moment, so that we concluded he was Drown'd. To add to our Affliction for the loss of our Comfort, we fought about for a Path, but found none; for the late Flood had fill'd all the Land with Mud and Oaze, and therefore since we could not find a Path, we returned again, and passed over the River on the same Tree by which we crost'd it at first; intending to pass down by the side of this River,

Tree that stood on the Bank of the River, and told us if we could fell that Tree cross it, we might pass; if not, we could pass no further. Therefore we set two of the best Ax-men that we had, who fell'd it exactly cross the River, and the boughs just reached over; on this we passed very safe."
which we still thought discharged itself into the North Sea. But when we were over, and had gone down with the Stream a quarter of a Mile, we espied our Companion sitting on the Bank of the River; who, when we came to him, told us, that the violence of the Stream hurry'd him thither, and that there being in an Eddy, he had time to consider where he was; and that by the help of some Boughs that hung in the Water, he had got out. This Man had at this time 400 pieces of Eight at his Back: He was a weakly Man, a Taylor by Trade.

[16] Here we lay all Night; and the next Day, being the 5th of our present Journey, we march'd further down by the side of the River, thro' thickets of hollow Bamboes and Brambles, being also very weak for want of Food: But Providence suffer'd us not to perish, tho' Hunger and Weariness had brought us even to Death's door: For we found there a Maccaw Tree, which afforded us Berries, of which we eat greedily; and having therewith somewhat satisfied our Hunger, we carried a Bundle of them away with us, and continued our March till Night.

The next Day being the 6th, we marched till 4 in the Afternoon, when we arrived at another River, which join'd with that we had hitherto coasted; and we were now inclos'd between them, on a little Hill at the Conflux of them. 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 [17] with us but a Macheat or long Knife. This last River also we set by the Compafs, and found it run due North: Which confirmed us in our Mistake, that we were on the North side of the main Ridge of Mountains; and therefore we resolv'd upon making two Bark-logs,* to float us down the River, which we unanimously concluded would bring us to the North Sea Coast. The Woods afforded us hollow Bamboes fit for our purpose; and we cut them into proper lengths, and tied them together with Twigs of a Shrub like a Vine, a great many on the top of one another.

By that time we had finished our Bark-logs it was Night, and we took up our Lodging on a small Hill, where we gathered about a Cart-load of Wood, and made a Fire, intending to set out with our Bark-logs the next Morning. But not long after Sun-set, 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.

[18] Thus it continued till 12 a Clock at Night; when to our great Terror, we could hear the Rivers roaring on both sides us; but 'twas so dark, that we could see nothing but the Fire we

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* This was the ordinary name in the South Sea for any sort of a raft. They were very common, and of all sizes, from the two-logs on which the fisherman paddled about, sitting astride in the water, to the large double-deck craft which carried cargoes of grain and wine from the ports of Chile and Peru to Panama, sailing before the steady northerly winds.
had made, except when a flash of Lightning came. Then we could see all over the Hill, and perceive the Water approaching us; which in less than half an hour carried away our Fire. This drove us all to our shifts, every Man seeking some means to save himself from the threatening Deluge. We also fought for small Trees to climb: For the place abounded with great Cotton Trees, of a prodigious bigness from the Root upward, and at least 40 or 50 foot clear without Branches, so that there was no climbing up them.  

For my own part, I was in a great Consternation, and running to save my Life, I very opportunely met with a large Cotton Tree, which by some accident, or thro' Age, was become rotten, and hollow on one side; having a hole in it at about the height of 4 foot from the ground. I immediately got up into it as well as I could: And in the Cavity I found [19] a knob, which served me for a Stool; and there I sat down almost Head and Heels together, not having room enough to stand or sit upright. In this Condition I sat wishing for Day: But being fatigued with Travel, though very hungry withal, and cold, I fell asleep: But was soon awakned by the noise of great Trees which were brought down by the Flood; and came with such force against the Tree, that they made it shake.  

When I awoke, I found my Knees in the Water, though the lowest part of my hollow Trunk was, as I said, 4 foot above the ground; and the Water was running as swift, as if 'twere
in the middle of the River. The Night was still very dark, but only when the flashes of Lightning came: Which made it so dreadful and terrible, that I forgot my Hunger, and was wholly taken up with praying to God to spare my Life. While I was Praying and Meditating thus on my fast Condition, I saw the Morning Star appear, by which I knew that Day was at hand: This cheered my drooping Spirits, and in [20] less than half an hour the Day began to dawn, the Rain and Lightning ceased, and the Waters abated, infomuch that by that time the Sun was up, the Water was gone off from my Tree.

Then I ventured out of my cold Lodging; but being stiff and the Ground slippery, I could scarce stand: Yet I made a shift to ramble to the Place where we had made our Fire, but found no Body there. Then I call’d out aloud, but was answer’d only with my own Echo; which struck such Terror into me, that I fell down as dead, being oppressed both with Grief and Hunger; this being the 7th Day of our Fast, save only the Maccaw-berries before related.

Being in this Condition, despairing of Comfort for want of my Conforts, I lay some time on the wet Ground, till at last I heard a Voice hard by me, which in some fort revived me; but especially when I saw it was Mr. Hingston, one of my Companions, and the rest found us presently after: Having all sav’d themselves by climbing small Trees. We greeted each other with Tears in our Eyes, and returned Thanks to God for our Deliverance.
The first thing we did in the Morning was to look after our Bark-logs or Rafts, which we had left tied to a Tree, in order to prosecute our Voyage down the River; but coming to the Place where we left them, we found them funk and full of Water, which had got into the hollow of the Bamboes, contrary to our Expectation; for we thought they would not have admitted so much as Air, but have been like large Bladders full blown: But it seems there were Cracks in them which we did not perceive, and perhaps made in them by our Carelessness in working them; for the Vessels made of these Hollow Bamboe's, are wont to hold Water very well.

This was a new Vexation to us, and how to proceed farther we knew not; but Providence still directed all for the better: For if we had gone down this River, which we afterwards understood to be a River that runs into the River of Cheapo, and so towards the Bay of Panama and the South Sea, it would have carried us [22] into the midst of our Enemies the Spaniards, from whom we could expect no Mercy.

The Neighbourhood of the Mountains, and steepness of the Descent, is the cause that the Rivers rise thus suddenly after these violent Rains; but for the same reason they as suddenly fall again.

But to return to my Story, being thus frustrate of our Design of going down the Stream, or of crossing either of these Rivers, by reason of the sinking of our Bark-logs, we were glad to think of returning back to the Indian Settlement, and

*Now called the Chepo, or Bayano.
Coasted up the River side in the same Track we came down by. As our Hunger was ready to carry our Eyes to any Object that might afford us some Relief, it hapned that we espied a Deer fast asleep: Which we designed if possible to get, and in order to it we came so very near, that we might almost have thrown our selves on him: 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 from the noise, [23] he took the River and swam over. As long as our way lay by the River side, we made a shift to keep it well enough: But being now to take leave of the River, in order to seek for the Indians Habitation, we were much at a loss. This was the Eighth Day, and we had no Sustinence beside the Maccaw-Berries we had got, and the Pith of a Bibby-Tree we met with, which we split and eat very favourly.

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 some old Plantain Walk or Potato Piece, which these Creatures often resort to, to look for Food: This brought us, according to our Expectation, to an old Plantation, and in sight of a new one. But here again Fear over-whelmed us, being between two straits, either to starve or venture up to the Houses of the Indians, whom being so near, we were now afraid of again, not knowing how they would receive us. But since there was no avoiding it, it was concluded that one should go up to the
Houfe, while the reft staid behind to [24] fee the Iffue. In conclusion I went to the Plantation, and it proved the fame that we came from. The Indians were all amazed to fee me, and began to ask many Queftions: But I prevented them by falling into a Swoon, occasion'd by the heat of the Houfe, and the fcent of Meat that was boyling over the Fire. The Indians were very officious to help me in this Extremity, and when I revived, they gave me a little to eat. Then they enquired of me for the other four Men, for whom they prefently fent, and brought all but Gobfon, who was left a little further off, and treated us all very kindly: For our long expected Guides were now returned from the North fide, and gave large Commendations of the kindness and generousity of our Men; by which means all the Indians were become now again our very good Friends.\(^*\) The Indian, who was fo particularly kind to us, preceiving Mr. Gobfon was not yet arrived at the Plantation, carried out Victuals to him, and after he was a little refrefh'd with that, brought him up to us. So that now we were all together again, and had a great deal of care taken of us.

[25] Here we ftyayed feven Days to refrefh our

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\(^*\) Dampier, p. 23, says that, when the main party went aboard the French privateer, "the first thing we did was to get such things as we could to gratifie our Indian Guides, for we were resolved to reward them to their hearts content. This we did by giving them Beads, Knives, Scissars, and Looking-glasses, which we bought of the Privateers Crew; and half a Dollar a man from each of us; which we would have bestowed in goods also, but could not get any, the Privateer having no more toys."
felves, and then took our March again: For we were desirous to get to the North Seas as soon as we could, and they were now more willing to guide us than ever before; since the Guides our Party took with them, had not only been dis-miss'd civilly, but with Prefents also of Axes, Beads, &c. The Indians therefore of the Village where we now were, order'd four lufty young Men to conduct us down again to the River, over which the Tree was fallen, who going now with a good will, carried us thither in one Day; whereas we were three Days the firft time in going thither. When we came thither, we marched about a Mile up the River, where lay a Canoa, into which we all Imbarked, and the Indians guided us up the fame River which we before, thro' mistake, had strove to go down. The Indians padled ftoutly againft the Stream till Night, and then we Lodged at a Houfe, where these Men gave fuch large Commendations of our Men, who were gone to the North Sea, that the Mafter of the Houfe treated [26] us after the beft manner. The next Day we fet out again, with two Indians more, who made fix in all, to Row or Paddle us; and our Condition now was well altered.

In fix Days time after this, they brought us to Lacenta's Houfe, who had before faved our Lives.

This Houfe is situated on a fine little Hill, on which grows the ftatelieft Grove of Cotton Trees that ever I faw. The Bodies of these Trees were generally fix foot in Diameter, nay, fome eight, nine, ten, eleven; for four Indians and
my felf took hand in hand round a Tree, and could not fathom it by three foot. Here was likewise a stately Plantain Walk, and a Grove of other small Trees, that would make a pleafant artificial Wildernefs, if Industry and Art were bestowed on it.

The Circumference of this pleafant little Hill, contains at leaft 100 Acres of Land; and is a Peninfula of an Oval form, almoft surrounded with two great Rivers, one coming from the Eaft, the other from the Weft;* which approaching within 40 foot of each other, at the front of the Penin-[27]fula, separate again, embracing the Hill, and meet on the other fide, making there one pretty large River, which runs very fwt. There is therefore but one way to come in toward this Seat; which, as I before obferved, is not above 40 foot wide, between the Rivers on each fide: and 'tis fenced with hollow Bamboes, Popes-heads and Prickle-pears, fo thick fet from one fide the Neck of Land to the other, that 'tis impoffible for an Enemy to approach it.

On this Hill live Fifty Principal Men of the Country, all under Lacenta's Command, who is as a Prince over all the South part of the Ifhmnus of Darien; the Indians both there and on the North fide alfo, paying him great reﬅect: but the South fide is his Country, and this Hill his Seat or Palace. There is only one Canoa belonging to it, which ferves to ferry over Lacenta and the reﬅ of them.

*Perhaps at the junction of the Sábalo with the Cañaza. The Mandingas tribe had its headquarters in this region.—V. R.
Lacenta keeps them with him.

When we were arrived at this Place, Lacenta discharged our Guides, and sent them back again, telling us, That 'twas not possible for us to Travel to the North side at this Season; for the Rainy Season was now in [28] its height, and Traveling very bad; but told us we should stay with him, and he would take care of us: And we were forc'd to comply with him.

We had not been long here before an Occurrence happen'd, which tended much to the increasing the good Opinion Lacenta and his People had conceiv'd of us, and brought me into particular Esteem with them.

It so happen'd, that one of Lacenta's Wives being indisposed, was to be let Blood; which the Indians perform in this manner: The Patient is seated on a Stone in the River, and one with a small Bow shoots little Arrows into the naked Body of the Patient, up and down; shooting them as fast as he can, and not missing any part. But the Arrows are gaged, so that they penetrate no farther than we generally thrust our Lancets: And if by chance they hit a Vein which is full of Wind, and the Blood spurts out a little, they will leap and skip about, shewing many Antick Gestures, by way of rejoicing and triumph.

[29] I was by while this was performing on Lacenta's Lady: And perceiving their Ignorance, told Lacenta, That if he pleas'd, I would shew him a better way, without putting the Patient to so much Torment. Let me see, says he; and at his Command, I bound up her Arm with a piece of Bark, and with my Lancet
Savage practice. The Indians manner of Bloodletting.
breathed a Vein: But this rash attempt had like to have cost me my Life. For Lacenta seeing the Blood issue out in a Stream, which us’d to come only drop by drop, got hold of his Lance, and swore by his Tooth, that if she did otherwise than well, he would have my Heart’s Blood. I was not moved, but desired him to be patient, and I drew off about 12 Ounces, and bound up her Arm, and desired she might rest till the next Day: By which means the Fever abated, and she had not another Fit. This gained me so much Reputation, that Lacenta came to me, and before all his Attendants, bowed, and kiss’d my Hand. Then the rest came thick about me, and some kiss’d my Hand, others my Knee, and some my Foot: After which I was taken up into a Hammock, and carried on Men’s Shoulders, Lacenta himself making a Speech in my Praise, and commending me as much Superior to any of their Doctors. Thus I was carried from Plantation to Plantation, and lived in great Splendor and Repute, administering both Physick and Phlebotomy to those that wanted. For tho’ I lost my Salves and Plaisters, when the Negro ran away with my Knapsack, yet I preserve’d a Box of Instruments, and a few Medicaments wrapt up in an Oil Cloth, by having them in my Pocket, where I generally carried them.

I lived thus some Months among the Indians, who in a manner ador’d me. Some of these Indians had been Slaves to the Spaniards, and had made their Escapes; which I suppose was the cause of their expressing a desire of Baptism: but more to have a European Name given them,
He goes on Hunting with Lacenta.

Gold River.

The way of gathering Gold.

than for any thing they know of Christianity. During my abode with Lacenta, I often accompanied him a Hunting, wherein he took great delight, here being good Game. I was one time, about the beginning of the dry Seafon, [31] accompanying him toward the South-East part of the Country, and we pass'd by a River where the Spaniards were gathering Gold.* I took this River to be one of those which comes from the South-East, and runs into the Gulph of St. Michael. When we came near the Place where they wrought, we stole softly through the Woods, and placing our selves behind the great Trees, looked on them a good while, they not seeing us. The manner of their getting Gold it is as follows. They have little Wooden Dishes, which they dip softly into the Water, and take it up half full of Sand, which they draw gently out of the Water; and at every dipping they take up Gold mix'd with the Sand and Water, more or les. This they shake and the Sand riseth, and goes over the Brims of the Dish with the Water; but the Gold settles to the bottom. This done, they bring it out and dry it in the Sun, and then pound it in a Mortar. Then they take it out and spread it on Paper, and having a Load-stone they move that over it, which draws all the Iron, &c. from it, and then leaves the Gold [32] clean from Ore or Filth; and this they bottle up in Gourds or Calabashes. In this manner they work during the dry Seafon, which is three Months; for in

*The Balsas or one of the other southern tributaries to the Rio Santa Maria.—V. R.
the wet time the Gold is washed from the Mountains by violent Rains, and then commonly the Rivers are very deep; but now in the gathering SeaSon, when they are fallen again, they are not above a Foot deep. Having spent the dry SeaSon in gathering, they imbark in small Vessels for Santa Maria Town; and if they meet with good Success and a favourable Time, they carry with them, by Report, (for I learnt these Particulars of a Spaniard whom we took at Santa Maria under Captain Sharp) 18 or 20 thousand Pound weight of Gold: But whether they gather more or less, 'tis incredible to report the store of Gold which is yearly washed down out of these Rivers.

During these Progresses I made with Lacenta, my four Companions staid behind at his Seat; but I had by this time so far ingratiated my self with Lacenta, that he would never go any where without me, and I plainly [33] perceiv'd he intended to keep me in this Country all the days of my Life; which rais'd some anxious Thoughts in me, but I conceal'd them as well as I could.

Pursuing our Sport one Day, it hapned we started a Pecary, which held the Indians and their Dogs in play the greatest part of the Day; till Lacenta was almost spent for want of Victuals, and was so troubled at his ill Success, that he impatiently wish'd for some better way of managing this sort of Game.

I now understood their Language indifferent well, and finding what troubled him, I took this opportunity to attempt the getting my Liberty to depart, by commending to him our English
Dogs, and making an Offer of bringing him a few of them from England, if he would suffer me to go thither for a short time. He demurr'd at this Motion a while; but at length he swore by his Tooth, laying his Fingers on it, That I should have my Liberty, and for my Sake the other four with me; provided I would promise and swear by my Tooth, That I would return and marry among [34] them; for he had made me a Promise of his Daughter in Marriage, but she was not then marriageable. I accepted of the Conditions: And he further promised, that at my return he would do for me beyond my Expectation.

I returned him Thanks, and was the next Day dismissed under the Convoy of seven lusty Fellows; and we had four Women to carry our Provision, and my Cloaths, which were only a Linnen Frock and pair of Breeches. These I saved to cover my Nakedness, if ever I should come among Christians again; for at this time I went naked as the Salvages, and was painted by their Women; but I would not suffer them to prick my Skin, to rub the Paint in, as they use to do, but only to lay it on in little Specks.

Thus we departed from the Neighbourhood of the South Seas, where Lacenta was Hunting, to his Seat or Palace, where I arrived in about 15 Days, to the great Joy of my Conforts; who had staid there, during this Hunting Expedition I made with Lacenta to the South-East.

[35] After many Salutations on both sides, and some joyful Tears, I told them how I got my Liberty of Lacenta, and what I promised at my
return: And they were very glad at the hopes of getting away, after so long a stay in a Savage Country.

I stayed here some few Days till I was refreshed, and then with my Companions, marched away for the North Seas; having a strong Convoy of armed Indians for our Guides.

We travelled over many very high Mountains; at last we came to one far surpassing the rest in height, to which we were four Days gradually ascending, tho' now and then with some Descent between whiles. Being on the top, I perceived a strange Giddiness in my Head; and enquiring both of my Companions, and the Indians, they all assured me they were in the like Condition; which I can only impute to the height of the Mountains, and the clearness of the Air. I take this part of the Mountains to have been higher than either that which we crossed with Captain Sharp, or that which Mr. Dampier and the rest of our Party crossed in their [36] return: For from this Eminence, the tops of the Mountains over which we passed before, seemed very much below us, and sometimes we could not see them for the Clouds between; but when the Clouds flew over the tops of the Hill, they would break, and then we could discern them, looking as it were through so many Loop-holes.

I desired two Men to lie on my Legs, while I laid my Head over that side of the Mountain which was most perpendicular; but could see no Ground for the Clouds that were between. The Indians carried us over a Ridge so narrow that we were forced to straddle over on our
Britches; and the Indians took the same Care of themselves, handing their Bows, Arrows, and Luggage, from one to another. As we descended, we were all cured of our Giddiness.

When we came to the foot of the Mountain we found a River that ran into the North Seas, and near the side of it were a few Indian Houses, which afforded us indifferent good Entertainment. Here we lay one Night, it being the first House I had seen for [37] fix Days; my Lodging, by the way, being in a Hammock made fast to two Trees, and my Covering a Plantain-Leaf.

The next Morning we set forward, and in two Days time arrived at the Sea-side, and were met by 40 of the best sort of Indians in the Country who congratulated our coming, and welcom'd us to their Houses. They were all in their finest Robes, which are long white Gowns, reaching to their Ancles, with Fringes at the bottom, and in their Hands they had Half Pikes. But of these Things, and such other Particulars as I observ'd during my Abode in this Country, I shall say more when I come to describe it.

We presently enquired of these Indians, when they expected any Ships? They told us they knew not, but would enquire; and therefore they sent for one of their Conjurers, who immediately went to work to raise the Devil, to enquire of him at what time a Ship would arrive here; for they are very expert and skilful in their sort of Diabolical Conjurations. We were in the House with them, and they [38] first began to work with making a Partition with
Hammocks, that the Pawawers, for so they call these Conjurers, might be by themselves. They continued some time at their Exercise, and we could hear them make most hideous Yellings and Shrieks; imitating the Voices of all their kind of Birds and Beasts. With their own Noise, they join'd that of several Stones struck together, and of Conch-shells, and of a forry sort of Drums made of hollow Bamboes, which they beat upon; making a jarring Noise also with Strings fasten'd to the larger Bones of Beasts: And every now and then they would make a dreadful Exclamation, and clattering all of a sudden, would as suddenly make a Pause and a profound Silence. But finding that after a considerable Time no Answer was made them, they concluded that 'twas because we were in the House, and so turn'd us out, and went to Work again. But still finding no return, after an Hour or more, they made a new Search in

*In the preface to the second edition, Wafer took "this Opportunity of vindicating my self to the World, concerning some Circumstances in the Relation I have given of the Indian way of Conjuring (called by them Pawawing) and of the White Indians [p. 134]; at which several of the most eminent Men of the Nation seem'd very much startled. . . . Mr. Davis . . . . desired me, in a late Conference I had with him, to acquaint the World, that if the said Relation had not been printed off before I talk'd with him about it, he would himself have given a large Account of it; declaring, That the Pawawing of the Indians that follow'd Don Pedro in that Expedition was the principal Reason that induc'd some of the English, who were more Superstitious than others, to leave the Mines much sooner than they at first intended to have done; because the Uneasiness in which the Indians then seemed to be, made them likewise apprehensive of some extraordinary Danger from the Spaniards."
our Apartment; and finding some of our Cloaths hanging up in a Basket against the Wall, they threw them out of Doors in great [39] Difdain. Then they fell once more to their Pawawing; and after a little time, they came out with their Answer, but all in a Muck-sweat; so that they first went down to the River and wash'd themselves, and then came and deliver'd the Oracle to us, which was to this Effect: 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 which fell out exactly according to the Prediction.

For on the 10th Day in the Morning we heard the Guns, first one, and then another, in that manner that was told us; and one of our Guns or Fufees was loft in going aboard the Ships: For we five, and three of the Indians went off to the Ships in a Canoa; but as we crofs'd the Bar of the River, it overfet; where Mr. Gopfon, one of my Conforts, was like to be drowned; and tho' we recover'd him out of the Water, yet he loſt his Gun according to the Prediction. [40] I know not how this happen'd as to his Gun; but ours were all lash'd down to the side of the Canoa: And in the West-Indies we never go into a Canoa, which a little matter overfets, but we make fast our Guns to the Sides or Seats; And I fuppofe Mr. Gopfon, who was a very careful and fenfible Man, had lash'd down his also, tho' not faft enough.
Being overset, and our Canoa turn'd up-side down, we got to Shore as well as we could, and drag'd Mr. Gopfon with us, tho' with difficulty. Then we put off again, and kept more along the Shore, and at length stood over to La Sounds Key, where the two Ships lay, an English Sloop, and a Spanish Tartan, which the English had taken but two or three Days before. We knew by the make of this last that it was a Spanish Vessel, before we came up with it: But seeing it in Company with an English one, we thought they must be Conforts; and whether the Spanish Vessel should prove to be under the English one, or the English under that, we were resolv'd to put it to the venture, and get aboard, being quite tir'd with our [41] stay among the wild Indians. The Indians were more afraid of its being a Vessel of Spaniards, their Enemies as well as ours: For this was another Particular they told us 10 Days before, when they were Pawawing, that when their Oracle inform'd them that two Vessels would arrive at this time, they understood by their Dæmons Answer that one of them would be an English one; but as to the other, he spake so dubiously, that they were much afraid it would be a Spanish one, and 'twas not without great difficulty that we now persuaded them to go aboard with us: Which was another remarkable Circumstance; since this Vessel was not only a Spanish one, but actually under the Command of the Spaniards at the time of the Pawawing, and some Days after, till taken by the English.*

* Dampier, who should have known, states on p. 30 that this
They and the *Indians* receiv'd aboard.

We went aboard the *English* Sloop, and our *Indian* Friends with us, and were received with a very hearty welcome. The four *English* Men with me were prefently known and carefs'd by the Ships Crew; but I fat a while cringing upon my Hams among the *Indians*, after their Fafhison, painted as they were, and all naked but only about the Waist, and with my Noise-piece (of which more hereafter) hanging over my Mouth. I was willing to try if they would know me in this Diffguise; 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. I did what I could presently to wafh off my Paint, but 'twas near a Month before I could get tolerably rid of it, having had my Skin fo long stain'd with it, and

Spanish tartan was captured several weeks before this, by Captain Wright, who gave it to Dampier and those who came with him, not long after they rejoined the buccaneer fleet in the Gulf. Wright left them to go in search of provisions, while the tartan and her crew, "cruising in among these Islands, at length we came again to *La Sound's Key*; and the day before having met with a *Jamaica* Sloop that was come over on the Coast to trade, she went with us. It was in the evening when we came to an Anchor, and the next morning we fir'd two Guns for the *Indians* that lived on the Main to come aboard; for by this time we concluded we should hear from our five men, that we left in the heart of the Country among the *Indians*, this being about the latter end of August, and it was the beginning of May when we parted from them. According to our expectation the *Indians* came aboard, and brought our friends with them: Mr Wafer wore a Clout about him, and was painted like an *Indian*; and he was some time aboard before I knew him. One of them, named Richard Cobson, dyed within 3 or 4 days after, and was buried in *La Sound's Key*."—Dampier, p. 40.
the Pigment dried on in the Sun: And when it did come off, 'twas usually with the peeling off of Skin and all. As for Mr. Gapson, tho' we brought him alive to the Ship, yet he did not recover his Fatigues, and his drenching in the Water, but having languish'd aboard about three Days, he died there at La Sound's Key; and his Death verified another part of the Pawawer's Prediction. Our Indians, having been kindly entertain'd aboard for about 6 or 7 Days; and many others of them, who went to and fro with their Wives and [43] Children, and Lacenta among the rest, visiting us about a Fort-night or three Weeks, we at length took leave of them, except 2 or 3 of them who would needs go with us to Windward; and we set Sail, with the Tartan in our Company, first to the more Eastern Isles of the Sambaloe's, and then towards the Coast of Cartagene.

But I shall not enter into the Discourse of our Voyage after this, Mr. Dampier, who was in the same Vessel, having done it particularly. It may suffice just to intimate, That I was cruising with him up and down the West-India Coast and Islands, partly under Capt. Wright, and partly under Capt. Yanky; till such time as Capt. Yanky left Mr. Dampier and the rest under Capt. Wright, at the Isle of Salt Tortuga, as Mr. Dampier relates in the 3d Chapter of his Voyage round the World, p. 58. I went then away with Capt. Yanky; first to the Isle of Ash, where the French took us, as he relates occasionally, Chap. 4. p. 68.†

*Also known as "Yankey Duch," or "the Dutchman."
†Dampier, p. 68: "Mr. Cook being Quarter-master under
as also their turning us there ashore; our being taken in by Capt. Tristian, another French Man; his carrying us [44] with him almost to Petit-

Captain Yanky, the second place in the Ship, according to the Law of Privateers, laid claim to a Ship they took from the Spaniards; and such of Capt. Yanky's Men as were so disposed, particularly all those who came with us over Land went aboard this Prize Ship under the new Capt. Cook. This distribution was made at the Isle of Vacca, or the Isle of Ash, as we call it; and here they parted also such Goods as they had taken. But Capt. Cook having no Commission, as Captain Yanky, Captain Tristian, and some other French Commanders had, who lay then at that Island, and they grutching the English such a Vessel, they all joined together, plundered the English of their Ship, Goods, and Arms, and turned them ashore. Yet Capt. Tristian took in about 8 or 10 of these English, and carried them with him to Petit-Guavers: of which number Captain Cook was one, and Capt. Davis another, who with the rest found means to seize the Ship as she lay at anchor in the Road, Capt. Tristian and many of his Men being then ashore: and the English sending ashore such French Men as remained in the Ship and were mastered by them, though superior in number, stood away with her immediately for the Isle of Vacca, before any notice of this surprize could reach the French Governor of that Isle; so deceiving him also by a Stratagem, they got on board the rest of their Country-men, who had been left on that Island; and going thence they took a Ship newly come from France, laden with Wines. They also took a Ship of good Force, in which they resolved to embark themselves, and make a new Expedition into the South Seas, to cruise on the Coast of Chili and Peru. But first they went for Virginia with their Prizes; where they arrived the April after my coming thither. The best of their Prizes carried 18 Guns: this they fitted up there with Sails, and every thing necessary for so long a Voyage; selling the Wines they had taken for such Provisions as they wanted. My self, and those of our Fellow-travellers over the Isthmus of America, who came with me to Virginia the year before this, (most of which had since made a short Voyage to Carolina, and were again return'd to Virginia,) resolved to join our selves to these new Adventurers: and as many more engaged in the same design as made our whole Crew
Guaves;* our Men feizing the Ship when he was gone ashore, carrying it back to the Isle of Aflh, and there taking in the rest of our Crew: The taking the French Ship with Wines, and the other in which Capt. Cook, who was then of our Crew, went afterwards to the South Seas, after having first been at Virginia: So that we arrived in Virginia with these Prizes about 8 or 9 Months after Mr. Dampier came thither. I set out with him also in that new Expedition to the South Seas under Capt. Cook, tho' he forgot to mention me in that part of his Voyages. We went round Terra del Fuego, and fo up the South-Sea Coast, along Chili, Peru and Mexico, as he relates at large in his 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th Chapters. There, p. 223, he tells how Capt. Davis, who had succeeded Capt. Cook at his Death, broke off Confortship with Capt. Swan, whom we had met with in the South Seas. That himself being defirous to stand over to the East-Indies, went aboard Capt. Swan; But I remain'd aboard the fame Ship, now under Capt. Davis, and return'd with [45] him the way I came. Some few Particulars that I observ'd in that Return, I shall speake of at the Conclusion of this Book: In the mean while having given this Summary Account of the Course of my Travels, from my first parting with Mr. Dampier in the Isthmus, till my last leaving him in the

consist of about 70 Men. So having furnish'd our selves with necessary Materials, and agreed upon some particular Rules, especially of Temperance and Sobriety, by reason of the length of our intended Voyage, we all went on board our Ship."
South Seas, I shall now go on with the particular Description of the Isthmus of America, which was the main Thing I intended in publishing these Relations.
[46] Mr. Wafer's Description of the Isthmus of America.

The Country I am going to describe is the narrowest part of the Isthmus of America, which is more peculiarly called the Isthmus of Darien; probably, from the great River of that Name, wherewith its Northern Coast is bounded to the East:* For beyond this River the Land spreads so to the East and North-East, as that on the other Coast does to the South and South-East, that it can no further be called an Isthmus. It is mostly comprehended between the Latitudes of 8 and 10 N. but its breadth, in the narrowest part, is much about one Degree. How far it reaches in length Westward under the Name of the Isthmus of Darien; whether as far as Honduras, or Nicaragua, or no further than the River Chagre, or the Towns of Portobello and Panama, I cannot say.

[47] This last is the Boundary of what I mean to describe; and I shall be most particular as to the middle part even of this, as being the Scene of my Abode and Ramble in that Country: Tho'

*The Atrato River, which empties into the Gulf of Darien. According to local usage, the name Darien River belongs more properly to the Tuyra or Santa Maria River, which debouches on the opposite coast. This identity in name for the two rivers has led to some curious historical blunders.—V. R.
what I shall have occasion to say as to this part of the Isthmus, will be in some measure applicable to the Country even beyond Panama.

Were I to fix particular Limits to this narrowest part of the American Isthmus, I would assign for its Western Term, a Line which should run from the Mouth of the River Chagre, where it falls into the North Sea, to the nearest part of the South Sea, Westward of Panama; including thereby that City, and Portobel, with the Rivers of Cheapo and Chagre. And I should draw a Line also from Point Garachina, or the South part of the Gulph of St. Michael, directly East, to the nearest part of the great River of Darien, for the Eastern Boundary, so as to take Caret Bay into the Isthmus. On the North and South it is sufficiently bounded by each of those vast Oceans: And considering that this is the narrowest Land that disjoins them, and how exceeding great the Compass is that must be fetch'd from one Shore to the other by Sea, since it has the North and South America for each Extreme, 'tis of a very singular Situation, very pleasanl and agreeable.

Nor doth either of these Oceans fall in at once upon the Shore, but is intercepted by a great many valuable Islands, that lie scatter'd along each Coast: The Bafimento's and others, but especially the long Range of the Sambaloe's,* on the North side; and the Kings or Pearl Islands, Perica and others in the Bay of Panama, on the

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*The Mulatas, consisting of neighboring groups of small islands, "more numerous than the days of the year," according to a local saying.—V. R.
South-side. This Bay is caus'd by the bending of the *Isthmus*: And for the bigness of it, there is not, it may be, a more pleasant and advantageous one any where to be found.

The Land of this Continent is almost every where of an unequal Surface, distinguish'd with Hills and Valleys, of great variety for height, depth, and extent. The Valleys are generally water'd with Rivers, Brooks, and Perennial Springs, with which the Country very much abounds. They fall some into the North, and [49] others into the South Sea; and do most of them take their Rife from a Ridge or Chain of higher Hills than the rest, running the length of the *Isthmus*, and in a manner parallel to the Shore; which for distinction's fake, I shall call the Main Ridge.

This Ridge is of an unequal Breadth, and trends along bending as the *Isthmus* it self doth. 'Tis in most parts nearest the Edge of the North Sea, seldom above 10 or 15 Miles distant. We had always a fair and clear View of the North Sea from thence, and the various makings of the Shore, together with the adjacent Islands, render'd it a very agreeable Prospect; but the South Sea I could not see from any part of the Ridge. Not that the distance of it from the South Sea is so great, as that the Eye could not reach so far, especially from such an Eminence, were the Country between a Level or Champion: But tho' there are here and there Plains and Valleys of a considerable Extent, and some open Places, yet do they lie intermix'd with considerable Hills; and those too so cloath'd
Hills to the S. of the main Ridge.

with tall Woods, that they [50] much hinder the Prospect there would otherwise be. Neither on the other side is the main Ridge discern'd from that side, by reason of those Hills that lie between it and the South Sea; upon ascending each of which in our Return from the South Sea, we expected to have been upon the main Ridge, and to have seen the North Sea. And tho' still the further we went that way, the Hills we crossed seemed the larger; yet, by this means, we were less sensible of the height of the main Ridge, than if we had climb'd up to it next way out of a low Country.

On the North side of the main Ridge, there are either no Hills at all, or such as are rather gentle Declivities or gradual Subsidings of the Ridge, than Hills distinct from it: And tho' this side of the Country is every where covered with Woods, and more universally too, for it is all one continued Forrest, yet the Eye from that height commands the less distant Northern Shore with much Ease and Pleasure.

Nor is the main Ridge itself carried on everywhere with a continued [51] Top; but is rather a Row or Chain of distinct Hills, than one prolonged: And accordingly hath frequent and large Valleys disjoining the several Eminencies that compose its length: And these Valleys, as they make even the Ridge itself the more useful and habitable, so are they some of them so deep in their Descent, as even to admit a Passage for Rivers. For thus the River Chagre, which rises from some Hills near the South Sea, runs along in an oblique North Westerly Course, till it
finds it self a Passage into the North Sea; tho' the Chain of Hills, if I mistake not, is extended much farther to the West, even to the Lake of Nicaragua.

The Rivers that water this Country are some of them indifferent large; tho' but few Navigable, as having Bars and Sholes at the Mouths. On the North Sea Coast the Rivers are for the most part very small; for rising generally from the main Ridge, which lies near that Shore, their Course is very short. The River of Darien is indeed a very large one; but the depth at the Entrance is not answerable to the wideness of its [52] Mouth, tho' 'tis deep enough further in: But from thence to Chagre, the whole length of this Coast, they are little better than Brooks: Nor is the River of Conception any other, which comes out over against La Sound's Key in the Sambaloe's. The River of Chagre is pretty considerable; for it has a long bending Coast [i. e., Course], rising as it does from the South and East-part of the Isthmus, and at such a distance from its Outlet. But in general, the North Coast is plentifully water'd; yet is it chiefly with Springs and Rivulets trickling down from the Neighbouring Hills.

The Soil on this North Coast is various; generally 'tis good Land, rising in Hills; but to the Sea there are here and there Swamps, yet seldom above half a Mile broad.

Inclusively from Caret Bay, which lies in the River of Darien, and is the only Harbour in it, to the Promontory near Golden Island, the Shore of the Isthmus is indifferently fruitful, partly
Sandy Bay; but part of it is drowned, swampy, Mangrove Land, where there is no going ashore but up to the middle in Mud. The Shore of [53] this Coast rises in Hills prefently; and the main Ridge is about 5 or 6 Miles distant. *Caret* Bay hath 2 or 3 Rivulets of fresh Water falling into it, as I am inform'd, for I have not been there. It is a little Bay, and two small Islands lying before it, make it an indifferent good Harbour, and hath clear Anchoring Ground, without any Rocks. These Islands are pretty high Land, cloathed with variety of Trees.

To the Westward of the Cape at the Entrance of the River *Darien*, is another fine Sandy Bay. In the Cod of it lies a little, low, swampy Island; about which 'tis Shole-water and dirty Ground, not fit for Shipping; and the Shore of the *Isthmus* behind and about it, is swampy Land over-grown with Mangroves; till after three or four Mile the Land ascends up to the main Ridge. But though the Cod of this Bay be so bad, yet the Entrance of it is deep Water, and hard sandy bottom, excellent for anchoring; and has three Islands lying before it, which make it an extraordinary good Harbour. The Eastermost of those three is *Golden Island*, [54] a small one, with a fair deep Channel between it and the Main. It is rocky and steep all round to the Sea, (and thereby naturally fortified) except only the Landing-place, which is a small Sandy Bay on the South side, towards the Harbour, from whence it gently rises. It is moderately high, and cover'd with small Trees or Shrubs. The Land of the *Isthmus* opposite to it, to the South
East, is excellent fruitful Land, of a black Mold, with Sand intermix'd; and is pretty level for 4 or 5 Mile, till you come to the foot of the Hills. At this Place we landed at our going into the South Seas with Capt. Sharp. I have been aforesaid at this *Golden Island*, and was lying in the Harbour near it for about a Fortnight together, before I went into the South Seas. Near the Eastern Point of the Bay, which is not above three or four Furlongs distant from *Golden Island*, there is a Rivulet of very good Water.

West of *Golden Island* lies the biggest of the three that face the Bay; it is, as a large low swampy Island, so beset with Mongroves, that it is difficult to go aforesaid; nor did any of us [55] care to attempt it, having no business in such bad Ground. It lies very near a Point of the *Isthmus*, which is such a fort of Ground too, for a Mile or two further Westward; and such also is the Ground on the other side, quite into the Cod of the Bay. This Island is scarce parted from the *Isthmus* but at High-water; and even then Ships cannot pass between.

The Island of *Pines* is a small Island to the North of the other two, making a kind of Triangle with them. It rises in two Hills, and is a very remarkable Land off at Sea. It is cover'd all over with good tall Trees, fit for any use; and has a fine Rivulet of fresh Water. The North of it is Rocky, as is the opposite Shore of the *Isthmus*. On the South side you go aforesaid on the Island at a curious Sand-bay, inclosed between two Points like a Half-moon; and there is very good Riding. You may sail quite round
the Island of Pines; but to go to Golden Island Harbour, you must enter by the East-end of Golden Islands, between that and the Main; for there is no passing between it and the great low Island.

[56] From these Islands, and the low swampy Point opposite to them, the Shore runs North Westerly to Point Sanballas; and for the first 3 Leagues 'tis guarded with a Riffe of Rocks, some above, and some under Water, where a Boat cannot go ashore: The Rocks lie scatter'd unequally in breadth, for a Mile in some Places, in others two from the Shore. At the North West end of these Rocks, is a fine little Sandy Bay, with good anchoring and going ashore, as is reported by several Privateers: And the end of the Rocks on the one side, and some of the Sambaloes Islands (the Range of which begins from hence) on the other side, guard it from the Sea, and make it a very good Harbour. This, as well as the rest, is much frequented by Privateers; and is by those of our Country call'd Tickle me quickly Harbour.

All along from hence to Point Sanballas, ly the Sambaloe's Islands, a great multitude of them scattering in a Row, and collaterally too, at very unequal Distances, some of one, some two, or two Mile and an half, from the Shore, and from one another; [57] which, with the adjacent Shore, its Hills and perpetual Woods, make a lovely Lanschape off at Sea. There are a great many more of these Islands than could well be represented in the Map; some of them also being very small. They seem to lie parcell'd
out in Clusters, as it were; between which, generally, there are Navigable Channels, by which you may enter within them; and the Sea between the whole Range and the Isthmus is Navigable from end to end, and affords every where good anchoring, in hard Sandy Ground, and good Landing on the Islands and Main. In this long Channel, on the Inside of some or other of those little Keys or Islands, be the Winds how they will, you never fail of a good Place for any number of Ships to ride at; so that this was the greatest Rendezvous of the Privateers on this Coast; but chiefly La Sound's Key, or Springer's Key, especially if they stay'd any time here; as well because these two Islands afford a good Shelter for Careening, as because they yield Wells of fresh Water upon digging, which few of the rest do. The Sambaloes' [58] are generally low, flat, sandy Islands, cover'd with variety of Trees; [especially with Magnes, Sapadilloes, and Manchineel, &c. beside the Shell-fish, and other Refreshments they afford the Privateers].* The outermost Keys toward the main Sea, are rocky on that side (and are called the Riffe Keys); tho' their opposite Sides are Sandy, as the innermost Keys or Islands are. And there is a Ridge also of Rocks lying off at Sea on the outside, which appear above Water at some half a Mile distance, and extend in length as far as La Sounds Key, if not further; and even the Sea between, and the Shore of the Sambaloes it self on that side, is all rocky.

The long Channel between the Sambaloes and

*Brackets thus in original.
the Isthmus is of two, three, and four Miles breadth; and the Shore of the Isthmus is partly Sandy Bays, and partly Mangrove Land, quite to Point Sanballas. The Mountains are much at the same distance of 6 or 7 Miles from the Shore; but about the River of Conception, which comes out about a Mile or two to the Eastward of La Sound's Key, the main Ridge [59] is somewhat further distant. Many little Brooks fall into the Sea on either side of that River, and the Outlets are some of them into the Sandy Bay, and some of them among the Mangrove Land; the Swamps of which Mangroves are (on this Coast) made by the Salt Water, so that the Brooks which come out there are brackish; but those in the Sandy Bay yield very sweet Water. None of those Outlets, not the River of Conception itself, are deep enough to admit any Vessel but Canoas, the Rivers on this part of the Coast being numerous but shallow; but the fine Riding in the Channel makes any other Harbour needless. I have been up and down most parts of it, and upon many of the Islands, and there the going ashore is always easy. But a Sea-wind makes a great Sea sometimes fall in upon the Isthmus, especially where a Channel opens between the Islands; so that I have been overfet in a Canoa going ashore in one River, and in putting off to Sea from another. The Ground hereabouts is an excellent Soil within Land, rising up gently to the main Ridge, and is a continued Forest of stately Timber-Trees.

[60] Point Sanballas is a Rocky Point, pretty long and low, and is also guarded with Rocks
for a Mile off at Sea, that it is dangerous coming near it. From hence the Shore runs West, and a little Northerly, quite to Portobel. About three Leagues Westward from this Point lies Port Scrivan. The Coast between them is all Rocky, and the Country within Land all Woody, as in other Parts.

Port Scrivan is a good Harbour, when you are got into it; but the Entrance of it, which is scarce a Furlong over, is so beset with Rocks on each side, but especially to the East, that it is very dangerous going in: Nor doth there seem to be a depth of Water sufficient to admit Vessels of any Bulk, there being in most Places but eight or nine Foot Water. The Inside of the Harbour goes pretty deep within the Land; and as there is good Riding, in a Sandy bottom, especially at the Cod of it, which is also fruitful Land, and has good fresh Water, so there is good Landing too on the East and South, where the Country is low for two or three Miles, and very firm Land; but the West-side is a Swamp [61] of Red Mangroves. It was here at this Swamp, as bad a Passage as it is, that Capt. Coxon, La Sound, and the other Privateers landed in the Year, 167½, when they went to take Portobel. They had by this means a very tedious and wearisome March; but they chose to land at this distance from the Town, rather than at the Bastimento's or any nearer Place, that they might avoid being discover'd by the Scouts which the Spaniards always keep in their Neighbourhood, and so might surprize them. And they did, indeed, by this means avoid being
dircern'd, till they came within an Hours march of the Town; tho' they travelled along the Country for five or fix Days. The Spaniards make no use of this Port Scrivan; and unless a Privateer, or a rambling Sloop put in here by chance, no Vessel visits it in many Years.

From Port Scrivan to the Place where stood formerly the City of Nombre de Dios, 'tis further Westward about 7 or 8 Leagues. The Land between is very uneven, with small Hills, steep against the Sea; the Valleys between them water'd [62] with forry little Rivers. The Soil of the Hills is Rocky, producing but small shrubby Trees; the Valleys are some of good Land, some of Swamps and Mangroves. The main Ridge here seems to lie at a good distance from the Sea; for it was not discernible in this March of the Privateers along the Shore to Portobol. The Place where Nombre de Dios stood is the bottom of a Bay, close by the Sea, all overgrown with a fort of Wild-Canes, like those us'd by our Anglers in England. There is no Sign of a Town remaining, it is all fo over-run with these Canes. The Situation of it seems to have been but very indifferent, the Bay before it lying open to the Sea, and affording little Shelter for Shipping; which I have heard was one Reason why the Spaniards forsook it: And another, probably, was the Unhealthines of the Country it self, it being such low swampy Land, and very fickly; yet there is a little Rivulet of very sweet Water which runs close by the East-side of the Town. The Mouth of the Harbour is very wide; and tho' I have heard that there
lie before it two [63] or three little Keys, or Rocks, yet they afforded no great Security to it. So that the Spaniards were certainly much in the right, for quitting this Place to settle at Portobel; which tho’ it be also an unhealthy Place, yet has it the advantage of a very good and defensible Harbour.

About a Mile or two to the Westward of these small Islands, at the Mouth of the Bay of Nombre de Dios, and about half a Mile or more from the Shore, lie a few Islands called the Bajitmento’s, for the most part pretty high, and one peaked, and all clothed with Woods. On one of them, (part of which also was a Sandy Bay, and a good Riding and Landing-place) there is a Spring of very good Water. I was ashore at this Island, and up and down among the rest of them; and all of them together make a very good Harbour between them and the Isthmus. The Bottom affords good Anchoring; and there is good coming in with the Sea-wind between the Eastermost Island and the next to it, and going out with the Land-wind the same way, this being the chief Passage. Further West, before you come to [64] Portobel, lie two small Islands, flat and without Wood or Water. They are pretty close together; and one of them I have been ashore upon. The Soil is sandy, and they are environ’d with Rocks towards the Sea; and they lie so near the Isthmus that there is but a very narrow Channel between, not fit for Ships to come into.

The Shore of the Isthmus hereabouts consists mostly of Sandy Bays, after you are past a Ridge
of Rocks that run out from the Bay of Nombre de Dios, pointing towards the Bastimento’s. Beyond the Bastimento’s to Portobel, the Coast is generally Rocky. Within Land the Country is full of high and steep Hills, very good Land; most Woody, unless where clear’d for Plantations by Spanish Indians, tributary to Portobel, whither they go to Church. And these are the first Settlements on this Coast under the Spanish Government, and lie scattering in lone Houses or little Villages, from hence to Portobel and beyond; with some Look-outs or Watches kept towards the Sea, for the Safety of the Town. In all the rest of the North-[65]side of the Isthmus, which I have describ’d hitherto, the Spaniards had neither Command over the Indians, nor Commerce with them while I was there, though there are Indians inhabiting all along the Continent; yet one has told me since, that the Spaniards have won them over to them.*

Portobel is a very fair, large and commodious Harbour, affording good Anchoring and good Shelter for Ships, having a narrow Mouth, and spreading wider within. The Galleons from Spain find good Riding here during the time of their Business at Portobel; for from hence they take in such of the Treasures of Peru as are brought thither over Land from Panama. The Entrance of this Harbour is secure’d by a Fort upon the left Hand going in; it is a very strong one, and the Passage is made more secure by a Block-house on the other side, opposite to it.

*Chiefly through the efforts of the well-known Bishop Piedrahita.—V. R.
At the bottom of the Harbour lies the Town, bending along the Shore like a Half-moon: In the middle of which upon the Sea, is another small low Fort, environ'd with Houses except only to the Sea: And [66] at the West end of the Town, about a Furlong from the Shore, upon a gentle Rising, lies another Fort, pretty large and very strong, yet overlook'd by a Neighbouring Hill further up the Country, which Sir Henry Morgan made use of to take the Fort. In all these Forts there may be about 2 or 300 Spanish Souldiers in Garison. The Town is long and narrow, having two principal Streets besides those that go across; with a small Parade about the middle of it, surrounded with pretty fair Houses. The other Houses also and Churches are pretty handsome, after the Spanish make. The Town lies open to the Country without either Wall or Works; and at the East-side of it, where the Road to Panama goes out, (because of Hills, that lie to the Southward of the Town, and obstruct the direct Passage) there lies a long Stable, running North and South from the Town, to which it joins. This is the King's Stable for the Mules that are employed in the Road betwixt this and Panama. The Governours House is close by the great Fort, on the same Rising, at the West of the Town. [67] Between the Parade in the middle of the Town, and the Governours House, is a little Creek or Brook, with a Bridge over it; and at the East-end, by the Stable, is a small Rivulet of fresh Water. I have already said that it is an unhealthy Place. The East-side is low and
fwaumpy; and the Sea at low Water leaves the Shore within the Harbour bare, a great way from the Houses; which having a black filthy Mud, it stinks very much, and breeds noisome Vapours, thro' the Heat of the Climate. From the South and the East-sides the Country rises gently in Hills, which are partly Woodland and partly Savannah; but there is not any great Store either of Fruit-trees or Plantations near the Town. This Account I have had from several Privatiers just as they return'd from Portobel; but I have not been there my self.

The Country beyond this Westward, to the Mouth of the River Chagre, I have seen off at Sea: But not having been afofe there, I can give no other Account of it, but only that it is partly Hilly, and near the Sea very much Swampy; and I have [68] heard by several that there is no Communication between Portobel and the Mouth of that River.

I have been yet further Westward on this Coaft, before I went over the Isthmus with Capt. Sharp, ranging up and down and careening at Bocca Toro and Bocca Drago; but this is without the Verge of those Bounds I have set my self.

Having thus Survey'd the North-Coaft of the Isthmus, I shall take a light View of the South also: But I shall the Iefs need to be particular in it, because Mr. Dampier hath in some meafure describ'd this part of it in his Voyage round the World.

To begin therefore from Point Garachina, which makes the Weft-side of the Mouth of the River of Sambo, this Point is pretty high faft
Land; but within, towards the River, it is low, drowned Mangrove, and so are all the Points of Land to Cape Saint Lorenzo.

The River of Sambo I have not seen; but it is said to be a pretty large River. Its Mouth opens to the North; and from thence the Coast bears North East to the Gulph of St. Michael. [69] This Gulph is made by the Outlets of several Rivers, the most noted of which are the River of Santa Maria, and the River of Congo; tho' there are others of a considerable bigness. Of these Rivers, to the Southward of Santa Maria, one is called the Gold River, affording Gold Dust in great plenty: For hither the Spaniards of Panama and Santa Maria Town bring up their Slaves to gather up the Gold Dust.

The next to the Gold River is that of Santa Maria, so called from the Town of that Name seated on the South-side of it, at a good distance from the Sea. It was along this River we came,* when we first entred the South Seas with Captain Sharp, standing over it, from the Bay by Golden Island, where we landed. We then took the Town of Santa Maria in our way; which was garrifon'd with about 200 Spanish Soldiers, but was not very strong, having no Walls; and the Fort itself was secure'd with Stockades only, or Palisadoes. This is but a new Town, being built by the Spaniards of Panama, partly

*They followed the Sucubti, which rises in the mountains back of Caledonia Harbor, down to the main stream of the Chugunaque and down this stream to the town of Santa Maria. The Tuyra and the Santa Maria were the gold rivers.—V. R.
for a Garison and Magazine of Provisiion, [70] and partly for Quarters of Refreshment, and a retiring Place for their Workmen in the Gold River. The Country all about here is Woody and Low, and very unhealthy; the Rivers being so Oazy, that the stinking Mud infects the Air: But the little Village of Scuchadero, which lies on the right side of the River of Santa Maria, near the Mouth of it, is seated on fast rising Ground, open to the Gulph of St. Michael, and admitting fresh Breezes from the Sea; so that this is pretty healthy, and serves as a Place of Refreshment for the Mines; and has a fine Rivulet of very sweet Water; whereas those Rivers are brackish for a considerable way up the Country.

Between Scuchadero and Cape St. Lorenzo, which makes the North-side of the Gulph of St. Michael, the River of Congo falls into the Gulph; which River is made up of many Rivulets, that fall from the Neighbouring Hills, and join into one Stream. The Mouth of it is muddy, and bare for a great way at low Water, unless just in the depth of the Channel; and it affords little Entertainment for Ship-[-71]ping. But further in, the River is deep enough; so that Ships coming in at high Water might find it a very good Harbour, if they had any Business here. The Gulph itself has several Islands in it; and up and down in and about them, there is in many Places very good Riding; for the most part in Oazy Ground. The Islands also, especially those towards the Mouth, make a good Shelter; and the Gulph hath room enough for
a multitude of Ships. The Sides are every where surrounded with Mangroves, growing in wet swampy Land.

North of this Gulph is a small Creek, where we landed at our Return out of the Seas;* and the Land between these is partly such Mangrove Land as the other, and partly Sandy Bays. From thence the Land runs further on North, but gently bending to the West: And this Coast also is much such a mixture of Mangrove Land and Sandy Bay, quite to the River Cheapo; and in many Places there are Sholes, for a Mile or half a Mile off at Sea. In several parts of this Coast, at about five or six Miles [72] distance from the Shore there are small Hills; and the whole Country is covered with Woods. I know but one River worth observing between Congo and Cheapo: Yet there are many Creeks and Outlets; but no fresh Water, that I know of, in any part of this Coast, in the dry Season; for the Stagnancies and Declivities of the Ground, and the very droppings of the Trees, in the wet Season, afford Water enough.

Cheapo is a considerable River, but has no good entering into it for Sholes. Its Course is long, rising near the North Sea, and pretty far from towards the East. About this River the Country something changes its Face, being Savannah on the West-side; though the East-side is Woodland, as the other.

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* Dampier, p. 7: "We just got about Cape St. Lorenzo in the morning; and sailed about 4 miles farther to the Westward, and run into a small Creek within two Keys, or little Islands, and rowed up to the head of the Creek, being about a mile up, and there we landed May 1. 1681."
stands on the West-side, at some distance from the Sea; but is small, and of no great Consequence. Its chief Support is from the Pasturage of black Cattle in the Savannah's.

These Savannah's are not level, but consist of small Hills and Valleys, with fine Spots of Woods intermix'd; and from some of these Hills not far [73] from Cheapo, the River of Chagre, which runs into the North Sea, takes its rise. It runs West for a while; and on the South-side of it, at no great distance from Panama, is Venta de Cruzes, a small Village of Inns and Store-houses; whither Merchandizes that are to be sent down the River Chagre are carried from Panama by Mules, and there embark'd in Canoa's and Pereagoe's; but the Plate is carried all the way by Land on Mules to Portobel. The Country here also is Savannah and Woodland intermix'd; with thick short Hills, especially towards Panama.

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, most of it dry, and cover'd here and there by the Sea, with short Bushes. Near the most Westerly of these Old Panama was seated, once a large City; but nothing now remains of it, besides Rubbish, and a few Houses of poor People. The Spaniards were weary of it, having no good Port or Landing-place; and had a design to have left [74] it, before it was burnt by Sir Henry Morgan. But then they no longer deliberated about the Matter; but instead of rebuilding it, raised another
Town to the Westward, which is the present City of *Panama*. The River of Old *Panama* runs between them; but rather nearer the new Town than the Old; and into this River small Barks may enter.

The chief Advantage which New *Panama* hath above the Old, is an excellent Road for small Ships, as good as a Harbour; for which it is beholden to the Shelter of the Neighbouring Isles of *Perica*, which lie before it, three in number, in a Row parallel to the Shore. There is very good Anchoring between, at a good distance from the Town; but between the Road and the Town is a Shole or Spit of Land; so that Ships cannot come near the Town, but lie nearest to *Perica*; but by this means the Town has them least under Command. *Panama* stands on a level Ground, and is surrounded with a high Wall, especially towards the Sea. It hath no Fort besides the Town-Walls; upon which the Sea, [75] which washes it every Tide, beats so strongly, sometimes, as to throw down a part of them. It makes a very beautiful Prospect off at Sea, the Churches and chief Houses appearing above the rest. The Building appears white; especially the Walls, which are of Stone; and the Covering of the Houses red, for probably they are Pantile, which is much used by the Spaniards all over the West-Indies. The Town is surrounded with Savannahs, gentle flat Hills, and Copes of Wood, which add much to the Beauty of the Prospect; and among these are scatter'd here and there some *Estantion's* or Farm-houses for the managing their Cattel; which
are Beesves, Horfes and Mules. This Town is
the great Rendezvous of this part of the South-
sea Coast; being the Receptacle of the Treasures
from Lima, and other Sea-ports of Peru; trading
also towards Mexico, though very little beyond
the Gulph of Nicaragua. The King of Spain
hath a President here, who acts in Concert with
his Council; and the Governour of Portobel is
under him. His Jurisdiction comprehends
Nata, Lavelia, Leon, [76] Realeja, &c. till he
meets with the Government of Guatimala; and
Eastward he commands over as much of the
Isthmus, on both Seas, as is under the Spaniards.

The Place is very fickly, though it lies in a
Country good enough; but possibly 'tis only fo
to thofe who come hither from the dry pure Air
of Lima and Truxillio, and other Parts of Peru;
who grow indifpos'd prefently, and are forc'd to
cut off their Hair. Yet is it very healthy in
comparifon of Portobel.

About a League to the West of Panama is
another River, which is pretty large, and is
called by fome Rio Grande. It is Shole at
entrance, and runs very swift; and fo is not fit
for Shipping. On the West-banks of it are
Estantion's and Plantations of Sugar; but the
Shore from hence beginning to trend away to
the Southward again, I fhall here fix my West-
ern Boundary to the South-sea Coast of the
Isthmus, and go no further in the Description
of it.

The Shore between Point Garachina and this
River, and fo on further to Punta Mala, makes
a very regular [77] and more than Semi-circular
Bay, called by the name of the Bay of Panama. In this are several as fine Islands as are any where to be found, the King's or Pearl Islands, Pacheque, Chepelio, Perica, &c. with great variety of good Riding for Ships: Of all which Mr. Dampier hath given a particular Account in the 7th Chapter of his Voyage round the World; so that I shall forbear to say any thing more of them. 'Tis a very noble delightful Bay; and as it affords good anchoring and shelter, so the Islands also yield plenty of Wood, Water, Fruits, Fowls and Hogs, for the accommodation of Shipping.

The Soil of the Inland part of the Country is generally very good, for the most part, of a black fruitful Mould. From the Gulph of St. Michael, to the Ridge of Hills lying off Caret Bay, it is a Vale Country, well water'd with the Rivers that fall into that Gulph: But near the Gulph 'tis very swampy and broken, so as that it is scarce possible to travel along the Shore thereabouts. Westward of the River of Congo, the Country grows more Hilly and Dry, with pleasant [78] and rich Vales intermix'd, till you are past the River Cheapo; and thus far the whole Country is all, as it were, one continued Wood. The Savannah Country commences here, dry and grassy; with small Hills and Woods intermix'd: And the Hills are everywhere fertile to the top (tho' more fruitful nearer the bottom) and even the tops of the main Ridge are cover'd with very flourishing Trees. Yet the Hills from which the Gold Rivers fall, near Santa Maria, are more barren
towards the top, and bear short Shrubs scatter'd here and there. The Soil seems capable of any Productions proper to the Climate: I believe we have nothing that grows in Jamaica but what would thrive here also; and grow very luxuriantly, considering the exceeding richness of the Soil.

The Woods. The Woods of this Country are not the same on the tops or sides of the Hills in the Inland Country, as they are near the Sea. For in the drier and more rising Inland Country, the Woods are rather a large Forest of Timber-trees, or a Delightful Grove of Trees of several kinds, very large [79] and tall, with little or no Underwood: And the Trees are plac'd at such a distance from each other, as that a Horse might gallop among them for a great way, and decline them with ease. The tops of these Trees are generally very large and spreading; and I presume, 'tis the shade and dropping of these which hinders any thing else from growing in the rich Ground among them: For in the open Savannahs, or where the Ground is clear'd by Industry for Plantations, there grow smaller Vegetables in great abundance. But on the Swampy Sea-Coast, where the Soil is often swampy drown'd Land, especially near the Masts of Rivers, the Trees are not tall but shrubby, as Mangroves, Brambles, Bamboe's, &c. Not growing in the manner of Groves or Arbours, scattering at convenient distances; but in a continued Thicket, so close set, that 'tis a very difficult matter to work ones way through these Morasses.
The Weather is much the same here as in other places of the Torrid Zone in this Latitude; but inclining rather to the Wet Extreme. The [80] Seaon of Rains begins in April or May; and during the Months of June, July and August, the Rains are very violent. It is very hot also about this time, where-ever the Sun breaks out of a Cloud: For the Air is then very fultry, because then usually there are no Breezes to fan and cool it, but 'tis all glowing hot. About September, the Rains begin to abate: But 'tis November or December, and it may be, part of January e're they are quite gone: So that 'tis a very wet Country, and has Rains for Two Thirds, if not Three Quarters of a Year. Their first coming is after the manner of our sudden April Showers, or hafty Thunder Showers, one in a Day at first. After this, two or three in a Day; at length, a Shower almost every Hour: and frequently accompanied with violent Thunder and Lightning: During which time, the Air has often a faint Sulphureous Smell, where pent up among the Woods. After this variable Weather, for about four or fix Weeks, there will be settled continued Rains of several Days and Nights, without Thunder and Lightning, but exceeding vehement, [81] considering the length of them. Yet at certain Intervals between these, even in the wettest of the Season, there will be several fair Days intermix'd, with only Tornado's or Thunder-Showers; and that sometimes for a Week together. These Thunder-Showers cause usually a sensible Wind, by the Clouds pressing the Atmosphere, which is very
refreshing, and moderates the Heat: But then this Wind shaking the Trees of this continued Forest, their dropping is as troublesome as the Rain it self. When the Shower is over, you shall hear for a great way together the Croaking of Frogs and Toads, the humming of Moskito's or Gnats, and the hissing or shrieking of Snakes and other Insects, loud and unpleasant; some like the quacking of Ducks. The Moskito's chiefly infest the low swampy or Mangrove Lands, near the Rivers or Seas: But however, this Country is not so pester'd with that uneasy Vermin, as many other of the warm Countries are. When the Rains fall among the Woods, they make a hollow or ratling sound: But the Floods caus'd by them often bear down the Trees; as I observ'd in relating my Passage over Land. These will often Barricado or Dam up the River, till 'tis clear'd by another Flood that shall set the Trees afloat again. Sometimes also the Floods run over a broad Plain; and for the time, make it all like one great Lake. The coolest time here is about our Christmas, when the fair Weather is coming on.
Of the Trees, Fruits, &c. in the Isthmus of America.

As this Country is very Woody, so it contains great variety of Trees, of several Kinds unknown to us in Europe, as well Fruit-Trees as others. The Cotton-tree is the largest of any, and grows in great plenty in most parts of the Isthmus; but I do not remember that I have seen it in the Samballoes, or any other of the adjacent Islands. It bears a Cod about as big as a Nutmeg, full of short Wool or Down, which when ripe bursts out of the Cod, and is blown about by the Wind, and is of little use. The chief Advantage that is made of these Trees, is by forming them into Canoa's and Periago's; which last differ from the other, as Lighters and small Barges do from Wherries.*

* Both were made from the single trunk of a tree, hollowed out by burning and scraping. "A Canow is like a little Wherry-boat made of one only Tree, without the help of any other Instrument but fire only, which they set to the root of the Tree, governing it with such industry, as nothing is burnt but that that they would have, thus by this only Instrument they put it into such a form, as makes it capable to Sail three or fourscore Leagues without hazard."—History of the Buccaneers (London, Malthus, 1684, 12mo), p. 181.
Indians burn the Trees hollow; but the Spaniards hew and chizzel them; and the Wood is very soft and easy [84] to work upon, being softer than Willow.

The Cedars of this Country are valuable for their heighth and largeness; there are very stately ones on the Continent, but I remember not any in the Islands. They grow towards each of the Sea Coasts, but especially towards the North. The Wood is very red, of a curious fine Grain, and very fragrant. But these are put to no better use than the Cotton-trees, serving only to make Canoa's and Periago's: And their plenty you may judge of by this, that if the Indians want to cut one for a Canoa, they will not trouble themselves about any a Furlong off, tho' never so fine; having enough usually to fell by the side of the River into which they intend to Launch it.

There are on the Continent several Trees of the Palm-kind, of which sort we may reckon the Macaw-tree. It grows in great plenty in swampy or moist Grounds; and I remember not that I saw them any where but on the South-side of the Isthmus, which is most of such a Soil. It is not very tall, the Body rising straights up [85] to about ten Foot or more, surrounded with protuberant Rings at certain distances, and those thick-set with long Prickles. The middle of the Tree is a Pith like Elder, taking up above half the Diameter of the Body. The Body is naked without Branches till towards the top; but there it puts out Leaves or Branches 12 or 14 Foot long, and a Foot and an half wide,
leaffening gradually toward the Extremity. The Rib or Seam of this Leaf is beleft all along with Prickles, on the out-side; and the Leaf it self is jagged about the Edges and as thick as ones Hand, at the broader end of it. At the top of the Tree, and amidst the Roots of these Leaves grows the Fruit, a sort of Berries sprouting up in Clusters, each about the size of a small Pear, but many score of them together. They incline to an oval Figure, and are of a yellow or reddish Colour when ripe. There is a Stone in the middle, and the outside is stringy, and slimy when ripe; of a tart Taft, harsh in the Mouth, yet not unpleafant: And the way of eating the Fruit is to bite the Flechy part from the Stone, and having chew'd it, to spit out the remaining stringy Substance. The Indians frequently cut down the Tree only to get the Berries; but such of them as are more low and flender, you may bend down to your Hand. The Wood of the Tree is very hard, black, and ponderous, and is of great use. It splits very easily, and the Indians make of it many Conveniences for their Building and other Occasions, splitting the Tree into small Planks or Rafters which they use about their Houses. The Men make Arrow-heads of this Wood; the Women Needle-Shuttles to weave their Cotton, &c.

Upon the Main also grows the Bibby Tree, so called from a Liquor which distills from it, and which our English call Bibby. The Tree hath a straight flender Body no thicker than one's Thigh, but grows to a great height, 60 or 70 Foot. The Body is naked of Leaves or Branches,
but prickly. The Branches put out at the top, and among them grow the Berries abundantly, like a Garland round about the Root of each of the Branches. The Tree hath all along the inside of [87] it a narrow Pith; the Wood is very hard, and black as Ink. The Indians do not cut, but burn down the Tree to get at the Berries. These are of a whitish Colour, and about the size of a Nutmeg. They are very Oily; and the Indians beat them in hollow Mortars or Troughs, then boil and strain them; and as the Liquor cools, they skim off a clear Oil from the top. This Oil is extraordinary bitter: The Indians use it for anointing themselves, and to mix with the Colours wherewith they paint themselves.

The Bibby. When the Tree is young they Tap it, and put a Leaf into the Bore; from whence the Bibby trickles down in great quantity. It is a wheyish Liquor, of a pleasant tart Taste; and they drink it after it hath been kept a Day or two.

Coco. There are Coco-trees in the Islands, but none on the Isthmus that I remember; and no Cacao-trees on either.

Anonymous. On the Main grows a Tree that bears a Fruit like a Cherry; but full of Stones, and never soft.

Plantains. On the Main also are Plantains in great abundance, which have a Body consisting of several Leaves or Coats, [88] that grow one from under another, spiring upwards into an oblong Fruit at the top; the Coats or Leaves, which are very long and large, spreading off from the Body, and making a Plume all round. None of them grow wild, unless when some are brought down the Rivers in the Season of the Rains, and being
left aground, fow themselves. The Indians fet them in Rows or Walks, without under-wood; and they make very delightful Groves. They cut them down to get at the Fruit; and the Bodies being green and fappy, they are cut down with one Stroke of an Axe.

The Bonano's also grow on the Isthmus very plentifully. They are a fort of Plantains. The Fruit is short and thick, fweet and mealy. This eats beft raw, and the Plantain boil'd.

On the Islands there are a great many Mam-mee-trees, which grow with a clear, ftreight Body, to 60 Foot high, or upwards. The Fruit is very wholesome and delicious; fhap'd fome-what like a Pound-pear, but much larger, with a small Stone or two in the middle.

[89] The Mammee-Sappota differs fomething from the other, and is a smaller and firmer Fruit, of a fine beautiful Colour when ripe. It is very fcarce on the Islands; and neither of these grow on the Continent.

So neither are Sapadillo's found growing on the Isthmus, though there is great plenty of them in the Islands. The Tree is not fo high as thoſe laſt; it grows without Branches to the top, where it fpreads out in Limbs like an Oak. The Fruit is very pleasent to the Taft. It is fmall as a Bergamasco Pear, and is coated like a Ruffet-Pippin.

On the Isthmus grows that delicious Fruit which we call the Pine-Apple, in shape not much unlike an Artichoke, and as big as a Mans Head. It grows like a Crown on the top of a Stalk about as big as ones Arm, and a Foot and a half
high. The Fruit is ordinarily about six Pound weight; and is inclos'd with short prickly Leaves like an Artichoke. They do not strip, but pare off these Leaves to get at the Fruit; which hath no Stone or Kernel in it. 'Tis very juicy; and some fancy it to resemble the [90] Taste of all the most delicious Fruits one can imagine mix'd together. It ripens at all times of the Year, and is rais'd from new Plants. The Leaves of the Plant are broad, about a Foot long, and grow from the Root.

On the Main also grows the Prickle Pear, which is a thick-leav'd Plant about four Foot high, full of Prickles all over. That which they call the Pear grows at the Extremity of the Leaf. It's a good Fruit, much eaten by the Indians and others.

There are Popes Heads, as we call them, on the Main. They are a Plant or Shrub growing like a Mole-hill, and full of Spurs a Span long, sharp, thick and hard, with a black Point. They make a very good Fence, galling the Feet and Legs of any who come among them.

They have Sugar-Canes on the Isthmus; but the Indians make no other use of them, than to chew them and suck out the Juice.

There is on the Islands, a Tree which is called Manchinel, and its Fruit the Manchinel Apple. 'Tis in Smell and Colour like a lovely pleasant Apple, small and fragrant, but of a poisonous [91] Nature; for if any eat of any Living Creature that has happen'd to feed on that Fruit, they are poisoned thereby, tho' perhaps not mortally. The Trees grow in green Spots; they
are low, with a large Body, spreading out and full of Leaves. I have heard that the Wood hath been us'd in fine carv'd or inlay'd Works; for it is delicately grain'd. But there is danger in cutting it, the very Sap being so poifonous, as to blister the part which any of the Chips strike upon as they fly off. A French-man of our Company lying under one of thefe Trees, in one of the Samballoes, to refreh himself, the Rain-water trickling down thence on his Head and Breast, blistered him all over, as if he had been bestrewed with Cantharides.* His Life was faved with much difficulty; and even when cured, there remained Scars, like those after the Small-Pox.

The Maho Tree, which grows here is about as big as an Ash. Another fort of Maho, which is more common is smaller, and grows in moift fpampy Places, by the sides of Rivers, or near the Sea. Its Bark is [92] ragged like tattered

*Ringrose, p. 44, says that, while bathing in the pond from which the ship's water-casks were being filled, at Cayboa Island, north of Panama, "as I was washing my self, and standing under a Manzanilla-tree, a small shower of rain hapned to fall on the tree, and from thence dropped on my skin. These drops caused me to break out all over my body into red spots, of which I was not well for the space of a week after." In the History of the Bucaniers (London, Malthus, 1684), p. 181, it is said that "the Tree called Mancanilla, or the Dwarf Apple, is found here, whose Fruit is of a most venemous quality, for being eaten by any Person, immediately he changeth colour, and is taken with such a thirst, that no water can quench, and within a little dies perfectly mad. Yea, if a Fish eat of it (as sometimes they do) it is poisonous." The sap of the manchineel is very injurious to the eyes, but otherwise not as dangerous, at least not to persons in good health, as the above would imply.
Canvass; if you lay hold on a piece of it, 'twill rip off in Strings to the top of the Tree; the Strings are of a great length, slender, and very strong. Ropes are made of it for Cables, and Rigging for small Vessels. The way the Indians order it, is thus: They strip off the Bark in great flakes: Out of them they draw greater or lesser Strings as they please. These they beat and clean, and twist into Threads and Cords, by rolling them between the Palm of the Hand, and the top of the Knee or Thigh, as our Shoemakers twist their Ends, but much quicker. Of these they make Nets for Fishing, but only for great Fish as Tarpoms, or the like.

The Tree which bears the Calabash is short and thick, the Calabash grows up and down among the Boughs, as our Apples do. It is of a Globular figure, the out-side of it an hard Shell, holding the quantity of 2, 3, 4, or 5 Quarts. These Shells the Indians use as Vessels for many occasions. There are two sorts of these Trees, but the difference is chiefly in the Fruit; that of the one being sweet, the other bitter. The Substance of both is Spongy and Juicy. That of the sweeter sort does yet incline to a tart, fourish Taste. The Indians, however, eat them frequently in a March, tho' they are not very delightful. They only suck out the Juice, and spit out the rest. The bitter sort is not eatable, but is very Medicinal. They are good in Tertian's; and a Decoction of them in a Clyster is an admirable Specifick in the Tortions of the Guts or dry Gripes. The Calabash Shells are almost as hard as those of the Coco-nuts, but
not half so thick. The *Darien Calabash* is painted, and much esteem'd by the Spaniards.

There are *Gourds* also which grow creeping along the Ground, or climbing up Trees in great quantities, like Pompions or Vines. Of these also there are two Sorts, a Sweet and a Bitter: The Sweet eatable, but not desirable; the Bitter medicinal in the *Passio Iliaca*, Tertian's, Cholive-nets, &c. taken in a Clyster. But the Indians value both forts chiefly for their Shells; and the larger fort of these serve them by way of Pails and Buckets, as Calabashes do for Dishes, Cups and Drinking-Vessels.

They have a Plant also which is of good use to them, call'd by us *Silk-Grafs*; tho' 'tis indeed a kind of Flag. It grows in great quantities in moist Places on the sides of Hills. The Roots are knobbed, and shoot out into Leaves like a Sword-blade, as thick as ones Hand in the middle of the Leaf towards the Root, thinner towards the Edges and the top; where it ends in a sharp Point, altogether like our Flags, fave that the Leaf is much broader, and a yard or two in length, and jagged at the Edges like a Saw or some Reap-hooks. The Indians cut these Leaves when of a convenient Growth, and having dried them well in the Sun, they beat them into Strings like fine Flax, extraordinary strong, beyond any of our Flax or Hemp: For the Leaf itself seems to be nothing but a Congeries of Strings inclos'd with a Skin on each side. They twist these Strings as they do those of the *Maho-tree*, and make of them Ropes for Hammocks, Cordage of all sorts, but especially
a finer kind of Nets for small Fish. In Jamaica [95] the Shoemakers use this for Thread to few with, as being stronger than any other. The Spanish Women make Stockins of it, which are call'd Silk-grafs Stockins, and are sold very dear. They make of it also a kind of yellowish Lace, which is much bought and worn by the Moflefa-women * in the West-Indian Plantations.

There grows here a Tree about the bigness of an Elm, the Wood of which is very light, and we therefore call it Light-wood. The Tree is straight and well-bodied, and has a great Leaf like a Wall-nut. A Man may carry on his Back a great quantity of the Wood when cut down: Its Substance resembles Cork, and is of a whitish Colour; but the Grain of it is rougher than Fir, or courfer yet, like that of the Cotton-tree. I know not whether it has that spongy Elasticity that Cork has; yet I should think it an excellent Wood for making Tomkins, or Stopples for the Muzzles of great Guns. 'Tis so very light in Water that three or four Logs of it, about as thick as one's Thigh and about four Foot long, shall make a Rafter on which two or [96] three Men may go out to Sea. The Indians make large Rafters of it upon occasion, after this manner: They take Logs of this Wood not very big, and bind them together collaterally with Maho-Cords, making of them a kind of Floor. Then they lay another Range of Logs across these, at some distance from each other, and peg them down to the former with long Pins of

* Mestizo, half-breeds of European fathers. Commonly reputed beautiful and otherwise attractive.
Macaw-wood; and the Wood of the Float is so soft, and tenacious withal, that it easily gives admittance to the Peg upon driving, and closes fast about it. The Floats, were they boarded, would resemble our Dyers-floats in the Thames at London; and the Indians use them chiefly for Passage of a great River where Canoa’s or other Trees are wanting; or for Fishing.

Another Tree they have which we call White-wood. The Body of it grows in height about 18 or 20 Foot, like a large Willow, and about as thick as one’s Thigh. The Leaf is like Senna, very small. The Wood is very hard, close and ponderous, and exceeding White, beyond any European Wood that ever I saw, and of a [97] very fine Grain: So that I cannot but think it would be very good for inlaying, or other Cabinet-work. I never saw this Tree anywhere but in this Isthmus.

They have Tamarinds here of the brown fort, and good, but not well Manur’d. The Tree is a fair spreading one, and very large of the kind. The Tree grows usually in a sandy Soil, near a River.

The Tree also that bears the Locust-fruit, grows here. The Wild fort is found in great abundance, ’tis not much unlike the Tamarind.

They have a Bastard-Cinnamon also, bearing a Cod shorter than a Bean-cod, but thicker, it grows only on the Main.

Bamboes grow here but too plentifully, like a Briar, whole Copses of them. The Branches or Canes grow in clusters 20 or 30 or more of them from one Root, and guarded with Prickles. They render the Places where they grow
almost impassable, which are generally swampy
Grounds, or the sides of Rivers. They are
found mostly on the Main, the Islands having
only some few of them.

[98] The Hollow Bamboes are on the Main only.
They grow twenty or thirty Foot in height,
and as thick as ones Thigh. They have Knots
all along at the distance of about a Foot and an
half. All the Space from Knot to Knot is ho-
low, and of the Capacity usually of a Gallon or
more, and these are serviceable on many Occa-
sions. The Leaves of this Shrub are like Eldern-
leaves, in a Cluster at the top of each Cane,
and these also grow thick together in Copfes.

Mangrove. Mangrove-Trees grow out of the Water, both
in the Islands and the Main, rising from several
Roots like Stilts entangled one among another.
The Roots or Stumps appear some Feet above
Water, rising from a pretty depth also from
under the Surface of it, and at length they
unite all together, Arbour-wise, into the Body
of a lufty tall Tree, of a Foot or two Diameter.
There is scarce any passing along where these
Trees grow, the Roots of them are so blended
together. The Bark of the Mangroves that
grows in Salt Water is of a red Colour, and is
us’d for tanning of Leather. I have some
Reason to [99] think that the Tree from whence
the Peruvian or Jesuits Bark is fetched is of the
Mangrove kind; * for when I was last at Arica in
Peru, I saw a Caravan of about 20 Mules with
this Bark just come in, and then unlading at a

*Except that the bark of both is used in medicine, the two
are nowise related.
Store-house. One of our Company, who spake Spanish, ask'd a Spaniard who guided the Drove, from whence he fetch'd that Bark? He answer'd, from a great fresh Water Lake behind a Mountain a great way within Land; at the same time pointing at a very high Ridge of Hills we saw at a great distance from us, and the Sea. Being further examined as to the Tree it grew on, he so describ'd it, by these intangled Stilts, and other Particulars, that our Interpreter said to him, Sure it must be a Mangrove-Tree! The Spaniard answer'd, Yes, a fresh-water Mangrove: Yet he said it was a very small Tree, which the Mangrove is not, unless this should be a Dwarf kind of it. We brought away with us several Bundles of this Bark, and I found it to be the right sort, by the frequent use I made of it in Virginia and elsewhere; and I have some of it now by me.

[100] They have two sorts of Pepper, the one called Bell-Pepper, the other Bird-Pepper, and great quantities of each, much used by the Indians. Each sort grows on a Weed, or Shrubby Bush about a Yard high. The Bird-Pepper has the smaller Leaf, and is by the Indians better esteemed than the other, for they eat a great deal of it.

There is on the Main a Red sort of Wood that might be of good use for Dyers. It grows mostly towards the North-Sea Coast, upon a River that runs towards the Samballoses, about two Miles from the Sea-shore. I saw there

*Capsicum, or chillies.
†Logwood, also known as Campeachy wood.
great quantities of these Trees: They are thirty or forty Foot high, about as big as ones Thigh, and the out-side is all along full of Cavities or Notches in the Bark. When the Wood is cut, it appears of a Yellowish Red. With this, and a kind of Earth which they have up the Country, the Indians die Cottons for their Hammocks and Gowns. I tried a little of it, which upon boiling two Hours in fair Water, turn'd it Red as Blood. I dipt therein a piece of Cotton, which it died of a good Red; and when I wash'd it, it turn'd [101] but a little paler, which I imputed to the want only of something to fix the Colour; for no washing could fetch out the Tincture. 'Twas a bright and glossy Red, very lively.

The Indians have several Roots which they plant; especially Potato's, which they roast and eat.

Potato's.

Yams.

They do the same also by Yams, of which they have two sorts, a White and a Purple.

Caffava.

They have a Root call'd Caffava, not much unlike a Parsnip. There are two sorts also of these, a Sweet and a Poisonous. The Sweet Sort they roast and eat as they do Potato's or Yams. Of the Poisonous they make Bread, having first press'd out the Juice, which is noxious. Part of the remaining Substance they grate to a Powder; and having a Baking-stone or Trivet set over a Fire, they strew the Flower over the hot Stone gradually, which bakes it all to a Cake, the bottom hard-bak'd and brown, the rest rough and white, like our Oat-cakes; they use to hang them on the Houses or Hedges,
The Indians in their Habits in Council, and smoking tobacco after their way.
where they dry and grow crisp. In Jamaica they use them frequently instead of Bread; and so in other of the West-Indian Islands.

These Indians have Tobacco among them. It grows as the Tobacco in Virginia, but is not so strong: Perhaps for want of transplanting and manuring, which the Indians don't well understand; for they only raise it from the Seed in their Plantations. When 'tis dried and cured they strip it from the Stalks; and laying two or three Leaves upon one another, they roll up all together side-ways into a long Roll, yet leaving a little hollow. Round this they roll other Leaves one after another, in the same manner but close and hard, till the Roll be as big as ones Wrift, and two or three Feet in length. Their way of Smoking when they are in Company together is thus: A Boy lights one end of a Roll and burns it to a Coal, wetting the part next it to keep it from wasting too fast. The End so lighted he puts into his Mouth, and blows the Smoak through the whole length of the Roll into the Face of every one of the Company or Council, tho' there be 2 or 300 of them. Then they, sitting in their usual Posture upon Forms, make, with their Hands held hollow together, a kind of Funnel round their Mouths and Noses. Into this they receive the Smoak as 'tis blown upon them, snuffing it up greedily and strongly as long as ever they are able to hold their Breath, and seeming to bless themselves, as it were, with the Refreshment it gives them.
Of the Animals; and first of Beasts and Reptiles.

The Variety of Beasts in this Country is not very great; but the Land is so fertile, that upon clearing any considerable part of the Woods it would doubtless afford excellent Pasture, for the maintaining black Cattle, Swine, or whatever other Beasts 'tis usual to bring out of Europe into these Climates.

The Country has of its own a kind of Hog, which is call'd Pecary, not much unlike a Virginia Hog. 'Tis black, and has little short Legs, yet is pretty nimble. It has one thing very strange, that the Navel is not upon the Belly, but the Back: And what is more still, if upon killing a Pecary the Navel be not cut away from the Carcass within three or four Hours after at farthest, 'twill so taint all the Flesh, as not only to render it [105] unfit to be eaten, but make it stink insufferably. Else 'twill keep fresh several Days, and is very good wholesome Meat, nourishing and well-tafted. The Indians barbe-cue it, when they would keep any of it longer: The manner in which they do it I shall describe elsewhere. These Creatures usually herd together, and range about in Droves; and the
Indians either hunt them down with their Dogs, and so strike them with their Lances, or else shoot them with their Arrows, as they have opportunity.

The Warree is another kind of Wild-Hog they have, which is also very good Meat. It has little Ears, but very great Tusks; and the Hair or Bristles 'tis cover'd with, are long, strong and thickset, like a coarse Furr all over its Body. The Warree is fierce, and fights with the Pecary, or any other Creature that comes in his way. The Indians hunt these also as the other, and manage their Flesh the same way, except only as to what concerns the Navel; the singularity of which is peculiar to the Pecary.

[106] They have considerable store of Deer also, resembling most our Red Deer; but these they never hunt nor kill; nor will they ever eat of their Flesh, tho' 'tis very good; but we were not shy of it. Whether it be out of Superstition, or for any other Reason that they forbear them, I know not: But when they saw some of our Men killing and eating of them, they not only refuse'd to eat with them, but seem'd displeas'd with them for it. Yet they preserve the Horns of these Deer, setting them up in their Houses; but they are such only as they shed, for I never saw among them so much as the Skin or Head of any of them, that might shew they had been kill'd by the Indians; and they are too nimble for the Warree, if not a Match for him.

The Dogs they have are small, not well-shap'd, their Hair rough and stragling, like our
Mungrels. They serve only to bark and start the Game, or by their barking give notice to the Hunters to shoot their Arrows. They will run about in this manner from Morning to Night; but are such mere whiffling Curs, that of 2 or 300 [107] Beasts started in a Day, they shall seldom kill above two or three; and these not by running them down, but by getting them at a Bay and besetting them, till the Hunters can come up with them. Large strong Dogs would make better Work here; and it might be a very acceptable Thing to the Indians to transport hither a Breed of such: But then they must keep to their Houses, or they would be in danger of running Wild, in this Country.

Rabbits.

Here are Rabbits, call'd by our English, Indian Conies. They are as large as our Hares; but I know not that this Country has any Hares. These Rabbits have no Tails, and but little short Ears; and the Claws of their Feet are long. They lodge in the Roots of Trees, making no Burrows; and the Indians hunt them, but there is no great plenty of them. They are very good Meat, and eat rather moister than ours.

Monkeys.

There are great Droves of Monkeys, some of them white, but most of them black; some have Beards, others are beardless. They are of a middle Size, yet extraordinary fat at the [108] dry Season, when the Fruits are ripe; and they are very good Meat, for we ate of them very plentifully. The Indians were shy of eating them for a while; but they soon were perjured to it, by seeing us feed on them so heartily. In
the Rainy Seafon they have often Worms in their Bowels. I have taken a handful of them out of one Monkey we cut open; and some of them 7 or 8 Foot long. They are a very wag-gifh kind of Monkey, and plaid a thousand antick Tricks as we march'd at any time through the Woods, skipping from Bough to Bough, with the young ones hanging at the old ones Back, making Faces at us, chattering, and, if they had opportunity, piffing down purposely on our Heads. To pa's from top to top of high Trees, whose Branches are a little too far afunder for their Leaping, they will sometimes hang down by one another's Tails in a Chain; and swinging in that manner, the lowermost catches hold of a Bough of the other Tree, and draws up the rest of them.*

[109] Here are no Bullocks, Horfes, Asses, Sheep, Goats, or other fuch Beasts as we have for Food or Service. They are exceedingly peifter'd with Mice and Rats, which are mostly Grey; and a Brood of Cats therefore to destroy thefe, might be as acceptable a Prefent to them as better Dogs for their Hunting. When I left the Ifthmus, 2 of the Indians who came aboard the fame Veffel at the Samballoe's, went a Cruifing with us towards the Corn-Islands and Cartagene: And when they were difpos'd to return, and we were studying to oblige 'em with fome Prefent, one of them fpied a Cat we had aboard, and beg'd

*The "Member of the Royal Society" in the second edition describes the black and Satyr monkeys, of whom the latter "are bigger than the last and black like them, with very long Beards; these are very leacherous, and often fall foul on the Negro Women."
it: Which we had no sooner given him, but he and his Confort, without staying for any other Gift, went immediately into their Canoa, and padled off with abundance of Joy. They had learnt the use of Cats while they were aboard.* They have Snakes, but of what kind I don’t well remember; nor did I see or hear any Rattle-Snakes. Spiders they have many, very large, but not poisonous. They have Lice in their Heads; which they feel out [110] with their Fingers, and eat as they catch them.

There is a sort of Insect like a Snail in great plenty among the Samballoes, which is call’d the Soldier-Insect; but I don’t remember I saw any of them upon the Main. The reason of the Name, is because of the Colour; for one third part of his Body, about his Head, which is out of the Shell, is in Shape and Colour like a boil’d Shrimp, with little Claws, and 2 larger like thos of a Crab. That part within the Shell, the Tail especially, is eatable, and is good Food, very well tafted and delicious, like Marrow. We thrust a Skuer through this part, and roast a pretty many of them in a row. The forepart is bony, and useless. They feed upon the Ground, eating what falls from Trees: And they have under the Chin a little Bag, into which they put a reserve of Food. Befide this, they have in them a little Sand Bag, which must

*The “Member of the Royal Society” describes twenty-nine beasts, of which No. 27 is “The Sloath. Is a very slow paced Animal, taking a whole Day in going fifty Paces: he is about the bigness of a middling Fox; living on Trees, eating the Leaves, but never drinks.”

†A variety of the hermit crab.
always be taken out when they are to be eaten. This Bag is commonly pretty full of Sand: And Conchs and Welks, and other Shell-fish, have usually Sand in a Vef-[111]fel that runs the length of the Body, in manner of a Gut; which we are forc'd to take out, for else they would be gritty in ones Teeth. If these Soldiers eat of any of the Manchineel-Apples which drop from the Trees, their Flesh becomes so infected with that virulent Juice, as to poison in a manner thofe who eat of it: And we have had fome of our Company very sick by eating fuch as had fed on Manchineel; but after a while 'twould wear off again, without further damage. The Oil of these Infects is a moft Sovereign Remedy for any Sprain or Contufion. I have found it fo, as many others have done frequently: The Indians ufe it that way very fuccefsfully, and many of the Privateers in the West-Indies: And our Men fought them as much for the Oil, as for the fake of eating them. The Oil is of a yellow Colour, like Wax, but of the Confitency of Palm-Oil.

On the Samballoe's I think there are alfo Land-Crabs, tho' but few: But in the Caribbee-Islands, among which I have been Cruifing, and efpecially on Anguilla, they are very numerouſ, and fome very large, as big as the [112] largest Sea-Crabs that are fold at London. They have them alfo in other of the West-India Islands; but on Anguilla they fwear; and a little Island near it has fuch multitudes of them, that 'tis call'd Crab-Island. They are excellent good Meat, and are the main Support of the Inhabitants,
who range about a Crabbing, as they call it. After a Shower of Rain they will come abroad; and then is the best time to look out for them. They live in Holes or Burrows like Rabbits, which they dig for themselves with their Claws. When they are upon the March they never go about, nor turn their Backs, but crawl over any thing that lies in their way, guarding with their great Claws, while they creep with the small ones; and whatever they lay hold of they pinch very severely. The Inhabitants of some of these Isles, when they take any of them, put them for three or four Days into a piece of Potato-ground, to fatten them; for which they are said to eat much the better.

Alligators. Alligator's and Guano's, which are also very good Meat, especially the Tail of the Alligator, I have eaten in several Parts of the West-Indies; but I don't remember my seeing either of them in the Isthmus. The Guano is all over very good Meat, prefer'd to a Pullet or Chicken, either for the Meat or Broth. Their Eggs also are very good; but those of the Alligator have too much of a musky Flavour, and sometimes smell very strong of it. There are up and down the Isthmus a great many Lizards,

Guano's.

Lizards.*

*The "Member of the Royal Society" describes six lizards of which No. 5 is "The House Lizard. Is a friendly Animal" for if it sees you in danger of any hurtful Creature whilst asleep, it will come and awake you.

"6. The Blow-tail'd Lizard. Is not thicker than a Swan-quill, and but three Inches long; its body smooth and squarish; these are said to be poisonous, and thirst after the Blood of breeding Women: and they report, that if a Woman, or but her cloaths do touch this Creature, she will afterwards prove barren."
green, and red-speckled; but those in the Swampy Land and Thickets look more black or rusty. They are none of them large; generally less than a Span. I never saw the Indians eat of them. They are pretty innocent familiar Creatures, and the Indians suffer them to creep up and down their Houses.

They have Frogs and Toads, and other smaller Insects; but I took no particular Notice of them.
The Birds, and flying Insects.

They have several sorts of Birds, some of Kinds unknown to us; and remarkable both for their Beauty, and the good Relish of their Flefh.

There is one stately kind of Land-bird, pretty common among the Woods on the Isthmus, which is call'd by the Indians Chicaly-Chicaly. Its Noise is somewhat like a Cuckow's, but sharper and quicker. 'Tis a large and long Bird, and has a long Tail, which he carries upright like a Dunghill Cock. His Feathers are of great variety of fine lively Colours, red, blue, &c. The Indians make a fort of Aprons,* sometimes, of the Feathers which grow on his Back; but these they seldom wear. This Bird keeps mostly on the Trees, flying from one to another, and but rarely to the Ground. He feeds on Fruit. His Flefh is blackish, and of a coarse Grain, yet pretty good Meat.

The Quam is also a large and long Land-bird. He feeds also upon Fruits, and flies up and down the Trees. His Wings are of a Dun

* Ceremonial or festival garments.
† Dampier, p. 19, says that, on the day after he parted from Wafer, "This evening I killed a Quaum, a large Bird as big as a Turkey, wherewith we treated our Guides."
Colour, but his Tail is very dark, short, ftumpy, and upright. This Bird is much better Meat than the other. 

There is also a Ruffet-colour'd Land-bird, shap'd not unlike a Partridge; but has a longer Neck and Legs, yet a short Tail. He runs most on the Ground, and seldom flies. His Flefh is very good Meat.

The Corrofoun is a large, black Land-bird, heavy and big as a Turkey-hen; but the Hen is not fo black as the Cock. The Cock has on his Head a fine Crown or Comb of yellow Feathers, which he moves to and fro as he pleafes: He has Gills also like a Turkey; but the Hen has neither Plume nor Gills. They live on the Trees, and feed on Fruits. They Sing or make a Noife big and grofs, yet very tweet and delightful; especially to the Indians, who in-deavour to imitate them: And the Indians and they will sometimes anfwer one another this way, and the Indians discover their Haunts by it. The old [116] ones also call their young ones by this Sound. The Flefh is somewhat tough, but otherwise very good and well-tafted Meat. The Indians either throw the Bones of the Corrofoun into the River, or make a Hole and bury them, to keep them from their Dogs, being thought unwholfe for the Dogs to eat; and the Indians fay they will make the Dogs run mad: Neither do the English in the Weft-Indies let the Dogs eat of them. The Indians shoot down all these Birds with their Arrows.

They have Parrots good store, some blue and Parrots.
fome green, for Shape and Size like the gene-
erality of the Parrots we have from jamaica. There is here great variety of them, and they are very good Meat.

They have also many Parakites, most of them Green; generally much the same as in other Places. They don't fort with the Parrots, but go in large Flights by themselves.

Macaw-birds are here also in good plenty. 'Tis shap'd not much unlike a Parrot, but is as large again as the biggest of them. It has a Bill like a Hawk's; and a bushy Tail, with [117] two or three long stragling Feathers, all Red or Blue: The Feathers all over the Body are of several very bright and lovely Colours, Blue, Green and Red. The Pinions of the Wings of some of them are all Red, of others all Blue, and the Beaks yellow. They make a great Noise in a Morning, very hoarse and deep, like Men who speak much in the Throat. The Indians keep these Birds tame, as we do Parrots, or Mag-pies: But after they have kept them close some time, and taught them to speak some Words in their Language, they suffer them to go abroad in the Day-time into the Woods, among the wild ones; from whence they will on their own accord return in the Evening to the Indian's Houscs or Plantations, and give notice of their arrival by their fluttering and prating. They will exactly imitate the Indian's Voices, and their way of Singing, and they will call the Chicaly-Chicaly in its own Note, as exactly as the Indians themselves, whom I have observ'd to be very expert at it. 'Tis the most beautiful and
pleasant Bird that ever I [118] saw; and the Flesh is sweet-tasted enough, but black and tough.

There is also a sort of Wood-pecker, with such a long slender Bill as that kind of Birds have. These have strong Claws, wherewith they climb up and down the Bodies of Trees, and stick very close to them. They are pied like our Mag-pies, white and black; but more finely, being a smaller Bird. The Flesh is of an earthy unpleasent Taste. I tasted of them as I was travelling with my Companions, for Hunger then made us glad of any thing of Food; but the Indians don't eat of them.

They have great plenty of Poultry tame about their Houses, of 2 sorts, a greater and a less. The larger sort are much like ours, of different Colours and Breed, as Cuple-crown'd, the common Dunghil Cock and Hen, and of the Game kind; tho' these Indians don't delight in Cock-fighting as those of Java do. The smaller sort are feather'd about the Legs like Carrier-pigeons, and have very bushy Tails, which they carry upright; and the tips of the Wings are generally black. This small sort keep a-[119] part from the other. They all keep the same Crowing Season, before Day, as our Cocks do. They are constantly about the Houses, not ranging far into the Woods; and both their Flesh and their Eggs are as well-tasted as any we have in England; and they are generally fatter; for the Indians give them Maiz good store, which is very fattening.

These are all the kinds of Land-birds I noted
Small Birds. among them: Though there are many small ones which I did not so particularly observe; and these generally very pretty and musical.*

About the Samballoes and the other Islands, and the Sea-Coast, on the North-side especially, there are great numbers of Sea-fowl. The South-Sea Coast, more to Windward, has many of them too; but whether it be that the Bay of Panama does not afford so many Fish to invite them, for 'tis not near so well-stocked with Fish as the Coast about the Samballoes, there are but very few Sea-fowl on the South-Sea Coast of the Isthmus, to what there are on the North-Coast; and as to Pelicans particularly, which [120] are very frequent among the Samballoes, and all along the West-India Coasts, I don't remember that I ever saw one of them any where in the South Seas.

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*The "Member of the Royal Society" describes 118 birds, of which No. 5 is "The Christmas-Bird. Is almost as big as a Pigeon, it has about the Throat many inch-long black Watles; it never cries but in December and begining of January, but then may be heard a great way off. . . .

"8. The Unicorn-Bird. Has a Horn on his Head above two Inches long, which is said to be a great Counter-poison. The Female bigger than a Swan, and the Male twice that bigness. . . .

"20. The red-legg'd Duck. The Feet of these when roasted dye both Hands and Linnen red.

"21. The crested Eagle. His cry is like a Hen that has lost its young. . . .

"60. The Great Wide-Mouth. Is as big as an Owl; when it gapes one may easily put in ones fist. . . .

"67. The Little Tame-Owl. Its of the bigness of a Throstle; and plays with Men, making divers antick Faces. . . .

The *Pelican* is a large Bird, with a great Beak, short-legg'd like a Goofe; and has a long Neck, which it holds upright like a Swan. The Feathers are of dark Grey; 'tis Web-footed. Under the Throat hangs a Bag or Pouch, which, when fill'd, is as large as both ones Fists. The Substance of it is a thin Membrane, of a fine, grey, ashy Colour. The Seamen kill them for the Sake of these Bags, to make Tobacco-pouches of them; for, when dry, they will hold a Pound of Tobacco; and by a Bullet hung in them, they are soon brought into Shape. The *Pelican* flies heavy and low; we find nothing but Fish in his Maw, for that is his Food. His Pouch, as well as Stomach, has Fish found in it: So that it seems likely that the Pouch is a Bag intended to keep a Reserve of Food. I have never seen any of the old *Pelicans* eaten; but the young ones are said to be Meat good enough, but I have never eaten of any of them.

[121] There are *Cormorants* also among the *Samballoes*, which for Size and Shape are like Ducks, but rather less. They are black, but have a white Spot on the Breast. Tho' they are Web-footed, as other Water-fowl are, yet they pitch on Trees and Shrubs by the Water-side. I have never heard of any one's eating of these, for their Flesh is thought to be too coarse and rank.

There are a great many Sea-Gulls also and Sea-Pies, on that Coast; both of them much like ours, but rather smaller. The Flesh of both these is eaten commonly enough, and 'tis tolerable good Meat, but of a Fishy Tast, as Sea-fowl
ufually are. Yet to correct this Taft, when we kill'd any Sea-Gulls, Sea-Pies, Boobies, or the like, on any Shore, we us'd to make a Hole in the hot Sand, and there bury them for eight or ten Hours, with their Feathers on, and Guts in them: And upon dressing them afterwards, we found the Flesh tenderer, and the Taft not so rank nor fishy.

There are Bats, on the Isthmus, the Bodies of which are as large as [122] Pigeons, and their Wings extended to a proportionable length and breadth; with Claws at the Joints of the Wings, by which they cling to any thing. They much haunt old Houses and deferted Plantations.

Of Flying Insects, beside the Moskito's or Gnats before-mention'd, there are up and down the Isthmus Wasps and Beetles, and Flies of several kinds: particularly the Shining Fly, which shines in the Night like a Glow-worm; and where there are many of them in a Thicket, they appear in the Night like so many Sparks of Fire.

They have Bees also, and consequently Hony and Wax. The Bees are of two sorts; the one short and thick, and its Colour inclining to Red; the other blackish, long and slender. They nest on the tops and in the holes of Trees; which the Indians climb, and thrust their Arms into their Nest, to get the Combs. Their Arms will be cover'd with Bees, upon their drawing them back; yet I never perceiv'd they were stung by them: And I have had many of them at a time upon my naked Body, with-[123]out being stung; so that I have been inclin'd to think
they have no Stings: But that's a thing I never examin'd. The Indians sometimes burn down the Trees to get at the Combs, especially if they be high and difficult to climb. The Hony they mix with Water, and drink it: But they make no use of the Wax, that ever I saw; using for Candles a sort of light Wood, which they keep in their Houfes for that purpose.

They have Ants with Wings, large and long, as well as those which are Reptile only. They raife Hillocks like ours: They sting, and are very troublesome; especially when they get into the Houfes, as they frequently do. They swarm up and down the Sambalhoes and the other Neighbouring Ifles, as well as on the Ifthmus itfelf; and there is no lying down to Reft on any piece of Ground where they are. Neither do the Indians care to tie their Hammocks to any Trees near the Ant-hills; for the Ants would climb up fuch Trees, and soon get into their Hammocks.
Of the Fish.

The North-Sea Coast, as I intimated, abounds in Fish, and has great variety of them. Those which I have had the opportunity of seeing, are chiefly these:

The Tarpon, which is a large and firm fish, eating in flakes like Salmon or Cod. They are some of 50 or 60 pound weight and upwards. One of them afforded a good dinner once to about ten of us, as we were cruising towards the coast of Cartagene; besides a good quantity of oil we got out of the fat.

Sharks are also found in these seas; tho' not so commonly about the Samballoes, as on other of the West-India coasts.

There is a fish there like the Shark, but much smaller and sweeter meat. Its mouth is also longer and narrower than the Sharks; neither has he more than one row of teeth.

Our seamen used to call this the Dog-fish.

The Cavally is found among the Samballoes. 'Tis a small fish, clean, long and slender, much about the size of a Macarel; a very fine lively fish, with a bright, large eye; and 'tis very good meat, moist and well-tasted.
Old-wives, which is a flat kind of Fish, and good Meat, are there also.

They have Paracoods also, which are a long and round Fish, about as large as a well-grown Pike, but usually much longer. They are generally very good Meat; and here especially: But there are some particular Banks off at Sea, where you can take no Paracoods but what are poisonous. Whether it be from some particular Feed they have there, or from what other Caufe, I know not; but I have known several Men poison'd with them, to that degree as to have their Hair and Nails come off; and some have died with eating them. The Antidote for this is said to be the Back-bone of the Fish, dried and beaten to a Powder, and given in any Liquor. I can't vouch for the Success of this my self; but several have told me, That they have us'd it themselves, when they have found themselves sick with eating any Paracood; but that upon taking the Bone thus powder'd, they have found no other ill Effect, but only a Nummednefs in their Limbs, and a Weaknefs for some time after. Some will pretend to distinguish a poisonous Paracood from a wholesome one, by the Liver; which as soon as they have taken the Fish, they pull out and taft. If it taft sweet, they dress and eat the Fish without any Fear; but if the Liver be bitter, or bite the Tongue like Pepper, they conclude the Fish to be naught, and throw it away.

There is another sort of Fish on the North-Sea Coast, which our Sea-men call Gar-fish: Some of them are near two Foot long. They
have a long Bone on the Snout, of about a 3d part the length of the Body; and 'tis very sharp at the end. They will glide along the Surface of the Water as swift as a Swallow, gliding thus on the Surface, and leaping out of the Water, alternately, 30 or 40 times together. They move with such a Force, that, as I have been inform'd, they will run their Snout through the side of a Canoa; and 'tis dangerous for a Man who is Swimming to meet with them, left they strike through him. The Back-bone looks blewifh, of a Colour towards a Saphire. The Flesh is very good Meat.

Sculpins.

There are Sculpins also, a Fish about a Foot long, with Prickles all about him: They slip them of their prickly Skin, and then dress them. They are very good Meat.

Sting-rays, Parrot-fish, Snooks, Conger-Eels, &c.

There are in the North-Sea many other Fish beside these, as Sting-rays, Parrot-fish, Snooks, Conger-Eels, &c. and many others, probably, that I have neither seen nor heard of; for 'tis a Sea very well stor'd with Fish.

Of Shell-fish, there are Conchs all along the Sambaloes in abundance. Their Shells are very large, winding within like a Snail-shell; the Mouth of the Shell is flat, and very wide, proportionably to the bigness of the Shell. The Colour of it within is like Mother of Pearl; but without, 'tis coarse and rugged. The Fish is slimy, the out-parts of it especially, and must therefore be scour'd with Sand before 'tis dress'd for Eating. But within, the Substance is hard and tough; for which Reason they beat them after they have scour'd the out-side:
But when they have been thus managed, they are a very sweet and good Fish.

There are *Periwinkle's* good store among the Rocks; which are also good Meat. We pick them out of the Shells with Pins.

The *Limpits* also stick to the Rocks hereabouts; and are rather better Meat than the other.

There are no Oysters nor Lobsters on the Coast of the *Isthmus*; but a few Crabs: and a sort of Craw-fish among the Rocks of the *Sambaloes*, as large as small Lobsters, but wanting the two great Claws. These last are very delicious Meat; but the Sea-Crabs are not very good.

There are Fish in the Rivers also of the *Isthmus*; but I am not acquainted with many of the kinds of them.

There is one sort like our Roach, blackish and very bony, in length about a Foot, very sweet, firm, and well-tafted.

There is another Fish in shape like the *Para-cood*, but much smaller, and a very good Fish.

[129] There is a Fish like our Pike or Jack for Shape; but not above 8 or 10 Inches long. His Mouth is somewhat like a Rabbits, his Teeth a little way within: His Lips are Cartilaginous. 'Tis a very good Fish.

What other Fish their Rivers yield, I know not; for I took no very particular notice even of these.

But I was more observing of the Indians manner of *Fishing*, at which they are very expert, and manage it differently, according to the Place where they Fish. In the Rivers Mouths, and upon the Sea-Coasts, in Sandy-bays where there
are no Rocks, they use Nets like our Drag-nets, made of *Maho*-bark, or Silk-grafs; which they carry out in their Canoa's. But in the Hill-Country, where the Streams are clear, and the Banks in many places Rocky, they go along the Banks up the River, looking narrowly into the Water to view the Fish. When they spy any to their Mind, they leap into the Water, and wade or swim up and down after them; and if the Fish, through the Fright, betake themselves into the holes in the Banks for Shelter, as they [130] frequently do, the Indians feel them out with their Hands and take them thence, as we do Chubs or Craw-fish in our Rivers. By Night they bring with them Torches of Light-wood, and with these they spy out the Fish, and so jump in, and pursue them into their Holes.

For *dressing* their Fish; they first gut them, and then either boil them in an Earthen Pot, or else *barbecue* or broil them.

For *Salt*, they have it out of the Sea-water; which they boil up and evaporate in Earthen Pots, till the Salt is left in a Cake at the bottom, which they take out and break in pieces for use: But as this is a tedious way, so they have but little, and are very choice and sparing of it.* They don't salt their Fish for keeping; but when they eat it, they boil abundance of Pepper with it, as they do with every thing else. But their Cookery I shall speak of elsewhere.

*Much of the salt used by the inhabitants of the isthmus is still obtained by this method.—V. R.*
[131] Of the Indian Inhabitants; their Manners, Customs, &c.

The Indian Inhabitants of the Isthmus are not very numerous, but they live thickest on the North-side, especially along the sides of Rivers. The wild Indians of the South-side live most towards Peru: But there are Indians scatter'd up and down all parts of the Isthmus.

The size of the Men is usually about 5 or 6 Foot. They are straight and clean-limb'd, big'd-bon'd, full-breasted, and handomly shap'd. I never saw among them a crooked or deformed Person. They are very nimble and active, running very well. But the Women are short and thick, and not so lively as the Men. The young Women are very plump and fat, well-shap'd; and have a brisk Eye. The elder Women are very ordinary; their Bellies and Breasts [132] being penfile and wrinkled. Both Men and Women are of a round Vifage, with short bottle Noses, their Eyes large, generally grey, yet lively and sparkling when young. They have a high Forehead, white even Teeth, thin Lips, and Mouth moderately large. Their Cheeks and Chin are well proportion'd; and in
general they are handomly featur'd, but the Men more than the Women.

Both Sexes have ftreight, long, black Hair, lank, courfe and ftrong, which they wear ufually down to the middle of the Back, or lower, hanging loofe at its full length; only the Women tie it together with a String juft behind the Head, below which it flows loofe as the Mens. Both Men and Women pride themselves much in the length of the Hair of the Head; and they frequently part it with their Fingers, to keep it difentangled; or comb it out with a fort of Combs they make of Macaw-wood. This Comb is made of feveral fmall Sticks, of about 5 or 6 Inches long, and tapering to a point at each end like our Glovers Sticks. Thefe being tied 10 or 12 of them together about the middle where they are thick, the Extremities of them both ways open from each other, and ferve at either end for a Comb: which does well enough to part the Hair; but they are forc'd to ufe their Fingers to fetch the Lice out of their Heads. They take great delight in Combing their Hair, and will do it for an Hour together. All other Hair, except that of their Eye-brows and Eye-lids, they eradicate: For tho' the Men have Beards if they would let them grow, yet they always have them rooted out: And the Women are the Operators for all this Work; ufing two little Sticks for that purpofe, between which they pinch the Hair, and pluck it up. But the Men upon some occasions cut off the Hair even of their Heads, it being a Cuftom they have to do fo by way of Triumph, and as
a distinguishing Mark of Honour to him who has kill'd a Spaniard, or other Enemy. He also then paints himself black (which is not usual upon any other occasion) continuing painted of this Colour till the first New-moon (as I remem-ber) after the Fact is done.

[134] Their Natural Complexion is a Copper-colour, or Orange-tawney; and their Eye-brows are naturally black as Jet. They use no Art to deepen the Colour either of their Eye-brows, or the Hair of their Head; but they daub it with Oil to make it shine; for like other Indians they anoint themselves all over, whether for Beauty to make the Skin smooth and sleek, or to supple it and keep it from parching, or to hinder too much Perspiration in this hot Country, I know not.

There is one Complexion so singular, among a sort of People of this Country, that I never saw nor heard of any like them in any part of the World. The Account will seem strange, but any Privateers who have gone over the Isthmus must have seen them, and can attest the main of what I am going to relate; tho' few have had the opportunity of so particular an Information about these People as I have had.

They are White, and there are of them of both Sexes; yet there are but few of them in comparison of the Copper-colour'd, possibly but one to [135] two or three hundred. They differ from the other Indians chiefly in respect of Colour, tho' not in that only. Their Skins are not of such a White as those of fair People among Europeans, with some tincture of a Bluff or Sanguine Complexion; neither yet is their Milk-white Skins [i. e., Albinos].
Complexion like that of our paler People, but 'tis rather a Milk-white, lighter than the Colour of any Europeans, and much like that of a white Horse.

For there is this further remarkable in them, that their Bodies are beset all over, more or less, with a fine short Milk-white Down, which adds to the whiteness of their Skins: For they are not so thick set with this Down, especially on the Cheeks and Forehead, but that the Skin appears distinct from it. The Men would probably have white Bristles for Beards, did they not prevent them by their Custom of plucking the young Beard up by the Roots continually: But for the Down all over their Bodies, they never try to get rid of it. Their Eye-brows are Milk-white also, and so is the Hair of their Heads, and very fine withal, about the length of six or [136] eight Inches, and inclining to a Curl.

They are not so big as the other Indians; and what is yet more strange, their Eye-lids bend and open in an oblong Figure, pointing downward at the Corners, and forming an Arch or Figure of a Crescent with the Points downwards. From hence, and from their seeing so clear as they do in a Moon-shiny night, we us'd to call them Moon-ey'd. For they see not very well in the Sun, poring in the clearest Day; their Eyes being but weak, and running with Water if the Sun shine towards them; so that in the Day-time they care not to go abroad, unleas if be a cloudy dark Day. Besides they are but a weak People in comparison of the
other, and not very fit for Hunting or other laborious Exercise, nor do they delight in any such. But notwithstanding their being thus sluggish and dull and restive in the Day-time, yet when Moon-shiny nights come, they are all Life and Activity, running abroad, and into the Woods, skipping about like Wild-Bucks; and running as fast by Moon-light, even in the Gloom and Shade of the Woods, as the other Indians by Day, being as nimble as they, tho' not so strong and lusty.

The Copper-colour'd Indians seem not to respect these so much as those of their own Complexion, looking on them as somewhat monstrous. They are not a distinct Race by themselves, but now and then one is bred of a Copper-colour'd Father and Mother; and I have seen a Child of less than a Year old of this sort. Some would be apt to suspect they might be the Off-spring of some European Father: But besides that the Europeans come little here, and have little Commerce with the Indian-women when they do come, these white People are as different from the Europeans in some respects, as from the Copper-colour'd Indians in others. And besides, where an European lies with an Indian-woman, the Child is always a Moisfe, or Tawney, as is well known to all who have been in the West-Indies; where there are Moisefa's, Mulatto's, &c. of several Gradations between the White, and the Black or Copper-colour'd, according as the Parents are; even to Decom-pounds, as a Mu-[138]atto-Fina, the Child of a Mulatto-man, and Moisfa-women, &c.
But neither is the Child of a Man and Woman of these white Indians, white like the Parents, but Copper-colour'd as their Parents were. For so Lacenta told me, and gave me this as his Conjecture how these came to be White, That 'twas through the force of the Mother's Imagination, looking on the Moon at the time of Conception; but this I leave others to judge of. He told me withal, that they were but short-liv'd.

Both these and the Copper-colour'd Indians use painting their Bodies, even of the Sucking Children sometimes. They make Figures of Birds, Beasts, Men, Trees, or the like, up and down in every part of the Body, more especially the Face: But the Figures are not extraordinary like what they represent, and are of differing Dimensions, as their Fancies lead them.

The Women are the Painters, and take a great delight in it. The Colours they like and use most are Red, Yellow and Blue, very bright and lovely. They temper them with some kind of Oil, and keep them in Calabashes for use; and ordinarily lay them on the Surface of the Skin with Pencils of Wood, gnaw'd at the end to the softness of a Brush. So laid on, they will last some Weeks, and are renew'd continually. This way they painted me.

But finer Figures, especially by their greater Artists, are imprinted deeper, after this manner. They first with the Brush and Colour make a rough Draught of the Figure they design; then they prick all over with a sharp Thorn till the Blood gushes out; then they rub the place with their Hands, first dipp'd in the Colour they
The Indians marching upon a Visit, or to Feast. P. 140.

Lacanta.

his Lady.

Attendants.
design; and the Picture so made is indelible: But scarce one in forty of them is painted this way.

One of my Companions desired me once to get out of his Cheek one of these imprinted Pictures, which was made by the Negroes, his Name was Bullman; which yet I could not effectually do, after much scarifying and fetching off a great part of the Skin. The Men, when they go to War, paint the Faces all over with Red; and the Shouldiers, Breast, and the [140] rest of the Bodies, here with Black, and there with Yellow, or any other Colour at pleasure, in large Spots; all which they wash off at Night in the River before they go to sleep.

They wear no Cloaths, ordinarily; but only the Women have a Clout or piece of Cloth about their middle, tied behind with a Thread, and hanging down to their Knees; or Ankles, if they can get one large enough. They make these of Cotton; but sometimes they meet with some old Cloaths got by trucking with their Neighbour Indians subject to the Spaniards; and these they are very proud of. Mr. Dampier relates how we prevail'd with a morose Indian, by presenting his Wife with a Sky-colour'd Petticoat: And nothing will oblige the Women more than to give them Cloaths, especially of Gaudy Colours.*

* Dampier, p. 13, describes the efforts to get information from the old Indian at whose house the party stopped on the third day's march: "At first he seemed to be very dubious in entertaining any discourse with us, and gave very impertinent answers to the questions that we demanded of him; he told us that he knew no way to the North side. . . . We could
The Men go ordinarily quite naked, without so much as a Clout about them, which few other Indians are without. But these have only a small Vessel of Gold or Silver, if they are able, or at least a piece of Plantain-Leaf, of a Conick Figure, like the [141] Extinguisher of a Candle. They forceably bear back the Penis within its own Tegument, close to the Pubes; and they keep it there with this Funnel tied hard upon it, with a String coming from it, and going about their Waists. They leave the Scrotum expos'd, having no Sense of Shame with reference to that, as they have with respect to the Penis, which they never shew uncover'd: But the Men will turn away their Faces even from one another, if by any accident it be uncover'd; and when they would make Water, they turn their Backs to their Companions, and squatting down, flip off the Funnel with one Hand, and having done, put it on again very nimbly. When they would go to Stool, they choose always to go into the

get no other answer from him, and all his discourse was in such an angry tone as plainly declared he was not our friend. However, we were forced to make a virtue of necessity, and humour him, for it was neither time nor place to be angry with the Indians; all our lives lying in their hand.

"We were now at a great loss, not knowing what course to take, for we tempted him with Beads, Money, Hatchets, Macheats, or long Knives; but nothing would work on him, till one of our men took a Sky-coloured Petticoat out of his bag and put it on his wife; who was so much pleased with the Present, that she immediately began to chatter to her Husband, and soon brought him into better humour. He could then tell us that he knew the way to the North side, and would have gone with us, but that he had cut his foot 2 days before, which made him incapable of serving us himself: But he would take care that we should not want a guide."
River, both Men and Women; having a great Sense of Shame as to that particular: And in general, they are both a modest and a cleanly People.

Yet the Men also have a value for Cloaths; and if any of them had an old Shirt given him by any of us, he would be sure to wear it, and itrust about at no ordinary rate. Besides this, they have a sort of long Cotton Garments of their own, some white, others of a rusty black, shap'd like our Carter's Frocks, hanging down to their Heels, with a Fringe of the same of Cotton about a Span long, and short, wide, open Sleeves, reaching but to the middle of their Arms.* Thefe Garments they put on over their Heads; but they are worn only on some great Occaſions, as attending the King or Chief, either at a Feast, a Wedding especially; or sitting in Council, or the like. They don't march in them: But the Women carry these and their other Ornaments in Baskets after them; which they put on when they come to the Place of Assembly, and there make themſelves as fine as they can. When they are thus asſembled, they

*Ringrose, p. 7, says that the "King or chief Captain of these Indians of Darien," who visited the buccaneers on their way across to attack Santa Maria, "was covered with a thin white cotton robe, reaching unto the small of his legs, and round its bottom a fringe of the same three inches deep. So that by the length of this Robe, our sight was impeded, that we could see no higher than his naked Ankles. In his hand he had a long bright Lance, as sharp as any knife. With him he had three Sons, each of them having a white Robe, and their Lances in their hands, but standing bare-headed before him; as also were eight or nine persons more of his Retinue, or Guard." His crown is described in the note on page 142.
will sometimes walk about the Place or Plantation where they are, with these their Robes on: And I once saw Lacenta thus walking about with 2 or 300 of these attending him, as if he was mustering them: And I took notice that those in the black Gowns walk'd before him, and the white after him, each having their Launces of the same colour with their Robes.

For an Ornament to the Face, beside their general painting and daubing their Cheeks with Red when they go to War, the Men wear at all times a piece of Plate hanging over their Mouths, generally of Silver, but the principal Men have it of Gold. 'Tis of an Oval Figure, covering the Mouth from corner to corner; and this is the length of it. It reaches so low as to lie upon the Under-lip with its lowest side; and there is a piece cut out of the upper side, near the Extremity of it; which Edge being cut afunder, the whole Plate is like the Figure of a Half-moon, only inclining more to an Oval; and gently pinching the Bridle of the Nose with its Points, it hangs dangling from thence. It is in the middle of about the thickness of a Guinea; but grows thinner gradually towards the Edge. The Plates of this size are such as they use when they go to a Feast or Council: But that which they wear abroad upon a long March, Hunting, or at ordinary times, is of the same Shape, but much smaller, and does not cover their Lips. Such an one I wore among them of Gold.*

* Davis, in the second edition, p. 276, describes the Indians who accompanied him across the Isthmus as being about a hundred, "brisk young Fellows, each of them having two
[144] Instead of this Plate, the Women wear a Ring hanging down in the same manner; and the Metal and Size also differing according to their Rank, and the Occasion. The larger fort is of the thickness of a Goose-quill; and not Oval, as the Mens Plates, but Circular. It goes through the Bridle of the Nose; which many times, by its weight and long use, especially in Elder Women, it brings down to the Mouth.

Both Men and Women, at solemn Meals or Feasts, when they wear their larger Plates or Rings, take them out, and lay them aside till they have done Eating; when rubbing them very clean and bright, they put them in again. At other times, when they eat or drink, they content themselves with lifting up with the left Hand, if need be, the small Plates or Rings they then wear, (and the Womens Rings are seldom so small but they lie upon the Lips) while they use their right Hand in taking up the Cup or feeding themselves. And by the way, they always make the chief use of their Right Hands:

Lances, two Bows, and about twenty Arrows. They are all naked, having long black Hair hanging down to their Wastes, and a Horn which they put their Yards into, ty'd with a String, and a very large piece of Gold, with a Ring in the shape of half Moon, reaching from Ear to Ear, and a Hole in their Nose, into which the Ring goes." These rings are illustrated in the plate at p. 137.
faftned to a Ring there, two large Gold Plates, one hanging before to the Breaft, and the other behind on the Shoulder. They are about a Span long, of an Heart fafthion (as that is commonly painted) with the Point downward; having on the upper part a narrow Plate or Label, about three or four Inches long, by an hole in which it hangs to the Ring in the Ear. It wears great holes in the Ears by frequent ufe.

I once faw Lacenta, in a great Council, wear a Diadem of Gold-plate, like a Band about his Head, eight or nine Inches broad, jagged at top like the Teeth of a Saw, and lined on the inside with a Net-work of fmall Canes.* And all the armed Men, who then attended him in Council, wore on their Heads fuch a Band, but like a Basket of Canes, and fo jagged, wrought fine, and painted very hand-[i46]iomely, for the moft part red; but not cover'd over with a Gold-plate as Lacenta's was. The top of these was fet round with long Feathers, of feveral of the moft beautiful Birds, ftuck upright in a

*Ringrose, p. 6, describing the "King" of Darien, who visited the buccaneers while they were on their way to attack Santa Maria, says: "His Crown was made of small white reeds, which were curiously woven, having no other top than its lining, which was red silk. Round about the middle of it was a thin plate of gold, more than two inches broad, laced behind; from whence did stick two or three Ostrich feathers. About this plate went also a row of golden beads, which were bigger than ordinary pease [i. e., peas]; underneath which the red lining of the crown was seen. In his nose he wore a large plate of gold, in form of an half Moon; and in each ear a great golden Ring, nigh four inches in diameter, with a round thin plate of Gold of the same breadth, having a small hole in the center, and by that hanging to the ring."
Ring or Crown: But *Lacenta* had no Feathers on his Diadem.

Besides these particular Ornaments there are yet other general ones, which they all wear, Men, Women, and Children of seven or eight Years old, in proportion to their Age. These are several Strings or Chains of Teeth, Shells, Beads, or the like, hanging from the Neck down upon the Breast, and to the pit of the Stomach. The Teeth-chains are curiously made with Teeth jagged like a Saw in several Rows, so contriv'd as that the Prominencies of the one Row may lie in the Notches of the other, and look like one solid Mass of Bone. This was worn only by *Lacenta*, and some few of the principal Men, on particular Occasions; and they put them on over the rest of their Beads. We us'd to call these, Tygers-teeth, though I know not for what Reason; for I never saw any such Creature [147] there: Yet I have been inform'd there are Tygers on this Continent. Some of our Men who cross'd the *Isthmus*, told me, they kill'd one there; and at another time, when we went over with Capt. Sharp, some of the Men said they saw a Tyger, who stood at a small distance, and stare'd upon them. I have heard also that there is a small fort, but very fierce, in the Bay of *Campechy*.

But for the rest of them, both Men and Women, they wear not any Teeth, but only a few scattering sometimes here and there in the Chains, among the rest of the Baubles. Each of them has, it may be, about the Neck 3 or 400 Strings of Beads, Shells, or the like, but these
divided into 7 or 8 Ranks; and the Strings of each, by being turn’d a little about one another, make, as it were, so many Ropes of them. These hang usually one below another, yet in no great order; and the Women generally have theirs hanging all on a Heap or Cluster. Whatever Bugles* or other such Toys they get, they find a place for them among their Chains; which the heavier they be, the more [148] ornamental. She is a poor Woman who has not fifteen or twenty Pound weight upon her; some have thirty or more; and the Men have commonly near twice as much in weight as the Women, according as their Strength is, and their Ability to compass them.

When they are in the House, or on Hunting, or going to War, they wear none of these Chains; but only when they would appear in State, upon occasion of a Feast, Wedding, Council, or the like. As they go to the place of Rendezvous, the Women carry them for them, as they do their other Trinkets, in Baskets; one at each end of a Pole laid across the Shoulder. When they come to the place, they put them on, and walk about; and sometimes will dance in them; till with the Motion and Weight they Sweat extremely. When they sit down to eat, they take them off till they have done.

The Children have only a few small Chains; and a String or two of Beads or Bugles they will put upon their very Infants. And the Women, besides these Chains, have sometimes

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*Long black glass beads.
Bracelets about their Arms, of a small quantity of the fame Materials twifted feveral times about. Both Men and Women, when painted, and fet out with all these Fineries, make no ordinary Figure.

Their Houfes lie mostly thin and fcattering, especially in New Plantations, and always by a River-fide. But in fome Places there are a pretty many together, fo as to make a Town or Village; yet not ftanding close or orderly, in Rows or Streets, but diſpers'd here and there, like our Villages on Commons, or in Woodlands.

They have Plantations lying about them, fome at a nearer, others at a greater diſtance; referving ftill a Place to build the common War-houfe on. They change not their Seats or Houfes, unlefs either for fear of the Neighbouring Spaniards, if they think them too much acquainted with the place of their Abode; or to mend their Commons, when the Ground is worn out of Heart; for they never manure not.

In building, they lay no Foundations, only dig Holes two or three Feet afunder; in which they fet fmall [150] Pofts upright, of an equal heighth, of 6, 7, or 8 Foot high. The Walls are walled up with Sticks, and daub'd over with Earth: And from thefe Walls the Roof runs up in fmall Rafters, meeting in a Ridge, and cover'd with Leaves of fome Trees of the Palm kind.

The Building is all irregular. The Length is about 24 or 25 Foot; the Breadth proportionable. There is no Chimney, but the Fire is made in the middle of the Houfe, on the Ground; the Smoke going out at a hole on the
top, or at Crevifes in the Thatch. The Houfe is not so much parted into Rooms, as all of it a Cluster of Hovels, joining together into one Houfe. No Stories, no Doors, nor Shelves; nor other Seats, than Logs of Wood. Every one of the Family has a Hammock tied up, hanging from end to end of the Hovel or Room.

Several Houfes in a Village or Neighbourhood, have one War-houfe or Fort in common to them; which is generally at least 120 or 130 Foot long, about 25 broad, the Wall about 9 or 10 Foot high; and in all to the top of the Ridge about 20 Foot; [151] and cover’d with Leaves as their other Houfes. The Materials and Method of Building are alfo much the fame as in the other Houfes; but there are no Partitions. The Sides and Ends of thefe War-houfes are full of Holes, each about as wide as ones Fift; but made here and there at Random, in no regular Figure or Order. Out of thefe they view an approaching Enemy, and shoot their Arrows. They have no way of flanking an Enemy. These Houfes are always feated on a Level, on the Nap or Edge of a gentle Hill; and they clear the Coaft of Woods and Shrubs, for a Bows-shoot quite round it. There is a Door-way at each end; and to Barricado it, a fort of Door made of Macaw-wood and Bamboes, both split and bound together with Withs; 'tis about a Foot thick: This they have ready to fet up against an Enemies entrance; and two or three Posts in the Ground to support it. 'Tis a great Inconvenience of thefe Forts that they are easily fet a Fire; and the Spaniards shoot into
the Thatch Arrows with long Shanks made red hot, for that purpose. There is usually a Family [152] of Indians living in the War-house, as a Guard to it, and to keep it clean: And they are always kept pretty neat, as their private Houses also are. The War-houses serve them also to hold their Councils, or other general Meetings.

In the Plantations, among their Houses, they set so much of Plantains, Maiz, or the like, as serves their Occasions. The Country being all a Forest, the first thing of their Husbandry is usually to cut down the Trees, and clear a piece of Ground. They often let the Trees lie along on the Place 3 or 4 Years after they are cut down; and then set fire to them and the Underwood or Stumps, burning all together. Yet in the mean time they plant Maiz among the Trees as they lie. So much of the Roots of the Trees as are under Ground, they suffer to lie there and rot, having no way to grub them up. When the Ground is pretty clear, they how [i.e., hoe] it up into little Ridges and Hillocks; but in no very good Form nor regular Distance. In each of these Hillocks they make a hole with their Fingers, and throw in 2 or 3 Grains [153] of Maiz, as we do Garden-beans; covering it up with Earth. The Seed-time is about April; the Harvest about September or October. They pluck off the Ears of the Maiz with their Hands, as is usual also elsewhere: And tho' I was not there in their Harvest-time, yet I saw the Maiz of the preceding Harvest laid up in the Husk in their Houses. Instead of Threshing, they rub off
the Grain. They make no Bread of it, nor Cakes, but use the Flower on many Occasions; parching the Corn, and grinding it between two Stones, as Chocolate is made. One use they put the Flower to is to mix it with Water in a Calabash, and so drink it off; which they do frequently when they Travel, and have not leisure to get other Provisions. This mixture they call *Chicha*, which I think signifies Maiz.

They make a Drink also of their Maiz, which they call *Chichah Co-pah*; for *Co-pah* signifies Drink. They steep in a Trough of Water a quantity of Maiz bruised, about 20 or 30 Bushels, if it be against a Feast or Wedding; letting it lie so long till the Water is impregnated with the Corn, and begins to turn sour. Then the Women, usually some old Women, who have little else to do, come together, and chew Grains of Maiz in their Mouths, which they spit out each into a Gourd or Calabash: And when they think they have a sufficient quantity of this Spittle and Maiz in the Calabashes, they empty them into the Trough of Water, after having first taken out the Maiz that was infus'd in it; and this serves instead of Barm or Yeast, setting all the Trough of Liquor in a small Ferment. When it has done working, they draw it off clean from the Sediment into another Trough, and then 'tis ready for use. It tafts like four small Beer, yet 'tis very intoxicating. They drink large Quantities of it, and are very fond of it: It makes them belch very much.

*Davis calls this *Chitty.*
This is their choice Drink; for ordinarily they drink plain Water or Mi\flaw.

Mi\flaw is a Drink made of ripe Plantains: There is of two forts, one made of Plantains frefh-gather'd, the other of dry ones. The former they roaft in its Cod, which peeling off, they put the Plantain into a Calabafh of Water, and mash it with their Hands, till 'tis all dissolved; and then they drink it up with the Water. The other is made of Cakes or Lumps of Plantain dried; for the Plantains when ripe and gather'd, will not keep, but quickly grow rotten if left in the Cod. To preferve them therefore, they make a Mafs of the Pulp of a great many ripe Plantains, which they dry with a gentle Fire upon a Barbecue or Grate of Sticks, made like a Grid-iron. This Lump they keep for ufe, breaking off a piece of it when they pleafe, and mashing it in Water for Mi\flaw.

They carry a Lump of Plantain with them for this end whenever they travel; especially into Places where they can't hope to get ripe Plantains, tho' they prefer the dried ones. Green and half-ripe ones they eat instead of Bread with Flesh; but they boil them firft. They do the fame with their Yams and Potato's, which they sometimes roaft; as also the Caffava-root: And their Plantations are never without fome or other of these, and ufually in good plenty; especially the old Plantations.

[156] I faw no Herbs or Sallading in their Plantations, neither did I ever fee them eat any kind of Herbs. But they never forget to have

*Called Mushlaw by Davis, and Miscelaw by Sharp.
in their Plantations some of their beloved Pepper; and they usually are pretty well stor'd with Pine-Apples, which they have very plentiful, and eat of them every Day.

The Men first clear the Plantations, and bring them into order, but the Women have all the trouble of them afterwards; the digging, howing, planting, plucking the Maiz, and setting Yams, and every thing of Husbandry, is left to them, but only the cutting down Trees, or such Work that requires greater Strength. The Women also have the managing Affairs within Doors, for they are in general the Drudges of the Family; especially the old Women, for such Works as they are able to do, as Cooking, Washing, and the like. And abroad also the Women are to attend their Husbands, and do all their Servile Work. Nay, they are little better than their Pack-horses, carrying all the Luggage of their Household-Utenils, Victuals, &c. and when they [157] come to the place where they are to lodge, the Wife dressus Supper, while the Man hangs up the Hammocks; for each of them lies in their own Hammock.

But notwithstanding the Women are put thus to all manner of Drudgery about the House and Plantations, and in Travelling abroad, and are little better than Slaves to their Husbands; yet they do their Work so readily and cheerfully, that it appears to be rather their own Choice than any Necessity laid upon them. They are in general very good condition'd, pitiful and courteous to one another, but especially to Strangers; ready to give any just attendance or
assistance they can. They observe their Husbands with a profound Respect and Duty upon all occasions; and on the other side their Husbands are very kind and loving to them. I never knew an Indian beat his Wife, or give her any hard Words: Nor even in the Quarrels which they are wont to have in their Cups, do they shew any Roughness toward their Women who attend them.

[158] Beside these Cares, the Women have that which more immediately belongs to them, the Care of their Children. When a Woman is deliver'd of a Child, another Woman takes it in her Arms within half an hour or less after 'tis born, and takes the lying-in Woman upon her Back, and goes with both of them into the River and washes them there. The Child for the first Month is tied upon a Board, or piece of Macaw-wood split (for that serves them usually for Boards, having no Saws) and this piece of Wood is swath'd to the Back of the Child; and their Children generally grow very straight. When there is occasion to clean the Child, they take it off from the Board, and wash it with cold Water; and then swath it on again. The Mother takes up the Child to give it Suck, Board and all, and lays it down again in a little Hammock made for that purpose; the upper part of which is kept open with short Sticks.

As the Children grow up, the Boys are bred to their Fathers Exercises; especially shooting with the Bow and Arrow, and throwing the [159] Lance; at both which they are very expert. I have seen Things perform'd by them with a
Dexterity almost incredible: For Instance, a little Boy of about eight Years old, would set a Cane up on end, and going about twenty Paces from it, would split it with a Bow and Arrow, and not miss once in several Essays. This I have seen, and this is the chief of their Exercise: And as they generally accompany their Fathers on Hunting, (especially when about 10 or 12 years old, and big enough to carry their own Provision, and a Calabash of Corn-drink) so they will shoot little Birds they meet with, and strike in with the Hunt. Their young Children they never carry abroad with them on a Journey, or on a hunting or fighting Expedition. The Boys, when grown somewhat big, always go abroad with the Father and Mother, and do what little Services they can; but the Girls stay at home with the old Women.

They seem very fond of their Children, both Fathers and Mothers, and I have scarce seen them use any Severity towards them. And the [160] Children are suffer'd to divert themselves which way they will. Swimming in the Rivers and catching Fish, is a great Exercise even for the small Boys and Girls; and the Parents also use that Refreshment. They go quite naked, both Boys and Girls, till the Age of Puberty; when the Girls put on their Clout, and the Boys the Funnel.

The Girls are bred up by their Mothers to their Domesick Employments. They make them help to dress the Victuals, and set them to draw Strings out of Maho-bark, and to beat Silk-grafs, for Thread, Cordage, and Nets.
They pick the Cotton also, and spin it for their Mothers Weaving. For Weaving, the Women make a Roller of Wood, about three Foot long, turning easily about between two Posts. About this they place Strings of Cotton, of 3 or 4 yards long, at most, but oftner less, according to the use the Cloth is to be put to, whether for a Hammock, or to tie about their Waists, or for Gowns, or for Blankets to cover them in their Hammocks, as they lie in them in their Houses; which are all [161] the Uses they have for Cloth: And they never weave a piece of Cotton with a design to cut it, but of a size that shall just serve for the particular use. The Threads thus coming from the Roller are the Warp; and for the Woof, they twist Cotton-yarn about a small piece of Macaw-wood, notch’d at each end; and taking up every other Thread of the Warp with the Fingers of one Hand, they put the Woof through with the other Hand, and receive it out on the other side: And to make the Threads of the Woof lie close in the Cloth, they strike them at every turn with a long and thin piece of Macaw-wood like a Ruler, which lies across between the Threads of the Warp for that purpose.

The Girls also twist Cotton-yarn for Fringes, and prepare Canes, Reeds or Palmeto-Leaves, as the Boys also do, for Basket-making. But the making up the Baskets is the Mens Work; who first die the Materials of several curious lively Colours, and then mix and weave them very prettily. They weave little Baskets like Cups also very neat; with the Twigs [162]
wrought so very fine and close, as to hold any Liquor, without any more ado, having no Lacker or Varnish: And they as ordinarily drink out of these woven Cups, as out of their Calabashes, which they paint very curiously. They make Baskets of several sizes, for carrying their Cloths, or other uses, with great variety of Work; and so firm, that you may crush them or throw them about, how you will almost, with little or no damage to them.

The young Maids are shut up in private by their Parents at the time of Puberty, and will not be seen by any, but put a piece of Cotton as a Vail over their Faces, if any one should come accidentally into the Place where they are, tho' it be their Father. This Confinement lasts not long, but they soon go abroad again. They are very modest; and tho' they will lay hold on any part of a Man, yet they do it with great Simplicity and Innocence.

*Lacenta* had several Wives, as others of them also had. *Lacenta*'s were Seven in number. When he went a Progress or long Journey, [163] 'twas so contriv'd, that he still found one of his Wives at every new Stage he came to.

Adultery is punished among them with the Death of both Parties. Yet if the Woman confesses the Fact to her Husband, and swears she was forc'd, she finds Favour: But if she conceals it, and it be prov'd against her, she is burn'd. Their Laws are severe also in other respects; for a Thief dies without Mercy.

If a Man debauches a Virgin, they thrust a sort of Bryer up the passage of his Penis, and then...
turn it round ten or a dozen times: Which is not only a great Torment, but commonly mortifies the part; and the Person dies of it; but he has liberty to cure himself if he can. These Facts must be proved by Oath; which is by their Tooth.

When they marry, the Father of the Bride, or the next Man of Kin, keeps her privately in the same Apartment with himself the first seven Nights; * whether to express an unwillingness to part with her, or for what other Reason I know not; and she is then deliver'd to her Husband.

[164] When a Man disposes of his Daughter, he invites all the Indians within 20 Miles round, to a great Feast, which he provides for them. The Men who come to the Wedding bring their Axes along with them, to work with: The Women bring about half a Bushel of Maiz: The Boys bring Fruit and Roots: The Girls Fowls and Eggs; for none come empty-handed. They set their Presents at the door of the House, and go away again, till all the rest of the Guests have brought theirs; which are all receiv'd in, and dispos'd of by the People of the House.

* Davis, in the second edition, p. 273, states that he was informed by Captain Christian that Pedro, the Indian "King," "had several wives more [than the one whom the Spaniards saw] and that he had had a Child by one of his own Daughters, and that that is very common among them; it is their way, that whenever they Marry their Daughters, that the Father (if able) lies with them first, if she is a Maid, and if the Father is very Old, and past his Labour, then the Eldest Son does that Office, and the next day all his and her Friends meet, and put them together: This Captain Christian is very well acquainted with all their methods, for he lived among them some Years."
Then the Men return first to the Wedding, and the Bridegroom presents each Man with a Calabash of strong Drink, and conducts them through the House one by one, into some open place behind it. The Women come next, who likewise receive a Calabash of Liquor, and march through the House. Then come the Boys, and last of all the Girls; who all drink at the Door, and go after the rest.

Then come the Fathers of the young Couple, with their Son and [165] Daughter: The Father of the Bridegroom leads his Son, and the Father of the Bride leads his Daughter. The former makes a Speech to the Company; and then dances about, with many Antick Gestures, till he is all on a Sweat. Then kneeling down he gives his Son to the Bride; whose Father is kneeling also and holds her, having danc'd himself into a Sweat, as the other. Then the young Couple take each other by the Hand, and the Bridegroom returns the Bride to her Father; and thus ends the Ceremony.

Then all the Men take up their Axes, and run shouting and hollowing to a Tract of Woodland, which is before laid out for a Plantation for the young Couple. There they fall to work, cutting down the Woods, and clearing the Ground as fast as they can. Thus they continue about Seven Days, working with the greatest Vigour imaginable: And all the Ground which they clear, the Women and Children plant with Maiz, or whatever else is agreeable to the Season. They also build a House for the new-married Couple to live in.
The Seven Days being ended, and the young Man fetled with his Wife in his new Houfe, the Company make merry there with Chicha-Co-pah, the Corn-drink before describ'd, of which they are fure to provide good store. They alfo make Provision for Feasting; and the Guefts fall to very heartily.

When their Eating is over, the Men fall to hard Drinking: But before they begin, the Bridegroom takes all their Arms, and hangs them to the Ridge-pole of the Houfe, where none can come at them but himfelf: For they are very quarrelfome in their Drink. They continue drinking Night and Day, till all the Liquor is fpent; which lafts ufually 3 or 4 Days. During which fome are always drinking, while others are drunk and fleeping: And when all the Drink is out, and they have recover'd their Senfes, they all return to their own Homes.

They have Feasting on other Occafions alfo, as after a great Council held, or any other Meeting; which they have fometimes only for Merriment. The Men constantly drink to [167] one another at Meals, fpeaking fome Word, and reaching out the Cup towards the Perfon they drink to. They never drink to their Women; but thefe constantly f tand by and attend them while they are eating; take the Cup of any one who has drank, throw out the remainder of the Liquor, rinfe it, and give it full to another. The Women at all Feasts, and in their own Houfes, wait on their Husbands till they have done; and then go and Eat by themfelves, or with one another.
The Mens Employment.

The Men, when they are at home, trouble themselves little with any Business; but that they may not be quite idle, they will often be making their Cups and Baskets, Arrows and Heads for them, Lances, Nets, and the like.

The Men make also a sort of Pipes of small hollow Bamboes, and sometimes of a single Reed. They cut Notches in it, and blow it strongly, making a whining Noise, but without any distinct Notes: And they frequently entertain themselves with such Instruments, as they us'd in their Pawawing. They will do any thing [168] to make a Noise, which they love much; and they keep every one a Humming at the same time to themselves.

They Hum also when they Dance, which they do many times 30 or 40 in a ring, Men only together. They stretch out their Hands, laying them on one another's Shoulders. Then they move gently sideways round in the same Circle; and shake all the Joints of their Bodies with a wrigling Antick Gesture, as they move along the Ring.

They pipe and drum often, even at working times; but their dancing they use chiefly when they get together to make merry. When they have danc'd some time, one or other of the Company goes out of the Ring, jumps about, and plays Antick Tricks, throwing and catching his Lance, bending back towards the Ground and springing forward again, with many other Motions like our Tumblers; but with more Activity than Art: And when one is tired with his Tricks, another steps out, and sometimes 2 or 3
together. As soon as ever 'tis over, they jump into the [169] River, all in a violent Sweat as they are, and there wash themselves clean; and when they come out of the Water, they stroke it off from their Hair and Bodies with their Hands. A Dancing-bout, if the meeting be large, lasts sometimes a whole Day, seldom less than 5 or 6 Hours; and 'tis usually after having a short drinking Bout: But they don't dance after they have drank very hard.

Thefe, and the huntsings and shooting at a Mark, are their chief Divertifements; for both Men and Boys will be letting fly at any thing they fee, tho' for nothing but exercise or trial of Skill. The Women have Dancings and Merriments by themselves, when their Hufbands Pastimes are over; for they never feast nor play together with the Men: But they will drink by themselves till they are fuddled.

The Women take great care of their Hufbands when they have made themselves drunk. For when they perceive him in such a Condition that he can bear up no longer, they get one or two more Women to assist them to take him up, and put him [170] into his Hammock; where as he lies Snoring, they stand by and sprinkle Water on his Body to cool him, washing his Hands, Feet and Face; stroking off that Water with their Hands, as it grows warm, and throwing on fresh. I have seen 10 or 12 or more, lying thus in their Hammocks after a Feaft, and the Women standing by to look after them.

The Men never stir abroad upon the moft ordinary Occasions, if it be but just without the
door to make Water, but they take with them some or other of their Weapons, their Bow and Arrow, Lance, Hatchet, or Macheat or Long-knife. Their most frequent Expeditions, in time of Peace, are to go a Hunting. For this is their way of supplying themselves with Flesh; and they go out as often as it fails at home. They sometimes go out a Family or two only by themselves; but they have often larger and more solemn Hunts, of a great many in company together: And there is seldom a Council held, or Feast, but there is some Hunting-Match concluded on before they part; and a time set for every one to appear with their several Necessaries, at the general Rendezvous.

A Hunting-Expedition lasts sometimes 3 or 4, sometimes 10, 12, 17 or 18 Days, according as they meet with the Game, and as the Course is which they steer to find it: For sometimes they will range to the Borders, to visit or traffic with their Neighbouring Indians; and they will hunt all the way as they go and return. They hunt more or less at all Seasons of the Year; never regarding whether their Venison be in Season or not. They take with them one or two Dogs apiece, to beat about; and there go as well Women as Men. When I went with them a Hunting, a young Woman was appointed me to wait on me, and carry my Basket of Provisions.

The Women carry in their Baskets, Plantains, Bonanoses, Yams, Potatoes and Cassava-roots, ready roasted; but in the Woods, among the ruin'd Plantations, they often meet with
green Plantains which they drefs there, and with these Roots: So that if they go designedly among fuch Plantations, they carry the lefs with them. They carry also fome parch'd Maiz in Meal or Flower, and fome ripe Plantains raw, to make Miflaw with. This is all their Provision. Every Woman carries a Calabafh; and there are one or two Pipkins among them all. The Men carry Bows and Arrows, and Lances, a Tamahock or little Axe, and a Machete. All go barefoot, and are often scratch'd in the Woods, but matter it not. They hunt Pecary, Warree, Quauns, Chicaly-Chicalees, Corrofou's, or any other Beaf or Bird they meet with, except Monkeys and Deer. The Fowls, and what will not be fo easily preferv'd, they eat prefently. They lodge all Night at any place where they happen to be at Sun-fet, fo it be near a Brook or River, and on the Nap of a Hill. They hang up their Hammocks between two Trees, and cover themselves with a Plantain-Leaf, for Shelter from Rain, Wind, &c. with a Fire all Night by the Hammock. They never hunt after Sun-fet; and begin not again till Sun-rife. Their chief Game are the Pecary and Warree; neither of which are swift of foot. They go in Droves, often 200 [173] or 300; fo that if the Indians come upon them unawares, they ufually kill fome by random Shot among them. But else, they are many times a whole Day without getting any; or fo few, considering how many they ftart, that it seems a great Toil to little purpofe. I have feen about 1000 ftarted in a Day, in feveral Droves, when I was hunting
with them; of which we kill'd but two, as I remember. Sometimes when they are shot, they carry away the Arrows quite. When the Beast is tir'd, it will stand at a Bay with the Dogs; which will let him round, lying close, not daring to seize, but snapping at the Buttocks; and when they see their Master behind a Tree ready to shoot, they all withdraw to avoid the Arrow. As soon as an Indian hath shot a Pecary or Warree, he runs in and lances them; then he unbowels them, throwing away the Guts, and cuts them in two across the middle. Then he cuts a piece of Wood sharp at both ends; sticks the forepart of the Beast at one end, and the hinder part at the other. So each laying his Stick across his Shoulder, they go to the Rendez-vous, where they appointed the Women to be; after which they carry their Meat home, first Barbecuing it that Night.

When they take a Beast or Bird, they pierce it with the Lances, or shoot Arrows into it, to let out the Blood. Then they quarter it (first cutting off the Head); and if it be a Pecary theyscal'd off the Hair with hot Water; if a Warree, they flea it. From some of the Birds they strip the Feathers only, from others the Skin also: And this not regularly, while the Carcasses is whole, but piece-meal, after they have dismember'd it; especially in their Journies.

If they intend to preserue any, having little Salt, they erect four forked Sticks 8 or 9 Foot aunder, on which they lay two parallel Staves that shall be above a Foot from the Ground, and so make a Barbecue. Across these Staves they
lay the pieces of the Beasts or Birds; and spread beneath a few live Coals, to make which they burn a parcel of Wood on purpose; and turn the same pieces, and renew this small Fire for three or four Days, or a Week, till the Meat be as dry as [175] a Chip, or like our smoak'd Beef. This they do abroad if they kill a great many Pecary, Birds, &c. and bring the pieces home ready dried: And if there be much of it, the Men help the Women to carry home the Venison. These pieces will keep a great while; and when the Stock is almost out, they go again a hunting. They make a Barbecue at home also, heaping up these dried pieces across, and often putting some Embers underneath, to keep them from giving, or growing musty, in that moist Country. From these pieces they cut off bits for use as they want them.

If they take any parcels of their dried Flesh, or any newly kill'd, they cut it into small pieces, and throw them into the Pipkin; putting into it some of the Roots and green Plantains or Bonano's, or any other Eatable, and a great deal of Pepper; stewing all together by a simmering, gentle Heat, never boiling it. The Vessel stands thus close cover'd for seven or eight Hours, for 'tis set on very early in the Morning, and they stay till all be brought to Pulp or Mash. This is for set Meals; for [176] Plantains and Bonanoes they eat all Day; but this set Meal of Flesh they eat but once, about Midday only. The Mash they pour out into a large Earthen Dish or Calabash, setting it on the great Block which is in every House as a Table,
fitting round on little Blocks as on Stools. But at great Feasts, for large Companies, they make a great Barbecue 10, 12, or 20 Foot long, or more, as the Company is, and broad proportionably: They spread on it 3 or 4 Breadths of Plantain-leaves for a Table-Cloth. Every one has a Calabash of Water standing by him at his Right Hand, on the Ground. In Eating, they dip the two fore Fingers of the Right Hand, bent hook-wise, and take up therewith out of the Dish, as with a Spoon, as much as they can, stroking it across into their Mouths. At every Mouthful they dip their Fingers into the Calabash of Water by their Side, whether for Cleanliness or Cooling, I know not; for they eat their Meat excessive hot, as well as violently pepper'd. They eat nothing with it as Bread; but when they have a lump of Salt (which is rare) at every three [177] or four Mouthfuls they stroke it over their Tongue, to give a Relish, and then lay it down again.

The Indians, when they Travel, guide themselves either by the Sun, when it shines, or by steering towards such a determinate Point, observing the bending of the Trees, according as the Wind is. If they are at a loss this way, they notch the Barks of Trees, to see which side is thickest; which is always the South, or Sunny side; and their way lies generally through Woods. They go also through Swamps, Boggs, Rivers, &c. where there is no sign of a Path, and are often forc'd to turn aside; yet will keep their way pretty direct for several Days together; clearing their way through Thickets with their
Macheats, especially if of hollow Bamboes, for there is no getting through without it. They swim over Rivers, Men, Women and Children, without felling Trees as we did there. But down the River they use either their Canoas, or Bark-Logs made of Light-Wood.

When any enquire the Way of them, as we had several times occasion [178] to do in passing and repassing the Isthmus, their usual Method of informing them as to the Bearing of the Place they enquire after, is by pointing towards it; and as to the Time in which they may hope to arrive there, by pointing to some part of the Arc the Sun describes in their Hemisphere: For according as they point higher or lower, either to the East or West of the Meridian, they suggest the time of the Day, Morning or Afternoon, in which you may hope to arrive at the River, Plantations, or whatever 'tis you enquire after. So the middle distance between the Eastern-Limb of the Horizon, and the Meridian, signifies 9 a Clock in the Morning; $\frac{3}{4}$ths of the South-west Arc of the Sun's Diurnal Course denotes 4 in the Afternoon, &c. If the Time they would intimate be not of Hours but Days, they turn their Faces Southward, and describing with their Hand the Arc of the Sun's Diurnal Course from East to West, when they have brought their Hand to point to the Western Horizon, they then bring it to the side of their Head; and laying down their Head on that $[179]$ side upon it, and shutting their Eyes, counterfeit for a moment their being asleep. Then repeating the Motion with their Hand, and the intervening
sleeping times, they make you understand that there will be so many sleeping Times or Nights before you arrive at the Place you seek.

I observ'd among them no distinction of Weeks or particular Days; no parting the Day into Hours, or any Portions, otherwise than by this Pointing: And when they use this, or any other Sign, yet they speak at the same time, and express their Meaning in their own Language, tho' to Europeans who understand it not. They reckon Times past by no Revolutions of the Heavenly Bodies, but the Moons: For Lacenta speaking of the Havock the Spaniards had made to the Westward, intimated 'twas a great many Moons ago.

Their Computation is by Unites and Tens, and Scores, to an Hundred; beyond which I have not heard them reckon. To express a Number above this, they take a Lock of their Hair, little or great, (in proportion to the Number they would [180] intimate) and hold it up in their Hands, sorting it gradually with their Fingers, and shaking it. To express a Thing innumerable, they take up all the Hair on one side of the Head, and shake it.

When we went into the South Seas under Captain Sharp, we were in number about 336, as I remember; * and a pretty many of the Indians of the Isthmus bore us Company in our March. They were willing to take an Account of our Number as we march'd; so one of the

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*Ringrose, p. 6, says 327, not including four men who "tyred, and returned back unto the Ships" at the end of the first day's march.
Indians fat in the Path, and having a little heap of Maiz-grains by him, for every Man of ours that pafs'd by him he put one Grain into his Basket. When he had thus taken a great part of our Number, one of our Men, in pasing by, gave his Basket purpofely a Tofs, and threw out his Corn, and fo spoil'd his Account. This feem'd to displease them: Yet one of them got a little before, and fitting clofe in the Wood, at a small distance from the narrow Path, which we were to pafs one by one, he there took our Number in Grains of Maiz. But when he had taken his Account, they were put [181] to it to caft it up: For two or three Days after, in the progres of our March, coming among some of the Southern Indians, we faw fome 20 or 30 of the graver Men got together, and trying their Skill to compute the Grains in the Basket; which when they had laid upon a Plantain-Leaf, feveral of them indeavour'd to tell one after another: But when they could tell no further, (the Number, probably, exceeding their Arithmetick) and feem'd to grow very hot, and earneft in their Debates about it; one of them started up, and fortng out a Lock of his Hair with his Fingers, and fhaking it, feem'd to intimate the Number to be great and unknown; and fo put an end to the Dispute. But one of them came after us, and enquir'd our Number in broken Spanish.

Their Cardinal Numbers, One, Two, Three, they name thus:

1. *Conjugo.*
2. *Poquah.*
3. *Pauquah.*
4. Pakequah.
5. Eterrah.

7. Coogolah.
8. Paukopah.
10. Anivego.
11. Anivego Conjugo.
13. Anivego Pauqua, &c.
20. Toola Bogueh.
40. Toola Guannah.

And so on to 100.*

Under 10 they content themselves with naming the particular Number at once; which they do readily. But at the same time that they name Anivego, or 10, they clap together their expanded Hands. And for 11, 12, 13, &c. to 20. they clap together their Hands, and say Anivego; and then separating them, they strike

*The most convincing proof of the honesty and reliability of Wafer's observations is furnished by the vocabularies of the Indians of this region printed by Sr. Restrepo. The first was collected by General Joaquin Acosta in 1820, and the second by Dr. Cullen whose Darien Ship Canal was published in 1853.

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<td>3. Pagua</td>
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<td>4. Paquegua</td>
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<td>5. Atale</td>
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in order the Fingers of the left Hand, one by one, with the Fore-finger of the right, saying, Anivego Conjugo, Anivego Poqua, Anivego Pauqua, &c. to the Number they would express, if under 20.

When they would express 20, they clap their Hands twice, (once at every 10) and say Toola Boguah. Toola [183] seems to signify the same with them, as Score with us. For 21, they say Toola boguah Conjugo; 22, Toola boguah Poqua, &c. To express 30, they clap their Hands thrice, and say Toola boguah Anivego, (Twenty and Ten); for 31, Toola boguah Anivego Conjugo, (Twenty and Eleven), and so on to 40; when again they clap their Hands four times, and say, Toolaguannah, implying another Score; 41, Toola guannah Conjugo, &c. 50, Toola guannah Anivego, (Two Score and Ten); 51, Toola guannah Anivego Conjugo, (Two Score and Eleven), &c. The Name of the other Scores to 100, I know not; and there are few of them can reckon so far: For while I was among them, I was industrious to learn their Numbers, and 'twas a Diversion I had with them; for they liked well my trying to imitate them, and would be very merry upon it: But 'twas not every one could readily carry me much farther than I have now reckon'd, or set me right if I was out.

Their way of Reckoning thus from Score to Score, is no more than what our old English way was: But their [184] saying instead of 31, 32, One Score and Eleven, One Score and Twelve, &c. is much like the High-Landers of Scotland and Ireland, reckoning Eleven and Twenty,
Twelve and Twenty, &c. so for 53, the High-Landers say Thirteen and Twoscore, as the Darien Indians would, Two Score and Thirteen, only changing the Place. In my Youth I was well acquainted with the High-Land, or Primitive Irish Language; both as it is spoken in the North of Ireland, particularly at the Navan upon the Boyne, and about the Town of Virginia upon Lough Rammer in the Barony of Castle Raghen, in the County of Cavan; and also in the Highlands of Scotland, where I have been up and down in several Places. Their way of Reckoning may be a Curiosity to some; for which Reason I have here inserted a Table of it; spelt, not according to the Orthography, but the Pronunciation.

Irish and Scotch Highlanders Numbers.

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22. Dō augus feh. Two and a Score.
23. Tree augus feh. Three, &c.
30. Deh augus feh. Ten and a Score.
31. Heanegg augus feh. Eleven and a [Score.
32. Dōeegg augus feh.
40. Yoiyih.
41. Hean augus th' yoiyih.
42. Dō augus th' yoiyih.
50. Deh augus th' yoiyih.
51. Heanegg augus th' yoiyih.
52. Dōeegg augus th' yoiyih.
60. Tree feht.
61. Hean augus Tree feht.
70. Deh augus Tree feht.
80. Careh-fehth.
90. Deh augus Careh-fehth.
100. Coog fehth; or Caed, a Hundred.
200. Oychead.
1000. Meelah.
1000000. Meelioon.

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 some Affinity, not in the Signification of the Words of each Language, but in the Pronunciation, which I could easily imitate; both being spoken pretty much in the Throat, with frequent Aspirates, and much the same sharp or circumflex Tang or Cant. I
learn'd a great deal[187] of the Darien Language in a Months Conversation with them; for I was always asking what they call'd this and that: And Lacenta was continually talking with me; who spake also a few Words of broken Spanish. I took no care to retain any of the Indians Language; but some few Words that I still remember, I have here put as a Specimen.

Indian Words.

Tautah, Father.
Naunah, Mother.
Poonah, Woman.
Roopah, Brother.
Bidama joquah Roopoh? How do you Brother?
Neenah, a Girl.
Nee, the Moon.
Chaunah, Go.
Chaunah Weemacah; Make haft, run.
Shennorung; big, a great Thing.
Eechah, ugly.
Paeecha; foh! ugly!
Eechah Malooquah, (an Expression of great dif-
like).
Cotchah, sleep.
Caupah, a Hammock.
Cotchah Caupah? Will you go sleep in the
Hammock?
[188]Pa poonah eetah Caupah? Woman, have you got the Hammock?
Doolah, Water.
Doolah Copah? Will you drink Water?
Chicha-Copah, Maiz-drink.
Mamaubah, Fine.
Cah, Pepper.
Aupah eenah? What do you call this?
HAVING thus gone over the Isthmus, and made such Observations about it as occurr'd to me, I shall now resume the Thread of my Voyage, which I broke in the South Sea, at Realeja on the Coast of Mexico, where I parted with Mr. Dampier, after my second being with him in those Seas. Captain Swan, in the Cygnet, was going to the Westward; and Mr. Dampier chose to go with him. I staid with Captain Davis, in the Batchelors Delight; and he was for going again to the Southward.

So we left them in the Harbour of Realeja, when we set out Aug. 27. 1685. with three other Vessels in our Company. But our Men growing very sick when we were got out to Sea, we soon put into the Gulph of Amapalla. There we lay several Weeks at a small Island, on which we built Huts for our sick Men, whom we put ashore. In our 4 small Ships, we had then above 130 sick [190] of the Spotted Fever, many of whom died: Yet tho' I attended them every Day, I thank God I escap'd the Infection. But 'tis not my Intention to particularize as to all the Places or Occurrences we met with; for I
kept no Journal: But some such Things as I took more particular Notice of, and thought worth remarking, I shall briefly speak of as I go along.

Being in great want of Provision while we lay here, we went ashore, in order to supply our Necessities at a Beef-Estantion on the Continent, at the South of the Cod of the Bay, which lay from the Landing-place about three Miles. In our way we were forced to pass a hot River in an open Savannah, altho' we made some difficulty at it by reason of its Heat. This River issued out from under a Hill: But it was no Vulcan, tho' there are several on this Coast. I had the Curiosity to wade up the Stream as far as I had Day-light to guide me: The Water was clear and shallow, but the Steams under the Hill were like those of a boiling Pot, and my Hair was wet with them. The [191] River without the Hill reek'd for a great way. Many of our Men who had the Itch bath'd themselves here, and growing well soon after, they imputed it to the Sulphurousness, or other Virtue of this Water. In this place are a multitude of Wolves, which are the boldest that ever I met with; for they would come so near, as to be almost ready to pull the Flesh out of our Hands: Yet we durst not shoot them for fear the noife of our Guns should call more to their Assistance, and we went but straggling up and down.

Our Men being tolerably well recover'd, we stood away to the Southward, and came to the Island Cocos, in 5 Deg. 15 Min. N. Lat. 'Tis so call'd from its Coco-Nuts, wherewith 'tis plenti-
fully stor'd. 'Tis but a small Island, yet a very pleasant one: For the middle of the Island is a steep Hill, surrounded all about with a Plain, declining to the Sea. This Plain, and particularly the Valley where you go ashore, is thick set with Coco-nut Trees, which flourish here very finely, it being a rich and fruitful Soil. They grow also on the [192] Skirts of the hilly Ground in the middle of the Isle, and scattering in Spots upon the sides of it, very pleasantly. But that which contributes most to the Pleasure of the Place is, that a great many Springs of clear and sweet Water rising to the top of the Hill, are there gather'd as in a deep large Bason or Pond, the Top subsideing inwards quite round; and the Water having by this means no Channel whereby to flow along, as in a Brook or River, it overflows the Verge of its Bason in several Places, and runs trickling down in many pretty Streams. In some Places of its overflowing, the Rocky Sides of the Hill being more than perpendicular, and hanging over the Plain beneath, the Water pours down in a Cataract, as out of a Bucket, so as to leave a Space dry under the Spout, and form a kind of Arch of Water; which, together with the advantage of the Prospect, the near adjoining Coco-nut Trees, and the freshness which the falling Water gives the Air in this hot Climate, makes it a very charming Place, and delightful to several of the Senses at once.

[193] Our Men were very much pleas'd with the Entertainment this Island afforded them: And they also fill'd here all their Water-Casks;
for here is excellent fresh Water in the Rivulet, which those little Catarafts form below in the Plain; and the Ship lay just at its Outlet into the Sea, where there was very good Riding: So that 'tis as Commodious a Watering-Place as any I have met with.

Nor did we spare the Coco-nuts, eating what we would, and drinking the Milk, and carry several Hundreds of them on board. Some or other of our Men went ashore every Day: And one Day among the rest, being minded to make themselves very merry, they went ashore and cut down a great many Coco-trees; from which they gather'd the Fruit, and drew about 20 Gallons of the Milk. Then they all sat down and drank Healths to the King, Queen, &c. They drank an excessive quantity; yet it did not end in Drunkenness: But however, that sort of Liquor had so chilled and benumb'd their Nerves, that they could neither go nor stand: Nor could they return on board the Ship, without the Help of those who had not been Partakers in the Frolick: Nor did they recover it under 4 or 5 Days time.

From hence we stood on still to the South, and came to one of the Gallapago-Islands, lying under the Line. Upon one of these Islands we found a great many very large Land-Tortoise, of that sort which we us'd to call Hecatee. Upon this Island is no Water to be found, but in one place, whither I observ'd these Animals frequently go to drink; but they go not into the Water.

At this Island there was but one Watering-
place, and there we Careen'd our Ship. Hither many Turtle-Doves and other Birds reforted for Water; which were at first so familiar with us, that they would light upon our Heads and Arms; insomuch that for several Days we maintained the Ships Company with them: But in a little time they began to be so shy, that we could kill none, but what we shot. Here are also Guano's Guano's. very plentiful, which are very good Food. There grows a fort of Wood in this Isle very sweet in smell. [195] 'Tis but a low Tree, not shrubby, but like a Pear-tree, tho' thicker; and full of very sweet Gum. While we lay here at the Gallapago's, we took in at one of the Islands there 500 Packs of Flower, which we had formerly left there upon the Rocks; * but the Turtle-Doves had devour'd a great deal of the Flower, for the bags lay expos'd to the Air.

When we left the Gallapago's we went cruising upon and down about several of the Islands and Coasts of Peru; the Particulars of which I shall not trouble the Reader with. We had Engagements at Guavra, Guacha and Pifca; and the two last very sharp ones, yet we took the Towns. There was with us then in Company Captain Knight only; for the other two Vessels that

*In May, 1684, the buccaneers took on one day three ships laden with flour, bound from Guanchaquo, the seaport of Truxillo, to Panama, while near the Lobos Islands. Thence they sailed to the Gallapagos Islands, where "we stay'd but 12 days; in which time we put ashoar 5000 packs of Flower, for a reserve, if we should have occasion of any before we left these Seas. . . . Captain Davis came hither a second time; and then he went to other Islands on the West side of these."—Dampier, pp. 109-110.
came with us from Amapalla, had left us at the Island Cocos. 'Twas July 1686. when we were at Pisca, and Capt. Knight and we kept Company almost all that Year.

Among other Places we were at the Island Gorgonia, where we clean'd; and I took notice of several Monkeys there who liv'd partly upon Oysters, [196] which they got out of the Sea at low Water. 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.

We were together also at La Nafca, which is a small Port, in the Lat. of 15 S. It affords abundance of rich, strong Wine, (as Pisca and other Places on that Coast also do) tasted much like that of Madera. 'Tis brought down out of the Country to this Port, to be shipped for Lima, Panama, or other Places. It lies here sometimes many Years stoppt up in Jars of about eight Gallons apiece: But the Jars are under no Shelter, but stand expos'd to the hot scorching Sun; being plac'd along the Bay, and between the Rocks, every Merchant having his own Mark'd. We took in store of this Wine.

We were also together at Coquimbo, a large Town with nine Churches in it, lying in about 29 S. Lat. Here we landed upon a deep Sand, in a large Bay, which had a small River that ran through the Country, and made its way out three Mile below the [197] Town. In this River the Spaniards get Gold higher up in the Country; and the Sands of the River by the Sea, as well as the whole Bay, are all bespangled with
Particles of Gold; insomuch that as we travelled along the Sandy Bays, our People were covered with a fine Gold-duft; but too fine for any thing else; for 'twould be an endless Work to pick it up. This Observation I have made in some other Places along the Coast, where any of those Gold-rivers make their way into the Sea thro' Sandy Bays; for there the Sand is in a manner guilded by them: But all that is worth looking after is up near the Rivers Heads, or towards the Mountains they fall from, where the weightier Grains lodge; for none but this meer Duft of it is wash'd down to the Sea.

We went after this to the Island of John Fernando, where we Careen'd; and there Captain Knight left us, making the best of his Way round Terra del Fuego to the West-Indies. But we were for Coasting it back again toward the Line; having with us a Bark we had taken off Pisca.

[198] Going off therefore from John Fernando's, we stood yet further South in going over to the Continent, to the Latitude of 39 S. as well to gain a Wind as to have the more of the Coast before us. We fell in first with the Island of Mocha, which lies in about 38 Deg. 20 Min. S. and wanting Water and Provision we came to an Anchor, and put ashore there, about the middle of December, 1686. and staid 5 or 6 Days. Here we were very well relieved, for the Island afforded both Water and fresh Provision for our Men, all the time we staid. The Land is very low and flat, and upon the Seacoast sandy; but the middle Ground is good
Mould, and produces Maiz and other Wheat, Barly, with variety of Fruits, &c. Here were several Houses belonging to the Spanish Indians, which were very well stored with Dunghil-Fowl. They have here also several Horses: But that which is most worthy of Note, is a fort of Sheep they have, which the Inhabitants call Cornera de Terra. This Creature is about four Foot and an half high at the Back, and a very stately Beast. These Sheep [199] are so Tame, that we frequently used to bridle one of them, upon whose Back two of the lustiest Men would ride at once round the Island, to drive the rest to the Fold. His ordinary Pace is either an Amble or a good Hand-gallop; nor does he care for going any other Pace, during the time his Rider is upon his Back. His Mouth is like that of a Hare; and the Hair-lip above opens as well as the Main-lips, when he bites the Grasses, which he does very near. His Head is much like an Antelope, but they had no Horns when we were there; yet we found very large Horns, much twisted, in the form of a Snail-shell, which we suppos'd they had shed: They lay many of them scattering upon the Sandy-bays. His Ears resemble those of an Ass, his Neck small, and resembling a Cammels. He carries his Head bending, and very stately, like a Swan; is full-chested like a Horse, and has his Loyns much like a well-shap'd Grey-hound. His Buttocks resemble those of a full-grown Deer, and he has much such a Tail. He is Cloven-footed like a Sheep, but on the inside [200] of each Foot has a large Claw, bigger than ones Finger, but sharp
and resembling those of an Eagle. These Claws stand about two Inches above the Division of the Hoof; and they serve him in climbing Rocks, holding fast by whatever they bear against. His Flesh eats as like Mutton as can be: He bears Wool of 12 or 14 Inches long upon the Belly; but 'tis shorter on the Back, shaggy, and but inclining to a Curl. 'Tis an innocent and very serviceable Beast, fit for any Drudgery. Of these we killed forty three; out of the Maw of one of which I took thirteen Besoar-stones, of which some were ragged, and of several Forms; some long, resembling Coral; some round, and some oval; but all Green when taken out of the Maw: Yet by long keeping they turn'd of an Ash-colour; and I have some of them now by me.

The Spaniards told us, That these Creatures are extraordinarily serviceable to them at the Mines of Potosí, (which lie a great way up in the Country) in bringing the Silver from thence to the Cities that lie toward [201] the Sea; between which Cities and the Mines are such cragged Ways and dangerous Precipices, that it were almost impossible for any Man, or any other Beast to carry it. But these Sheep being laden, and led to the Precipices, their Mafter leaves them there to themselves for above sixteen Leagues; and never meets them, till he himself has also fetch'd a Compass about 57 Leagues round. This their sureness of Foot consists solely in their aforesaid Claws, by which they hold themselves so fast upon the least Footing, that they can go where no other Beast can.
The Spaniards also inform'd us, That at a City they named, which has no Water within a League of it, these Beasts, being bred up to it, were wont to be laden with two Jars, like Panniers, upon their Backs, and away they would go, without Guide or Driver; and when they came to the River, would lie down, and rowle themselves in the Water until both the Jars were full; and then, of their own accord, would return home with their Water. The Spaniards added, That this Creature will not nor can be forc'd to work after Day-light: And we found them obstinate enough; for when once lain down, no Beating should make them rise; but they would lie and make a whining or groaning, tho' they were not tir'd, being but newly taken up.

We went from Mocha to the Continent, and kept failing and touching along the Coast of Chili, often sending our Canoas ashore, till we came to Copayapo, in the Lat. of about 26 S. We wanted Water, and so put ashore to see if we could find the River that bears the Name of the River of Copayapo. As soon as we came ashore we ascended a Hill, in hopes to defcry that River from the top thereof; but contrary to our Expectation, when we came to the top, we had yet another steep and very high Hill to climb, and another after that; infomuch that before we reach'd the utmost heighth, I fainted for want of Water: But refreshing my self with that of my own, I at last came to the top of the third Mountain, where we sat down and rested our selves under the Shade of a vast craggy Rock. The Place where we sat was cover'd with Sand.
and Sea-shells of divers Shapes and Forms; tho' indeed, which I wonder'd at, there were no Shell-fish on the Shores all along this whole Coast. I have landed at many Places of it, but could never find any. When we had rested our Selves in this Place, which was, as near as we could compute, 8 Miles from the Sea, and at least a Mile in perpendicular above it, we looked round us, to see for the River; but to our great Grief could discover none. All this Land, as well high as low Ground, is cover'd with Sand and Sea-shells, many of which are of the shape of a Scallop-shell; and these in vast quantities, in some Places, especially at the Feet of the Rocks, from whence they are crumbled and driven down by the Winds: For in the very Masts of the Stones of Rocks there were, as I remember, of the very same sorts of Shells. We were told by the Spaniards, That at one time of the Year, the Sun melting the Snow that lies upon the top of the Mountains that are a great way up in the Country, makes the River that we looked for overflow. It may as well possibly be from Rains falling on these Mountains far within Land; for I never knew it Rain on all the Sea-Coast of Chili and Peru; but we could see Clouds hovering over the Tops of the Mountains within Land, as we fail'd along the Coast: And once at Arica we could not see the Mountains pecked Top for Clouds that hung about it; tho' at another time we saw it plain enough; the Rains then probably, being gone off from the Hill-Country: But as for Arica it self and its Neighbouring Sea-Coast, we were told by old
Spaniards, Inhabitants there, that they never had any Rain. I have also been at one time of the Year afofe at the River of Ylo, but could find little or no Water: Yet at another time of the Year there was Water enough, although I never knew of any Rain on that Coast, and the Spaniards told us it never rain'd there, unlesf far within Land: Yet they have very great Dews. At Copayapo the Coast is barren and defolate, and fo on each fide all along both Chili and Peru; nothing is to be feen but bare Sands, and naked Rocks, unlesf in a Valley now and then: No Trees, [205] Herbs, or other green Thing. Nor did we fee any fort of Fowl, nor Beaf, or other living Creature: No People, nor Sign of any; unlesf here and there a poor Town or Village, at as forry a Port, with fcarce Water enough, at moft of them, to admit a Cock-boat, unlesf at a Flood: Elfe, little or no Water, nor any Thing for Accommodation or Ufe.

Getting no Water at Copayapo, we were forc'd to put to Sea again, and fo on each fide all along both Chili and Peru; nothing is to be feen but bare Sands, and naked Rocks, unlesf in a Valley now and then: No Trees, [205] Herbs, or other green Thing. Nor did we fee any fort of Fowl, nor Beaf, or other living Creature: No People, nor Sign of any; unlesf here and there a poor Town or Village, at as forry a Port, with fcarce Water enough, at moft of them, to admit a Cock-boat, unlesf at a Flood: Elfe, little or no Water, nor any Thing for Accommodation or Ufe.

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Getting no Water at Copayapo, we were forc'd to put to Sea again, and so on each fide all along both Chili and Peru; nothing is to be seen but bare Sands, and naked Rocks, unless in a Valley now and then: No Trees, [205] Herbs, or other green Thing. Nor did we see any sort of Fowl, nor Beast, or other living Creature: No People, nor Sign of any; unless here and there a poor Town or Village, at as sorry a Port, with scarce Water enough, at most of them, to admit a Cock-boat, unless at a Flood: Else, little or no Water, nor any Thing for Accommodation or Use.

Getting no Water at Copayapo, we were forced to put to Sea again, and so on each side all along both Chili and Peru; nothing is to be seen but bare Sands, and naked Rocks, unless in a Valley now and then: No Trees, [205] Herbs, or other green Thing. Nor did we see any sort of Fowl, nor Beast, or other living Creature: No People, nor Sign of any; unless here and there a poor Town or Village, at as sorry a Port, with scarce Water enough, at most of them, to admit a Cock-boat, unless at a Flood: Else, little or no Water, nor any Thing for Accommodation or Use.
as the Mountains far within Land, that there is
scarce any Land-[206]ing hereabouts but just at
Arica it self. There is a little River which
Arica stands upon, and we would have taken in
Water there; but there was no getting at any
fresh, for its Outlet was among little craggy
Rocks, and the Sea-water dash'd in among it.
We landed here, and ranfack'd the Place, meet-
ing with little or no Resistance; we got a few
Hogs and Poultry, Sugar and Wine; and saw a
whole House full of Jesuits Bark,* as I have
said already, p. 99. I was here also formerly
with Capt. Sharp, when we had so smart an
Engagement that we lost a great number of our
Men; and every one of our Surgeons was kill'd
beside my Self, who was then left to guard the
Canoas.

We went hence a little further to Lee-ward,
and water'd at the River Ylo, where we got Oil-
Olive, Figs, and Sugar, with several Fruits;
all which grow there very plentiful. There is
an Oil-work, and two or three Sugar-works.
There are extraordinary good Oranges, of the
China fort. 'Tis the finest Valley I have seen
on all the Coast of Peru; very fertile and well
furnish'd with [207] a multitude of Vegetables:
Tho' it has no Moisture but that of the little
River, (which they carry winding up and down
among their Grounds in Artificial Channels) and
the great Dew which falls every Night. The
Valley is the pleasanter, and so are all those of
Peru and Chili, for the dismal barren Mountains

*Chinchona, or Peruvian bark, from which "quinine" is
derived.
that lie all about, and serve as Foil to them: They are mostly sandy or black Rocks, like Cinders or Iron-Stones, for Colour.

In failing along upon this Coast we were sometimes put to it for Food as well as Water; and once were fo Hunger-pinch’d, that meeting with fome Sea-Crabs on the Coast, one of our Men, Mr. Smallbones, eat them raw, and even Sea-weeds: But others of us, whose Stomachs would not serve for that Food, looking about, found a lean gall’d Horse grazing in a little Spot at the foot of the Hill; which we prefently kill’d, cut in pieces, and making a Fire with Sea-weeds, eat the Flefh while ’twas hardly warm, leaving none, but carrying the very Guts aboard.

[208] I fhall not purfue all my Coafting along this Shore with Captain Davis; but two Particu-
lars more I muft not omit: The one is, That we put afhore at Vermejo, in ro Deg. S. Lat. There we landed about 30 Men (of whom I was one) to fee for Water, or any other Refreshment that we wanted. After we were landed, we marched about four Miles up a Sandy Bay; all which we found covered with the Bodies of Men, Women and Children; which lay fo thick, that a Man might, if he would, have walked half a Mile, and never trod a Step off a dead human Body. Thefe Bodies, to appearance, feem’d as if they had not been above a Week dead; but if you handled them, they prov’d as dry and light as a Spunge or piece of Cork. After we had been fome time afhore, we efpyed a Smoak; and making up to it, found an old Man, a Spanifh
Indian, who was ranging along the Sea-side, to find some dried Sea-weeds, to dress some Fish which his Company had caught; for he belong'd to a Fishing-boat hard by. We asked him many Questions, in Spanish, about the Place, and how [209] those dead Bodies came there? To which he returned for Answer, That in his Fathers time the Soil there, which now yielded nothing, was green, well-cultivated and fruitful: That the City of Wormia had been well inhabited with Indians: And that they were so numerous, that they could have handed a Fish, from Hand to Hand, 20 Leagues from the Sea, until it had come to the Kings or Inca's Hand: That the River was very deep, and the Current strong: And that the reason of those dead Bodies was, That when the Spaniards came, and block'd up and lay'd Siege to the City, the Indians, rather than lie at the Spaniards Mercy, dug Holes in the Sand, and buried themselves alive. The Men as they now lie, have with them their broken Bows; and the Women their Spinning-wheels, and Distaffs with Cotton-yarn upon them. Of these dead Bodies I brought on board a Boy of about 9 or 10 Years of Age, with an intent to bring him home for England: But was frustrated of my purpose by the Sailors; who having a foolish Conceit, that the Compass would not [210] traverse aright, so long as any dead Body was on board, threw him overboard, to my great Vexation.

This Place is a deep sandy Ground, of little Hills and Valleys of Sand. 'Tis like the rest of this part of Peru, without Rain: But it has
Dews, and there was the Channel of a small River; yet 'twas dry when we were there.

The other Particular I would speak of, is of our touching at a Place called Santa, a small Town in the Lat. of 8 Deg. 40 Min. S. Here I went ashore and so up to the Town, which was three Miles or thereabouts from the Sea. In our way to the Town we crossed a small Hill; and in a Valley between the Hill and the Town we saw three small Ships of about 60 or 100 Tuns apiece, lodg'd there, and very ruinous. It caused in us great Admiration, and we were puzzled to think how those Ships could come there: But proceeding toward the Town, we saw an Indian, whom we called, and he at the first Motion came to us. We ask'd him several Questions, and among the rest, how those Ships came there? He told [211] us, That about 9 Years before, these 3 Ships were riding at Anchor in the Bay, which is an open Place, about 5 or 6 Leagues from Point to Point; and that an Earthquake came, and carried the Water out of sight; which stayed away 24 Hours, and then came in again, tumbling and rowling with such Violence, that it carried these Ships over the Town, which then stood on the Hill which we came over, and lodged them there; and that it destroyed the Country for a considerable way along the Coast. This Report, when we came to the Town, was confirmed to us by the Parish-Priest, and many other Inhabitants of the Town.

We continued thus Rambling about to little purpose, sometimes at Sea, and sometimes
afhore; till having spent much time, and visited many Places, we were got again to the *Galapago's*, under the Line; and were then resolv'd to make the best of our Way out of these Seas.

Accordingly we went thence again for the Southward, intending to touch no where till we came to the Island of *John Fernando*. In our way [212] thither, about four a Clock in the Morning, when we were in the Lat. of 12 Deg. 30 Min. S. and about 150 Leagues from the Main of *America*, our Ship and Bark felt a terrible Shock; which put our Men into such a Consternation, that they could hardly tell where they were, or what to think; but every one began to prepare for Death. And indeed the Shock was so sudden and violent, that we took it for granted the Ship had struck upon a Rock: But when the Amazement was a little over, we cast the Lead, and founded, but found no Ground; so that after Consultation, we concluded it must certainly be some Earthquake. The suddenness of this Shock made the Guns of the Ship leap in their Carriages, and several of the Men were shaken out of their Hammocks. Captain *Davis*, who lay with his Head over a Gun, was thrown out of his Cabbin. The Sea, which ordinarily looks Green, seemed then of a Whitish Colour; and the Water which we took up in our Buckets for the Ships use, we found to be a little mixed with Sand. This at first made us think there was [213] some Spit of Sand; but when we had founded, it confirmed our Opinion of the Earthquake. Some time after we heard News, That at that very time there was an Earthquake at
Earthquake at Callao by Lima.  

Callao, which is the Road for Lima; and that the Sea ebbed so far from the Shore, that on a sudden there was no Water to be seen: And that after it had been away a considerable time, it return'd in rolling Mountains of Water, which carried the Ships in the Road of Callao a League up into the Country, overflowed the City of Callao, though it stood upon a Hill, together with the Fort, and drowned Man and Beast for 50 Leagues along Shore; doing Mischief even at Lima, though six Miles within Land from the Town of Callao. This seems to have been much such another Earthquake as that, the Effects of which we saw at Santa.

New Land discover'd.  

Having recover'd our Fright, we kept on to the Southward. We steer'd South and by East, half Easterly, until we came to the Latitude of 27 Deg. 20 Min. S. when about two Hours before Day, we fell in with a small, low, sandy Island, and [214] heard a great roaring Noise, like that of the Sea beating upon the Shore, right a Head of the Ship. Whereupon the Sailors, fearing to fall foul upon the Shore before Day, desired the Captain to put the Ship about, and to stand off till Day appeared; to which the Captain gave his consent. So we plied off till Day, and then stood in again with the Land; which proved to be a small flat Island, without the guard of any Rocks. We stood in within a quarter of a Mile of the Shore, and could see it plainly; for 'twas a clear Morning, not foggy nor hazy. To the Westward, about 12 Leagues by Judgment, we saw a range of high Land, which we took to be Islands, for there were
ferval Partitions in the Prospect. This Land seem'd to reach about 14 or 16 Leagues in a Range, and there came thence great Flocks of Fowls. I, and many more of our Men would have made this Land, and have gone ashore at it; but the Captain would not permit us. The small Island bears from Copayapo almost due E. 500 Leagues; and from the Gallapago's, under the Line, 600 Leagues.

[215] When we were again arriv'd at John I. Mocha laid wafte; Fernando's, which was at the latter End of the Year, 1687. we clean'd our Ship there, having quitted our Bark, and stood over to the Main; intending to get some of the Sheep of Mocha, for our Voyage round Terra del Fuego. But when we came there, the Spaniards had wholly destroyed or carried away the Sheep, Horses, and all other living Creatures. We went then to Santa Maria, an Island in 37 Deg. S. in expectation of fresh Provision; but this Island was likewise destroy'd: So we were forc'd to content our selves with such Provision as we had brought from the Gallapago's; which were chiefly Flower, Maiz, Hecatee or Land-Tortoise salted, and the Fat of it tried, or made into Lard or Oil, of which we got there 60 Jars.* The Spaniards

*Dampier, p. 109, says that, while he was at the Gallapagos, in 1684, they "sent ashoar the Cook every morning, who killed as many as served for the day . . . feeding sometimes on Land-Turtle, sometimes on Sea-Turtle. Captain Davis came hither again a second time; and . . . he and his Men eat nothing else for 3 Months that he staid there. They were so fat, that he saved sixty Jars of Oyl out of those that he spent: This Oil served instead of Butter, to eat with Dough-boys or Dumplings, in his return out of these Seas."
had let Dogs ashore at John Fernando's also, to destroy the Goats there, that we might fail of Provision: But we were content with killing there no more than we eat presently; not doubting but we should have found Sheep enough at Mocha, to victual the Ship.

[216] Three or Four of our Men, having lost what Mony they had at Play, and being unwilling to return out of these Seas as poor as they came, would needs stay behind at John Fernando's, in expectation of some other Privateers coming thither. We gave them a small Canoa, a Porridge-pot, Axes, Macheats, Maiz, and other Necessaries. I heard since that they planted some of the Maiz, and tam'd some of the Goats, and liv'd on Fish and Fowls; of which there is one fort Grey, and about the size of a small Pullet, that makes Burrows in the Ground like a Rabbit; lodging there in the Night, and going out to catch Fish in the day: For 'tis a Water-Fowl, and eats a little fishy, yet pretty well tast'd after a little burying. I heard also that these Men were taken by a Privateer-Vessel which came thither a Year or two after; and that one of them is since come to England.

We were now standing out to Sea again, to double Terra del Fuego: We were in a terrible Storm for about three Weeks before we came off Cape Horn: We did not see Cape Horn, [217] being a great way to the South of it, and in the Lat. of 62 Deg. 45 Min. S. nor did we well know what Course to steer, having but very indifferent Seamen aboard. It was now about the heighth of Summer here; for I remember
that upon Christmas day, 1687. we were just clear of the Storm, and in the Latitude we mention'd, off Cape Horn. Running hence to the Northward again, being now got out of the South Sea, we met several Islands of Ice; which at first seemed to be real Land. Some of them seemed a League or two in length, and some not above half a Mile. The biggest seemed, as we sail'd by them, which we did before the Wind for several Days, to be about 4 or 500 Foot high. We found them near them, but found no Ground; so that it may reasonably be concluded they were afloat; and perhaps reach'd as deep into the Water, as their height was above it. We saw no such Islands of Ice as I went into the South Sea with Mr. Dampier; neither did I ever hear that Captain Sharp met with any in his return out of that Sea. These Islands [218] appeared to us so plain at Night, that we could easily see how to steer clear of them: But there were some which lay under Water, which we could not possibly shun, but sometimes they would shake our Ship: Yet they never did us much Damage. From these Hills of Ice came very cold Blasts of Wind; so much that our Men, newly coming out of a hot Country, could hardly endure the Deck.

In all our Passage round Terra del Fuego the Weather was so stormy, for 3 Weeks that we lay to the Southward of Cape Horn, and the Sun and Stars so obscure'd, that we could take no Observation of our Lat. yet, by our Reckoning, we were in very near 63 Deg. S. Lat. which is the farthest to the South that any European, probably,
ever yet was, and perhaps any Man. When we were in Lat. 62. Deg. 30 Min. we began to think of shifting our Courfe to the Northward again, toward the \textit{Aethiopick} and \textit{Atlantick} Seas; and we soon brought our selves to ftand E. N. E. and E. and by N. and kept much thofe Courfes for a great way. In our Paf-[219]fage we had allow'd for three Points Wefterly Variation: But when we came to have a good Obfervation, we found that we had gone to the Eaftward, making our way E. and by S. We found therefore that we had mistaken the Variation of the Compafs, fo that we concluded the Variation to be Easterly, and fteer'd away N. N. E. and N. E. and by N. By this means, when we came into the Latitude of the River of \textit{Plate}, along which we intended to run, we reckon'd our felves to be about 100 Leagues off Land; and ftood in directly for the Shore, not doubting but we fhould find it at that distance. But we were then really 500 Leagues off; and having run fome hundreds of Leagues to the Weft in the fame Latitude, and yet finding no Land, our Men were out of Heart, fearing we were ftill in a wrong Courfe, and being all in danger of perifhing at Sea, through want of Provisions; having little Food, and lefs Water. It pleas'd God, during this Exigence, to fend us a Days Rain, which fell very plentiful; and we fav'd of it feveral Casks of Water, [220] which was a great Refreshment to us, and made our Men pluck up their Hearts for fome time. But hav-

\*Cape Horn current sets strongly eastward.
ing run 450 Leagues in this Latitude, and still finding no Land, which they had expected to have seen in 100, this bred a fresh Commotion, and we had like to have been all together by the Ears upon it. The greatest part were for changing the Course, which they thought must needs be wrong: But Captain Davis, and Mr. Knott the Master, begg'd of them for God's sake to keep the same Course two Days longer, which they did, though we had but a small Wind: And in that time a Flight of Locusts and other Insects coming off with a Flurry of Wind from the West, assured us there was Land there, not far off. Had not this providentially hapned, we should have chang'd our Course, for the Men would not have been perswaded to the contrary; for a great many of them were so ignorant, that they would not be perswaded but they were still in the South Sea: And had we chang'd this Course, we should have stood out to Sea again, and must have perish'd there.

[221] The Land we made, following the direction of the Flurry and the Locusts, and setting the Point they come from by the Compass, was a little to the North of the Mouth of the River of Plate. We put ashore here to get Water and fresh Provisions, of which this Country afforded plenty: And here our Men having with them their Fusées, spy'd a Herd of Sea-Swine, as we call them, upon a Point a Land; and were thereupon resolved to kill some of them to bring on board. In order thereunto they contrived, that some Men should stop the Pafs that led up to the Mountain, whilst others
went in among them, and with their Cutlaffes did what Execution they could. But still as the Men came near them, the Herd walked toward the Sea, contrary to our Mens expectation; for they hitherto took them to be Land-Swine. There they stood on the Shore, staring at and admiring our People: But when the Men came near enough, and were just going to strike among them, the whole Herd jump'd into the Sea, leaving the Men in amazement, and sorely vex'd at [222] their Disappointment. But at another time they shot and brought on Board two of them, which eat like Land-pork, except some Fishey taste it had. They were shap'd much like Swine, and had short Hair more briskly than that of Seals; and like them had finny Stumps to swim with, and were of a Black Colour. The Country hereabouts is well watered, but without any Inhabitants. Here is notwithstanding abundance of black Cattle, of which for several Scores of Leagues we observed many Herds; with Deer also, and Efridges.

Efridges.

We saw a great many of these Efridges, and found abundance of their Eggs on the Sand: For there she drops her Eggs upon the Ground, and 'tis said she never takes any farther Care of them; but that they are hatched by the Sun, and the young one so soon as hatched follows the first Creature it meets with. I myself had sometimes a great many young Efridges following me. They are a foolish Bird; they will follow Deer or any Creature. The old Birds are here very large: I measure'd the Thigh of
one of them, and [223] thought it little lefs than my own. We have had several of them on board, and some we eat; but the old ones were very rank, coarse Food. Some fancy that the Eftridge eats Iron: I believe just as truly as Poultry eat Pebble-Stones, not as Food but for Digestion, and to serve as Mill-Stones, or Grinders, to macerate their Food in the Maw. The Eftridge will indeed swallow Nails or Stones, or any thing you throw to it; but they pass through the Body as whole as they went in.

Putting off to Sea again, we Coafted along Brasil, and thence toward the Caribbe-Islands; where meeting with one Mr. Edwin Carter, in a Barbadoes Sloop, I and some others went aboard him, and had of him the News of King James's Proclamation to pardon and call in the Buccaneers.* So we went in his Ship to the River de la Ware, and up into Pennsylvania, to the City of Philadelphia; where I arriv'd in May, 1688.

There I stayed some time; after which I came down the River de la Ware as far as Apokunnumy-creek, with Capt. Davis, and John Hingfon who [224] was left with me on the Isthmus: There we carted our Chefts, with other Goods, over a small Neck of Land into Bohemia-River, which leads down the great Bay of Chifapeck to Point-Comfort in James-River in Virginia. There I

*This was probably either the royal proclamation against pirates issued January 20, 1688, following the announcement of the cessation of hostilities with France, or perhaps the royal declaration of indulgence and proclamation for suppression of piracy, issued May 22, 1687.
Conclusion. thought to settle: But meeting with some Troubles, after a three Years residence there, I came home for England in the Year, 1690.

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